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CELTICA

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PIARMHEASÚNÚ

Is mór ag na heagarthóirí an cúnamh a fuarthas uathu siúd a rinne piarmheasúnú faoi rún ar na hait atá san imleabhar seo.

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CLIPBOARDS IN PARADISE: COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGISTS AND PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN INSTITUTIONS

ABSTRACT

The techniques used by comparative philologists to reconstruct proto-languages are not applicable to reconstructing culture, which may spread horizontally and involve convergence and coincidental parallel development. Examples discussed include the alleged 'Proto-Indo-European' royal horse-sacrifice ritual, coercive fasting, and institutionalised pederasty. Ignoring material from non-Indo-European-speaking areas has tended to skew the evidence in favour of 'Indo-European' and 'Celtic' continuity ('Celtic head hunting', for instance). It may also result in contrived syntheses of quite disparate material. The example given is an attempted association, as 'Celtic', of monosandalism in late medieval Irish royal inaugurations with the 'Three Golden Shoemakers' in Middle Welsh literature and the pair of golden shoes excavated at Hochdorf, near Stuttgart.

WHEN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGISTS venture out of their own discipline into comparative mythology and sociology their conclusions become controversial. John Rhys, T. F. O'Rahilly, and Calvert Watkins are just a few such distinguished names within Celtic Studies. When practising comparative philology they were constrained by established phonological and other rules, and, if they observed them, there was a good chance that their conclusions would be accepted. Transferring their expertise to other disciplines, they were less shackled but also less likely to be able to convince other specialists. As the eminent Hellenist M. L. West admitted, 'the mutations of divinities or of mythical motifs are subject to no rules' – unlike phonemes – and 'the validity of a comparison [...] has to be judged on its intrinsic appeal' (West 2007: 24). In other words, conclusions are subjective.

Students of myth tend to be partial to their own brainwaves while ignoring those of others. West, for example, discussing the supposed Proto-Indo-European (and Celtic) horse-sacrifice ritual in his *Indo-European Poetry and Myth* (2007: 415–19), ignored Wendy Doniger's paper on the same topic, 'Sacred cows and profane mares in Indian mythology' (Doniger O'Flaherty 1979), presumably regarding it as far too speculative. In turn Doniger, reviewing West's book under the heading 'The land east of the asterisk', claimed that he 'rushes in, and stumbles, where pundits fear to tread' (Doniger 2008: 27). '*Indo-Europe, the land east of the asterisk' was her name for 'the mythical land of the [Indo-European] family home', chosen because hypothetical Indo-European forms are 'usually designated by an apologetic or atropaic asterisk'.

She agreed with West that ‘linguistics is a science and the study of myth is not’ (ibid., 28).

The impasse of subjectivity is well illustrated by what a contemporary called ‘that powerful but erratic engine, – the mind of Professor Rhys’ (Holmes 1907: 291 n. 2). In Celtiberian *Uxama* (Osma) there is a Latin dedication to the Lugoves – two or more gods called *Lugus* – made on behalf of a guild of shoemakers (*sutores*).¹ Rhys linked it to the Welsh *Triads*, where *Lleu* (< *Lugus*), along with *Caswallon* and *Manawydan*, are the ‘Three Golden Shoemakers’, and to the *Four Branches of the Mabinogi*, where *Manawydan* and *Pryderi* ply that trade and *Lleu* and *Gwydion* disguise themselves as shoemakers. Rhys proceeded to identify *Lleu* and *Gwydion* with the Celtiberian *Lugoves*. For W. J. Gruffydd, followed by Eurys Rowlands, Jan de Vries, and others, this was one of ‘his numerous inspired guesses’.² Windisch, however, in ‘Die von John Rhys befolgte Methode mythologischer Deutung keltischer Götter und Sagenhelden’, called it a fantasy, as did Loth in ‘Le Mabinogi de Math vab Mathonwy d’après W. J. Gruffydd et la méthode en Celto-mythologie’.³ For what it is worth, my own (subjective) opinion is that the connection between the Welsh characters and shoemaking may be entirely due to the name *Manawydan uab Llyr* – an adaptation of Irish *Manannán mac Lir*, influenced by Welsh *Manaw* ‘Isle of Man’ – seeming to contain the word *manawyd* ‘awl’, the tool used by shoemakers (Sims-Williams 2011: 11–13). Another suggestion, by Bromwich (1961: 177), is that *Lugus*, like the Irish *Lug*, was a master of all arts and crafts (*samildánach*), and that it is just a coincidence that shoemaking happens to be the particular craft mentioned a millennium apart in Spain and Wales.⁴ But, if West is correct in admitting that there are ‘no rules’, it is difficult to see how this and others of Rhys’s ‘numerous inspired guesses’ can be *proved* to be wrong. By contrast, no philologist would now accept Windisch’s opinion that *Lleu*’s name is properly *Llew* ‘Lion’ (< Latin *leo*), a late variant, and does not derive from *Lugus* (Windisch 1912: 119; cf. Schrijver 1995: 340–3 and 384).

Philologists are accustomed to working with Indo-European family trees, created as an aid to reconstructing Proto-Indo-European. These aim to include as much inherited core data as possible while stripping out noise from innovations and interdialectal borrowings (e.g. Canby et al. 2024). Though entirely valid in their own terms, such trees are dubious models for the transmission of culture, precisely because there is a strong affinity between the transmission of

¹*Lugovibus / sacrum / L(ucius?) L(icius?) Urci/co(m) colle/gio sutoru(m) d(onum) d(edit): Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, ii, 2818; cf. Tovar (1982: 595–6).

²Rhys (1898: 424–5); Gruffydd (1928: 238); de Vries (1963: 59–60); Rowlands (1961: 235).

³Windisch (1912: 115–21): ‘Als ein letztes Beispiel phantastischer Kombination’ [‘As a final example of a fantastic combination’] (Kap. XXXIV, p. 121); Loth (1929: 297–8): ‘Tout justement Windisch cite la trouvaille de Rhys sur les Lugoves comme un dernier exemple, caractéristique, après plusieurs autres, des fantastiques combinaisons à l’aide desquelles Rhys arrive, à force d’imagination, à construire des *sagas* pan-celtiques et une nouvelle mythologie’ [‘Windisch rightly cites Rhys’s discovery about the *Lugoves* as a final, typical example, following many others, of the fantastic combinations by which Rhys, by dint of imagination, manages to construct pan-Celtic sagas and a new mythology’].

⁴In Bromwich (2014: 186), ‘corroborated’ is a misprint for ‘combated’ in the first edition.

culture and the transmission of the noise which philologists strip out from their linguistic trees. Archaeologists have therefore been scathing about attempts to reconstruct Proto-Indo-European society, culture, religion, and literature by working back, from data attested in the daughter languages, towards an ‘asterisk reality’.⁵ In the 1980s, for example, Colin Renfrew dismissed ‘the work of Dumézil and his followers’ as a ‘dream world’ in ‘Dream Time’.⁶

In 2007 M. L. West admitted that

the heroic traditions of both India and Ireland portray warriors using horse-drawn chariots [and] we might be tempted to infer that this was an Indo-European style of warfare. Similarly [...] the myth of the Sun’s horse-drawn chariot is widely diffused among Indo-European peoples, and we might well conclude that this is an Indo-European myth. But it cannot be so, for archaeology tells us that the war-chariot with spoked wheels [...] first appeared [...] long after the Indo-European cultural continuum had been broken up.⁷

West (2007: 24) noted that ‘this is a devastating result for us seekers of Indo-European mythology’. Even so, it did not stop him writing *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, an enthralling book of 525 pages.

Turning specifically to Celtic, let us examine three examples of Proto-Indo-European ‘asterisk reality’ that are said to impinge on Ireland.

1. THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN HORSE-SACRIFICE RITUAL IN IRELAND

An example of what worries archaeologists is the above-mentioned Proto-Indo-European horse-sacrifice ritual, reconstructed by comparative mythologists from material ranging from the ancient Indian *aśvamedha* (‘horse-sacrifice’) ritual, where the queen of an established king cohabits with a dead stallion, via the Roman *October Equus* festival, to Gerald of Wales’s darkest Donegal, where a king is allegedly paired with a live mare at his inauguration and then sits in the broth in which she has been stewed – a unique allegation rejected by all later Irish writers until it became grist to the Indo-European mill in 1927 (Schröder 1927, followed by, among others, Binchy 1970: 11 and 48 n. 21).⁸

⁵This useful term was borrowed by Wooding (2009: 69) from Shippey (2005: 22 and 24 (‘asterisk-reality’)).

⁶Renfrew (1987: 286; and 1990: 18). The archaeologist Brunaux (2022: 308–19) is even more dismissive of francophone syntheses of Indo-European, Gaulish, and Irish material. Some Celtic philologists have adopted a comparable position; for example: ‘There is no such thing as a Common – or Proto-Indo-European mythology’ (Zimmer 1990: 336; cf. Demoule 2025: 406).

⁷West (2007: 23). West had earlier argued that the idea of the sun god’s chariot, perhaps ‘an ox-cart with block wheels’, spread from the Near East in various directions in the post-Proto-Indo-European period (West 1997: 112, n. 34, and 507). Cf. Sims-Williams (2011: 132); Demoule (2025: 408–9).

⁸See Bartlett (2013: 12–15). The accuracy of Gerald’s ‘uncorroborated’ account is still debated; see Fitzpatrick (2004: 9, 25, and 182–93).

J. P. Mallory objected in 1989 that the comparative method

suggests that the horse is selected from a paired chariot team. But archaeological evidence indicates that the horse was not likely to have been employed in paired draught until the invention of the spoked wheel and chariot, which is normally dated after about 2500 BC and, consequently, some time after we would have assumed the disintegration of the Proto-Indo-European community. [...] Although cultural borrowing or parallel development may be suggested, this is a problem yet to be resolved.⁹

One might hypothesise that the chariot was added later in India, but the problem is that the right-hand horse of a chariot-pair, supposedly a crucial correspondence, is also selected in the Roman 'October Horse' sacrifice,¹⁰ and once one starts deleting awkward elements little will be left of the Proto-Indo-European ritual.

As well as the archaeological problem, there are philological ones. In 1955 Jaan Puhvel suggested that the Sanskrit *āśvamedha* 'horse-sacrifice' was 'almost homophonous' with the name of the Gaulish king *Epomeduos*, commemorated on coins from the Auvergne (Puhvel 1955; cf. 1970: 167). It is 'almost homophonous' – philologically a worrying phrase – because only the first elements correspond, *āśva-* and *epo-*, both from PIE **h₁ékʷo-* 'horse'.¹¹ For Puhvel (1970: 167) the second element of *Epomeduos* was Celtic **medu-* 'mead', as widely supposed to occur in the name of the legendary Irish queen *Medb* of Crúachain, supposedly an 'intoxicating' or 'intoxicated' sovereignty goddess. In 2007, however, any connection between the second elements of Gaulish *Epomeduos* and Sanskrit *āśvamedha* was convincingly rejected by Georges-Jean Pinault, who explained *Epomeduos* as 'horse governor' from Celtic **med-* 'gouverner, diriger, etc.' (< IE **med-*). Then in 2017 Britta Irslinger published a strong case for seeing the same stem **med-wo-* in the name of *Medb*, who was therefore a mundane 'ruler' or 'queen', not an 'intoxicating one' or the like.¹² Apart from *Medb*, queen of Crúachain, the name was borne by ordinary women in early Ireland, and its masculine equivalent, *Medb* < **medwos*, occurs as the name of a priest in the Book of Armagh (Carney 1966: 15; Muhr 2013: 52; Bieler 1979: 170, cf. 262). The genitive of this masculine

⁹Mallory (1989: 136–7), referring to Puhvel (1970). See also Doniger O'Flaherty (1979) and Watkins (1995: 265–76). Mallory's 'after about 2500 BC' date is still accepted: see Chechushkov and Epimakhov (2023: 254). Mallory (2025: 194 and 207) and Demoule (2025: 310–11 and 409) agree that horses were harnessed to chariots c. 2000 BC. If radically earlier evidence is found, the issue may need rethinking.

¹⁰Puhvel (1970: 163); West (2007: 418). A chariot also appears in the alleged Irish parallels adduced by Fickett-Wilbar (2012). Polomé (1994) regarded the similarity between the Indian and Roman rituals as coincidental, and plausibly denied any common Indo-European origin with what Gerald of Wales describes.

¹¹See Pinault (2007: 296), on the meaning and etymology of the Sanskrit second element *médha* 'sacrifice' (also 'broth', favoured by McCone (1990: 118), noting that broth appears in Gerald of Wales – though not in the Indian rite).

¹²Pinault (2007: 301–4); Irslinger (2017). See Schumacher (2004: 478–83, s.v. **med-e/o-* 'ermessen, (be)urteilen, (be)herrschen'). On the personal-name element *med-*, see Williams (1930).

name is attested in ogam in the Owey-na-gat cave at Crúachain: VRAICCI MAQI MEDVVI ‘of Fráech son of Medb’. This location has puzzled scholars, because Crúachain is where Medb is queen in the Ulster cycle, and where the inauguration mound, Carnfree (Carn Fraoich), five miles to the south, seems to take its name from Fráech (or vice versa).¹³ Was MEDVVI mistaken as a female name (genitive *MEDVVI[AS])? Did the inscription inspire the story of Queen Medb and the character Fráech, whom she desires and then destroys? Was Fráech’s parentage suppressed to avoid the implication of mother-son incest? Such questions are easier to ask than to answer. However, if *Epomeduos* and Medb have nothing to do with mead and intoxication, and chariots with paired draught did not exist in Proto-Indo-European times, does not the proposed Proto-Indo-European horse-sacrifice ritual start to look like a house of cards? Horse-sacrifice was widespread across Eurasia (e.g. Anderson 1999, Sadykov et al. 2024) and ‘the symbolical mating of the king with the local Earth-Goddess’ – for Binchy (1970: 11) ‘the essential feature of all’ in Gerald of Wales – is also paralleled outside the Indo-European world, as Binchy himself noted (1970: 48 n. 22), citing the study of ancient Egypt by Henri Frankfort (1948: 295–309; cf. Egeler 2012). The ceremony described by Gerald, if it really occurred, was not necessarily of Indo-European origin.

2. THE PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN CREDITOR’S FAST IN IRELAND

Another alleged Proto-Indo-European institution surviving in Ireland is the practice of fasting against a powerful adversary: ‘the creditor’s fast’. This was discussed by Daniel Binchy in three papers (1973: 26 and 34–5; 1975: 23–7; 1982), culminating in ‘A pre-Christian survival in mediaeval Irish hagiography’ in the Kathleen Hughes memorial volume, where he concluded that it ‘can only have been mediated [...] through the native druids’ (1982: 178). Here it may be added that it also occurs in Welsh hagiography (Wade-Evans 1944: 136). In the second and third of these papers Binchy refers back to a note entitled ‘Sitting Dharna’, published by Whitley Stokes in *The Academy* in 1885, where Stokes said that this ‘curious’ Hindu practice ‘still followed in Native states by a Brahman creditor [...] has long been identified with the practice of “fasting upon” ’ in the Irish laws (Stokes 1885). Stokes was evidently alluding to the first volume (1865) of *The Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, where the parallel was mentioned but not explained (*AL* i, xlviii). Despite Binchy (1975: 24), Stokes himself does not seem to assert any *connection* between Ireland and India in *The Academy*, or anywhere else, so far as I know; Victorian jurists were accustomed to collect random parallels between unconnected legal systems. It was Henry Sumner Maine, who learnt about the Irish material from Stokes, who had supposed, in 1875, that there was a common ‘basis of Aryan usage’.¹⁴ Myles

¹³Carney (1966:15); Byrne (1973: 19–20); Meek (1984: 17 n. 54); Fitzpatrick (2004: 29, 60–8 and 227); Muhr (2013: 51–2); Irlinger (2017: 43). For maps, see Wailes (1982: 27) and Meek (1984: 11). It seems unlikely that the inscription ever read *MEDVVIAS, as matronymics are unknown in ogam.

¹⁴Lectures II and X in Maine (1875: 29 and 165).

Dillon would do the same, exactly a century later, discussing ‘the creditor’s fast’ in his *Celts and Aryans* (Dillon 1975: 118–20). So the ‘Aryan’ or ‘Proto-Indo-European’ theory ended up with two weighty supporters, Dillon and Binchy, later followed by Calvert Watkins (1995: 395). On the way, however, there were sceptics. To Laurence Ginnell in 1894, such fasting is ‘strange to us because so long obsolete’, but the India-Ireland resemblance is no more than a coincidence (Ginnell 1894: 162–3; 1917: 96). D’Arbois de Jubainville (1895: 220–2) and F. N. Robinson (1909) were of that same opinion. In 1900 the orientalist Washburn Hopkins (1900: 158) mentioned a ‘lurking doubt as to whether a custom which is found among several related peoples be not self-developed in each rather than inherited by all’. And Louis Gernet (1982: 80) regarded ‘une tradition commune’ as only a possibility. But for Dillon the similarity between early Ireland and ancient India was ‘unmistakable and most impressive’ (Dillon 1975: 118). That impression may be because he and Binchy only looked at material from those two Indo-European-speaking countries. In fact, as we shall see, coercive fasting is found more widely. That this might prove problematic for the ‘Aryan’ or ‘Proto-Indo-European’ theory was already anticipated by Dillon in 1947:

[...] it may be that some features common to India and Ireland recur in other primitive systems of law, and these would not be cogent evidence for my purpose. Only a specialist in comparative law can decide. There is one remarkable practice which was observed long ago by Stokes, and which is not recorded elsewhere so far as I know, namely, fasting as a means of enforcing legal claims. (Dillon 1947: 247, citing Stokes, Robinson, Maine, and Thurneysen)

In 1886 the ethnographer Friedrich Krauss (1859–1938), in his edition of an epic poem of the Bosnian Muslims, *Smailagić Meho*, recorded that in Bosnia, if a debtor would not pay, his creditor went and sat in his doorway *without eating or drinking* until he paid up. This practice was obsolete in Bosnia, but in Krauss’s native Croatian region, Slavonia, it was still customary for the creditor to move in with the debtor, and to stay there gratis, until the debt was paid off.¹⁵ Then in 1888 the Breton scholar François-Marie Luzel (1821–95) recalled that in his youth, when a Breton had a grudge against someone, he would say ‘I vow that I will fast on him’ (*‘me a westlo anezhan! me iuno warnhan! “Je vous vouerai! Je jeûnerai sur lui”*’) – note the same preposition as in early Irish, but a different verb (from Latin *ieiunium*) versus Irish *troiscid*.¹⁶ Luzel does not say where the threatened fasting would take place, but quite likely he meant the fasting undertaken when on pilgrimage to St Yves to seek redress.¹⁷

¹⁵Krauss (1886: 120), cited by Gaidoz (1888b: col. 406).

¹⁶Apud Gaidoz (1888b: col. 41). Gaidoz’s material is repeated by Jobbé-Duval (1920: 421–2).

¹⁷See Le Braz (1893: 221–4): ‘Moyens d’appeler la mort sur quelqu’un: [...] Il est un moyen encore plus infaillible. C’est de aller *vouer* (gwestla) celui que l’on hait à saint Yves-de-la-Vérité. [...] Pour *vouer* quelqu’un à Saint-Yves-de-la Vérité, il faut [...] Faire à jeun trois pèlerinages

If the Welsh, Slavic and Breton parallels are explained away as an Indo-European inheritance, handed down for millennia, that would fit in with Binchy's hypothesis of 'an archaic custom which once obtained, not merely in the two extremes of the Indo-European area, but among all speakers of the parent language' (1975: 27). There is no trace of the custom in ancient Greece or Rome, however, although Gustave Glotz, Louis Gernet, and Émile Jobbé-Duval searched hard for it. All they could find were numerous examples of people committing suicide in a spirit of vengeance, something found all round the world.¹⁸ A possible Greek exception, noted by Glotz (1904: ix and 64–5), followed by Gernet (1982: 80–2), is a story in Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, 12:

Who was 'Charilla' among the Delphians? [...] The story of Charilla which they relate is somewhat as follows: A famine following a drought oppressed the Delphians, and they came to the palace of their king (πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως) with their wives and children and made supplication. The king gave portions of barley and legumes to the more notable citizens, for there was not enough for all. But when an orphaned girl, who was still but a small child, approached him and importuned him, he struck her with his sandal and cast the sandal in her face.¹⁹ But, although the girl was poverty-stricken and without protectors, she was not ignoble in character; and when she had withdrawn, she took off her girdle and hanged herself. As the famine increased and diseases also were added thereto, the prophetic priestess gave an oracle to the king that he must appease Charilla, the maiden who had slain herself. Accordingly, when they had discovered with some difficulty that this was the name of the child who had been struck, they performed a certain sacrificial rite combined with purification, which even now they continue to perform every eight years. For the king sits in state and gives a portion of barley-meal and legumes to everyone, alien and citizen alike, and

consécutifs à la maison du saint [...] Empoigner le saint par l'épaule et le secouer rudement en disant: "Tu es le petit saint de la Vérité [...] Je te voue un tel [...] si le droit est pour moi, fais qu'il meure dans le délai rigoureusement prescrit" (*Te eo Santik ar Wirione. Me a westl dit heman [...] mar man ar gwir a du gan-in, gra d'ez-han merwel a-berz ann termenn rik*). ['Ways to call death upon someone. ... There is an even more infallible way. It is to go and *dedicate* (gwestla) the one you hate to Saint Yves-de-la-Vérité. ... To *dedicate* someone to Saint-Yves-de-la-Vérité, you must ... Make three consecutive pilgrimages to the saint's house while fasting ... Grab the [image of] the saint by the shoulder and shake him roughly, saying: "You are the little saint of Truth ... I *dedicate* so and so to you ... if right is on my side, make him die within the strictly prescribed time limit."'] For documentation see Hamon (2008 and 2013). On fasting to other saints see Gaidoz (1898). I am very grateful to Herve Le Bihan for his help here.

¹⁸Glotz (1904: ix and 64–76), followed by Gernet (1982: 80–4); Jobbé-Duval (1923: 585–6): 'Si nous ne trouvons pas dans les sources romaines trace de la "procédure du jeûne", elles conservent, au contraire, le souvenir du suicide, par esprit de vengeance' ['If we do not find any trace of the "fasting procedure" in the Roman sources, they do preserve, however, a recollection of suicide out of a spirit of revenge']. On the latter see Manning (2012).

¹⁹On the sandal throwing see below, n. 33.

a doll-like image of Charilla is brought thither. When, accordingly, all have received a portion, the king strikes the image with his sandal. The leader of the Thyads picks up the image and bears it to a certain place which is full of chasms; there they tie a rope round the neck of the image and bury it in the place where they buried Charilla after she had hanged herself. (Babbitt 1936: 184–9)

Here Charilla and the others are indeed ‘at the king’s gates’ (if translating very literally),²⁰ but they are not starving voluntarily, nor does Charilla *threaten* suicide.

A better example of coercion by threat of suicide is attested in 1877 among the Turkic-speaking Chuvashians along the river Volga, who were prepared to hang themselves *in an enemy’s gateway*. And in nineteenth-century China, to quote E. V. Huc in 1854, it is ‘often the weak who make the strong and powerful tremble, by holding suspended over their heads the threat of suicide, and forcing them by that means to do them justice, spare them, and help them’ (*en Chine c’est le faible qui fait trembler le fort et le puissant, en tenant toujours suspendue sur sa tête la menace d’un suicide, et le forçant souvent, par ce moyen, à lui rendre justice, à le menager, à le secourir*). In China, Washburn Hopkins noted, ‘starvation to compel one to grant a desire’ was practised and ‘suicide (by knife) on the doorstep’ was ‘not infrequent’.²¹

The Turkic and Chinese parallels undermine a Proto-Indo-European explanation for the Irish, Welsh, Breton, Slavic, and Indian examples. The practices in question could have spread across Eurasia at various times and in various ways, not respecting linguistic boundaries. Or perhaps they arose independently. De Jubainville argued that the fasting in the Irish Laws was a recent introduction under Church influence. This was a step too far for Robinson, who first made the good point (cf. Binchy 1975: 26 n. 38) that the Laws used the word *troscad* for coercive fasting, not *ain(e)*, the loanword from Latin *ieiunium*, which was used for Christian fasting (contrast the Welsh and Breton material). Nevertheless, mentioning that ‘usages similar to the Irish and Indian exist in other parts of the world’, Robinson (1909: 583) concluded cautiously:

There is no reason for assuming any direct connection between Irish and Hindu fasting, or any contact between the Druids and the Brahmins; and M. d’Arbois de Jubainville is *doubtless right in denying that the customs go back to a common Indo-European legal institution* [*Cours de Littérature celtique* VIII, 222]. But it remains probable, after all, that they are both very ancient and

²⁰Cf. Liddell and Scott (1882: 687), s.v. θύρα: ‘from the Eastern custom of receiving petitions at the gate αἱ τοῦ βασιλέως θύραι became a phrase’. They translate ‘court’.

²¹Rimbaud (1877: 1031); Huc (1855: 283; 1854: 281); Gaidoz (1888a: cols 10–11); Hopkins (1900: 159 n. 2; my italics). In China, according to Jamieson et al. (1888: 50), ‘as everyone knows, there are various other means by which creditors can enforce payment of debts without having recourse to the authorities at all. They may [...] threaten to go and hang themselves if not paid, or they may go and quarter themselves on the family of the debtor, who do not venture to turn them out. To get rid of these annoyances or for fear of worse troubles, the debtor or his friends will pay or compromise or make some arrangement as soon as possible’. Cf. Gaidoz (1888c).

had their origin in the same general conceptions. These may well have been Indo-European, though they were not confined to any single branch of the human family. (my italics)

Even more cautiously, Thurneysen (1925: 275) supposed that a similar custom could have developed in Ireland and India from similar conditions, and warned against jumping to the conclusion that the creditor's fast was an early Indo-European institution.

Corresponding to the reckless urge to find an ancient common origin for coercive fasting, transmitted along with the Indo-European dialects, are attempts to trace the alleged institution down to the twentieth century. In 1977 Kathleen Hughes stated that 'Hunger-striking in [modern] Ireland has its origins in an ancient ritual'.²² Then in 1995 Calvert Watkins, citing Louis Gernet – who was in fact quite agnostic (Gernet 1982: 80) – and quoting a banal passage in Euripides (*Iphigenia in Tauris*, 973–4), where Orestes fasts before Phoebus' shrine and swears to die if the god does not save him (cf. Delcourt 1939: 166), claimed that this 'legal institution' is 'of Indo-European provenience and, as well as in Greece, is attested in India from the Dharmasūtras to Mahātma Gandhi and in Ireland from the *Senchas Mār* to Bobbie [*sic*] Sands' (Watkins 1995: 395). This ancient lineage may look plausible at first glance, but it is contradicted by persuasive documentation that the initial models for Gandhi's fasts and for Irish Republican fasts, when both began in 1913, were the fasts by Russian-inspired suffragettes, first in England from 1909 and then, from 1912, in Ireland; native Indian and Irish precedents were found only retrospectively (Grant 2006, 2011, and 2019: 8–9; Vernon 2007: 43–4 and 60–80). It seems clear, despite Hughes and Watkins, that there was no continuous, indigenous Irish tradition of hunger striking, although some suffragettes *may* have had some indirect awareness of the material that first appeared in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland* in 1865, as argued by Joseph Lennon (2007, cf. Lennon 2004: 199–203).²³ Lennon (2017: 62) is certainly unjustified in claiming that 'the custom of fasting on someone was practised when the Brehon laws were in use, as late as the early seventeenth century and at least as early as St. Patrick's time'. Binchy's better informed impression was that it was 'already obsolete by the ninth century and that the later glossators and commentators, who have so much to say about it, were ignorant of its true nature and purpose' (Binchy 1975: 24).

Real, documented history is messier than the 'asterisk reality' of those who assume that institutions follow the same trajectories as languages.

²²Hughes (1977: 15). Cf. Kelly (1988: 182 n. 29): 'The use of fasting for political purposes – "the hunger strike" – is distinct from legal fasting, though its ultimate purpose is the same, i.e. to exert moral pressure on a more powerful adversary'. Note that Kelly does not connect legal fasting in ancient Ireland, India, and modern Nepal with hunger striking. Neither did Binchy, unlike Hughes and Watkins.

²³Cf. Pachet (1996: 108); Nemec (2017: 58); Bansat-Boudon (2023: 251–3). It is generally agreed that the unrevised first version of Yeats's *The King's Threshold* (1904) is unlikely to have inspired the hunger strikes: Bradley (2009); Petrizzo (2024).

3. PEDERASTY: A PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN INSTITUTION IN IRELAND?

Was male pederasty an accepted institution in early medieval Ireland, as recently maintained by Kim McCone (2023: 172–3)?

As an institution, male pederasty has been connected especially with militaristic societies and/or with initiatory rites (Bremmer 1980). Jan Bremmer (1980) and Bernard Sergent (1996), among others, have proposed, controversially, that pederasty was an element in Proto-Indo-European initiation rites and lasted long enough to be recorded by classical writers in their accounts of some Indo-European-speaking peoples.

Since such rites are attested far outside Eurasia (Bremmer 1980: 279–81, 292; Sergent 1996: 56–66, 341, 544–7), one may wonder whether those attested among speakers of Indo-European languages were really inherited from a remote Proto-Indo-European antiquity, as proposed by Bremmer and Sergent, rather than having arisen independently from time to time among various groups who happened to speak Indo-European languages. Bremmer, however, followed by Sergent (1996: 16–26, 308, 337–8, 477–88, 498, and 543), stressed a particular similarity – a hunting context – between the initiation rites attributed to the Greeks of Crete, as described retrospectively by Strabo (10.4.21), and the Germanic (or Sarmatian?) Taifali, as described, even more retrospectively, by Ammianus Marcellinus (31.9.5). Such slender correspondences led both scholars to label the relevant rites as ‘Indo-European’ and even, in Sergent’s case, as ‘Neolithic’ (Sergent 1996: 49). An apparent obstacle (as with ‘the creditor’s fast’) is the slight evidence for the institution among the majority of Indo-European-speaking peoples. Sergent gets round this by suggesting that it was suppressed by influential religious figures (cf. Demoule 2025: 412). For him, the absence of evidence for it in early Ireland is due, ‘sans doute’, to the power of the druids (Sergent 1996: 559). McCone (2023: 172–3), however, now argues that the institution survived from the Common Celtic period into Christian times and even that it was condoned by early Irish jurists (see below).

Aristotle refers to homosexuality among the Celts (*Politics*, 2.9.1269b), as do Diodorus Siculus (5.32.7), Strabo (4.4.6), and Athenaeus (13.79), all three arguably following Posidonius.²⁴ Athenaeus specifically refers to Gaulish pederasts sleeping on the ground on animal skins between two catamites (Freeman 1996: 30–1). Although Sergent (1996: 65 n. 27, 87 n. 27, 339, 505–12, 543, 628, and 634) and McCone (2023: 171–2) accept these accounts at face value, other commentators dismiss all or some of them as ‘projection’ on the part of the Greek commentators (on such ‘projection’ see Sergent 1996: 19–20, 474, 497, 520, and 552). Bremmer (1980: 288) is sceptical, at least about the report in Athenaeus, calling it ‘a typically Greek dream-wish’ and possibly ‘just one of those features ascribed by the Greeks to the *Randvölker* to contrast them unfavourably with themselves’ – adding that ‘Early Irish and Welsh

²⁴As noted by Sheehan (2009: 58 n. 16), there is disagreement over whether they followed Posidonius.

literature has no mention of the practice at all'.²⁵ For Welsh literature Bremmer quotes a communication from Brinley Rees. So far as Ireland is concerned, Sergent at first agreed (see above on the supposed druidic suppression), but later suggested that 'In Mac Óc' corresponded to Ganymede, and detected a pederastic initiation behind the Welsh story of Pwyll and Arawn in the *First Branch of the Mabinogi* (Sergent 1996: 649–50 [addenda]), a story which in fact celebrates heterosexual chastity (Hemming 1996).²⁶

The figure of 'two' catamites, only found in Athenaeus, is significant for Sergent (1996: 510) and McCone (2023: 172), who both speculate about a connection with the Gaulish military practice of *tri-markisia*, 'three-horseness', by which a horseman was accompanied, and if necessary replaced, by two assistants (Pausanias 10.19.10–11). The only detail that might suggest the hypothetical Proto-Indo-European initiation rite is the reference to animal skins by Diodorus and Athenaeus (Sergent 1996: 510). These skins need not be the result of hunting, however. It has to be remembered that barbarous Celts sitting or lying on the ground on skins or leaves was a Greek topos (Maier 1996: 86; Sims-Williams 2012: 21).

McCone's theory (2023: 172–3) that an Old Irish institution of pederasty can be traced back to Proto-Indo-European society, via the ancient Celtic homosexuality mentioned by Greek writers, has two parts. The first part is the etymology of Old Irish *macc coím*, 'boy, young man', also current in Middle Welsh as a loanword from Irish: *macwyf*, later *macwy*. *Coím*, like its Welsh cognate *cu*, can denote familial relationships – grandparents in South Wales are *tad-cu* and *mam-gu*. It probably comes from the PIE root **k'ei-* 'to lie down', as in English *home* and German *heim*, and, with a different suffix, English *hide* 'land sufficient for a family settlement' (see Charles-Edwards 1972). McCone assigns to Celtic **koi-mo-* a 'basic sense "lying, bedmate"'. This seems reasonable, unless 'bedmate' is supposed to have its specifically sexual modern sense. Until very recently, extended families always slept together, as did total strangers in inns, sometimes several in a bed. Beds were shared whenever beds were scarce – the Three Magi, for example, in Gislebertus' sculpture in Autun Cathedral and elsewhere (Cohen 2021). In the Bible, no one suspects a sexual undertone in the verses 'Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed' or 'I tell you, in that night there shall be two men in one bed; the one shall be taken, and the other shall be left' (Luke 11.7 and 17.34). McCone, however, speculates that Proto-Celtic **mak^wos koimos* 'would have been an apposite term for an aristocratic knight's [...] young male acolyte and, at least when on campaign [...], bedmate' (2023: 172). This sits uneasily with the Würzburg glosses where *maicc cóima* are *electi Dei*,

²⁵However, Busse (2003), Sheehan (2009), and McKibben (2013), among others, have investigated possible suppressed homoerotic traditions in Welsh and Irish literature. Some of this material is difficult to assess, but see now Ó Corráin (2025). Whether love between heroes in epics has a sexual element is often unclear. On Achilles and Patroclus the ancient Greeks, like modern commentators, disagreed among themselves, for example Plato, *Symposium*, 179e–180b (sexual), versus Xenophon, *Symposium*, 8.31 (non-sexual). See Sergent (1996: 287–98).

²⁶See also Sergent's speculative interpretation (1996: 512–16) of the story of Gwydion and Gilfaethwy in the Fourth Branch.

sancti et dilecti (Wb. 27b16, Colossians 3.12) and *cóim* is applied to God the Son in relation to God the Father (Wb. 4b12, Romans 8.32).

The second part of McCone's theory is that the sexual institution is condoned in the Old Irish laws. Heptad LII permits a woman to divorce her husband if her bed is spurned and 'he prefers spending the night with boys' (glossed: *beth a nænleabaid risna gilliu*, 'being in one bed with the boys') – *MANA BE DEITHBIR DO*.²⁷ According to McCone (2023: 173), this exception, which he translates 'unless it be proper for him', acknowledges that pederasty was appropriate under certain circumstances, for instance, when absent on a military expedition.

Gildas – 'a Father of the Church' for the Irish (Sharpe: 1984) – seems to deplore sodomy in connection with the British kings Constantinus and Maglocunus (*De Excidio Britanniae*, 28.4 and 33.1),²⁸ and the Irish Penitentials clearly condemn same-sex relations.²⁹ According to McCone himself, the Laws were of likely clerical authorship and transmission,³⁰ so the idea that, contrary the Penitentials, they condoned pederasty in any circumstances is *prima facie* unlikely. It is far more likely that the clause *mana bē deithbir dō* refers to occasions when religion prohibited a husband from sleeping with his wife. According to the *Penitential of Finnian*, for example, married couples were to abstain for 120 days a year, plus either Sunday or Saturday night, also while the wife was pregnant (§46). Moreover, if either had committed fornication, they must fast for a year 'and shall not remain in the same bed': *nec in uno lecto maneant* (Bieler 1963: 90–3, §42(S)). Again, according to the 'Monastery of Tallaght', a layman under spiritual direction should keep from his wife during her monthly periods and on Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday night – plus Sunday night 'if he can' (Gwynn and Purton 1911: 132 and 145–6 (§§14 and 50); cf. Breatnach 2008: 27). On such occasions, it would obviously be 'justifiable' for a husband to avoid the temptations of the marital bed and move in with the youths of the house. Spare bedrooms are a modern luxury. The point of the legal exception is probably to prevent a wife from exploiting such occasions as a pretext for divorce on the grounds of homosexuality.

Pederasty as an early Irish institution is a fantasy.

²⁷ CIH i 48.5–11 (*BEAN DOGUIDTAR* [Binchy (1950) favours *diguathar* with MS H 3.18; cf. CIH iii 906.16–17] *CAEMDA COMBI FERR LAIS FEIS LA GILLIU MANA BE DEITHBIR DO*), and variant text at CIH v 1848.25–8; *AL* v 292–5; on the passage see Binchy 1950: 150–1, and *eDIL* s.vv. 2 *cáemdae*, *dogaítha*, and 2 *do-goa*. Liam Breatnach (p.c.) suggested to me that *mana bē deithbir dō*, with the substantive verb, as McCone takes it, might better be translated 'unless there is a good reason for him' (or even 'for it').

²⁸ Implausibly, Sergeant (1996: 519 and 647) suggests that Gildas knew about the kings' sodomy in connection with some initiation ritual. In fact Gildas's 'of the vine of Sodom' (*de vite Sodomorum*, *de Sodomitana vite*) may well refer to their wickedness more generally, as in the source of the phrase, Deuteronomy 32.32. For the Church Fathers' understanding of this verse see *Corpus Corporum* (Universität Zürich), Browser, Full-text search, s.n. *Sodomorum* <mlat.uzh.ch>.

²⁹ Gwynn (1914: 144 (§25) and 179); Bieler (1963: 114–15, 128–9, 264, and 275 n. 10). Cf. Bhreathnach (2024: 164, 242–3 and 253). The penalisation of same-sex activities indicates that they sometimes occurred (as in every other part of the world), not that they were condoned.

³⁰ McCone (1984: 47), referring to *Críth Gablach* (Binchy 1941: 6, ll. 144–5) on abstinence.

CONCLUSION

Why do gifted Celtic philologists fall into the errors illustrated above? One reason is the assumption that cultures follow the same trajectory as languages (see above). A second is the Primitivist assumption that the Celtic-speaking peoples can and should be presented ‘in history as one people, with a common tradition and a common character’ (Schmidt 1986: 18 and 21, quoting Dillon and Chadwick 1967: 12). Few would now propose that for modern Germanic-speaking peoples (cf. Friedrich and Harland 2021), so why should modern Celtic-speakers wish or allow themselves to be subjected to such generalisations (cf. Haycock 1987–8)? A third is a notion that the long-term preservation of ancient traditions is prestigious. In the past, descent from the ancient Celts has indeed been seen in that light; in 1588 the Dutch scholar Hadrianus Junius observed that

the ambiguous term ‘Celts’ has entangled German as well as French scholars in an ongoing heated debate. Both groups are determined to lay claim to the Celts, because one reads about their glorious achievements from time immemorial.

(Van Hal 2013–14: 220)

Prestige is not a scientific motive for merging evidence from disparate regions and millennia, and in any case, any modern romantics who still glory in the ancient Celtic attacks on Rome and Delphi are less likely to be enthusiastic about bestiality, horse-sacrifice, pederasty, decapitations, and the rest of the freak-show orchestrated by hostile ancient and medieval outsiders.

A fourth reason for error is an often unthinking assumption that Celtic-speakers in Ireland, Britain, and Brittany *must* have inherited their cultures as well as their languages from the documented ancient Celts of the Continent, distant though these are in space and time (cf. Sims-Williams 2012). Whether that is probable, however, depends, among many other variables, on the numbers of Celtic-speakers who crossed to Britain and Ireland and the date or dates at which they did so. If, for instance, the majority of them immigrated around the beginning of the first millennium BC (cf. Sims-Williams 2020; Patterson et al. 2022; Sims-Williams 2025; Cassidy et al. 2025), they may have been assimilated into pre-existing Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures, without bringing with them the Iron Age customs described towards the end of the millennium by Posidonius and other Continental observers. In other words, what McCone (1996: 92) has called the ‘cultural inheritance that Ireland’s Celtic invaders managed to preserve (and indeed spread throughout the island!)’ may have differed a great deal from what Posidonius found in Gaul. To prove otherwise, convincingly striking parallels are needed. In 2008 McCone instanced head hunting in the Ulster cycle and in Diodorus, Polybius, and other classical writers as sufficient illustration, concluding that

It would surely be quite perverse to deny a connection between these remarkably similar Gaulish and Irish practices, which

would thus appear to continue an older Celtic custom virtually unchanged. (McCone 2008: 47)

He did not, however, refer to Bernhard Maier (2000: 12–14), who had published illustrations of Libyans and Berbers carrying heads, or hanging them from their saddles, nor to Elfriede Regina Knauer, who assembled a massive collection of such images from across Eurasia (2001, reprinted with additions in Knauer 2009: 289–331). Since then a vast amount of evidence for head hunting from all round the world has been assembled by Roure and Pernet (2011), Armit (2012), Boulestin and Gambier (2012), Quesada Sanz (2014), and others (cf. Sims-Williams 2012: 3–7). Bearing in mind that Herodotus (4.64) says that the Scythians practised head hunting and that Strabo (4.4.5) says that it was ‘inseparably connected with the northern tribes’ (Kidd 1999: 346), it is quite uncertain that Celtic-speakers first introduced head hunting to Ireland. It could be indigenous or it may have developed independently in the later Iron Age, possibly without any external impetus.

Insular Celtic-speaking society certainly shared some more distinctive features with Iron Age Gaul – druidry, attested in both (but not in Celtiberia or Cisalpine Gaul), comes to mind (cf. Vendryes 1997: 67) – but there is no reason to suppose that these arrived with the Celtic language, rather than through the later sort of contact described by Julius Caesar in the case of druidry (*Gallic War*, 6.13). When we have archaeological evidence, ‘Celtic religion’ turns out to be ‘dynamic, constantly adapting to the changing structure of society’ rather than ‘static’ (Haeussler and King 2007: 7). Therefore we have to allow for ideologies and rituals spreading among speakers of separate, even unrelated, languages (see, for example, Anderson 1999: 387; Thuillard et al. 2018; Egeler 2011: 479; Demoule 2025: 375–8).

A fifth and final reason why Celtic philologists have fallen into error is that they have tended, unintentionally, to skew cultural evidence in favour of Celtic continuity by confining their non-linguistic reading to Celtic or, at best, Indo-European source material.

An example, to add to those discussed above, is provided by Calvert Watkins’ treatment of the Welsh *Tri Eurgrydd*, ‘Three Golden Shoemakers’, with which this paper began. It is debated whether *eur-* in this triad (and in the triad of the *Tri Eurgelein*, ‘Three Golden Corpses’) means ‘gold’ literally or has its frequent figurative sense ‘fine, splendid, noble’, as argued by Bromwich (2014: 175 and 185–7; cf. Sims-Williams 2023: 206–7), and a further problem is whether *eur-* describes the shoemakers or the shoes which they made (cf. Gruffydd 1953: 85). Watkins (1994: 668–73) takes it to refer to golden shoes and, freely associating quite disparate material under a Celtic umbrella, links the twelfth-century (?) Welsh triad to the late medieval Irish motif of the inaugurated chief as ‘the man of the single [sometimes golden] shoe’ (citing O’Brien 1954),³¹ and to the pair of golden shoes excavated at the tumulus at Hochdorf, near Stuttgart.

³¹See further Mac Cana (1973) and Fitzpatrick (2004: 2, 6, 26, 29, and 122–9).

None of this material is distinctively Celtic. Hochdorf's Celticity depends on a dubious understanding of a problematic passage in Herodotus (Sims-Williams 2020: 515). Shoes were emblems of royalty outside the Celtic world, in India and Burma (Penzer 1924–28: ii, 264, and v, 175), and *golden sandals* appear in the story of Bharata and Rama in the *Ramayana*. The 'first intimation of the shoe as a ritual prop' in Ireland is a twelfth-century reference to the inauguration of the king of Leinster, and there the *comharba* of St Máedóc of Ferns receives 'one of the king's shoes full of *silver*' (Fitzpatrick 2004: 122, *my italics*). The motif of the *single* shoe takes us in a quite different direction from the *pair* of shoes at Hochdorf. In Greek myth, Jason is 'the man of the one shoe', and monosandalism, as it is called, 'plays a role in many rituals and superstitions' elsewhere, as noted by West (2007: 419 n. 30, citing Deonna 1935).³² Outside the Indo-European-speaking world, 'single shoe' motifs appear in the Old Testament (Deuteronomy 25.9 and Ruth 4.7–8)³³ and in Arabic custom and poetry (Burton 1879: ii, 197; Frazer 1911: 312; Killeen 1971: 204). Monosandalism was prohibited by Zoroastrianism and Islam (Shaked 2015: 493; Hirsch 2017: 39–40), which seems to imply that it occurred in forbidden rituals. Insofar as any common purpose can be found behind all its disparate manifestations, monosandalism seems to express liminality and transition (cf. Rogov 2018; Blundell 2019: 224; Chrétien 2019: 256; Smith 2019: 205–6). As such, it fits very well into the Irish royal inauguration ceremonies. These could have been invented independently in the later Middle Ages, or introduced from elsewhere, for there is no reason to *assume* that Gaelic customs are more ancient and less innovative than those of any other language group (cf. Dooley 2014: 261 n. 21; Stiùbhart 2014: 247).

Watkins' synthesis of Hochdorf, the Welsh *Tri Eurgrydd*, and Irish monosandalism under a selective Celtic heading is a philological construct with no real coherence. The sort of Celtic research exemplified by his study – assembling data from very disparate regions and millennia – is fascinating to read and was probably enjoyable to compile. It brings to mind M. L. West, comparing his own investigations of 'Indo-European poetry and myth' as a 'professional Hellenist', to 'roaming far and wide through unfamiliar landscapes, [...] a stranger in Paradise with a clipboard' (West 2007: v).

Do the contents of selective clipboards contribute to real knowledge about 'the Proto-Indo-Europeans' and 'the Celts' or are they no more than random holiday snapshots? Clipboards of counter-evidence from outside the Indo-European-speaking world would be a useful corrective and might be equally enjoyable to compile.³⁴

³²See also Carboni (2013); Blundell (2019); Chrétien (2019); Smith (2019); Schroeder (2023). Monosandalists are depicted in the Romanesque Porte Miègeville of the cathedral of Saint-Sernin, in Toulouse.

³³Cf. Reinach (1932); Deroy (1961); Carmichael (1977). Gernet (1982: 81 n. 235) compares Ruth with the Charilla story quoted above.

³⁴For helpful comments I am grateful to Liam Breatnach, Herve Le Bihan, Ruairi Ó hUiginn, and an anonymous reviewer.

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FROM ATLAS AND HADES TO PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR AND THE
IRISH *LEBOR GABÁLA*: ON POSSIBLE HELLENO-CELTIC THEONYMIC
CORRESPONDENCES

ABSTRACT

In this paper I undertake a detailed study of the ‘Great Inscription’ from the Celtiberian sanctuary of Peñalba de Villastar, an open-air rock epigraphic text written around the turn of the era and discovered more than a hundred years ago (1908). The inscription, seven lines in the Celtiberian language, is written in the Latin alphabet. It seems to mention pan-Celtic Lug twice, along with other possible divinities. I propose some changes in the reading and interpretation of the text and suggest possible divine and theonymic connections both with Greek chthonic deities (Atlas, Telamon, Hades and Persephone) on the one hand, and, on the other, with Tailtiu, the mother of Lug and wife of Eochaid mac Eirc, last High King (*Ard Rí*) of the Fír Bolg, according to the *Lebor Gabála*.

1. THE CELTIBERIAN SANCTUARY OF PEÑALBA DE VILLASTAR

THE OPEN-AIR ROCK SANCTUARY of Peñalba de Villastar, in the south of the Spanish province of Teruel,¹ was discovered by Cabré in 1908, on an imposing cliff on the south-eastern border of what was once Celtiberian territory. It is set at an altitude of more than 1,000 metres above sea level and stretches over 1.5 km. The sanctuary is located at the highest point and dominates the access to the gorge of Vilella, on the upper course of the river Turia, the main access to central Spain from the Mediterranean coast.² All the inscriptions and engravings are carved on a cliff 20 m high that crowns the highest part of the mountain. Starting with the discoverer of the site himself, Cabré, a process of extraction of the most significant pieces soon began. Thus, the rock, a soft limestone, has been subjected to different extractions over the years. The idea was to preserve the most important pieces, but, in some unfortunate cases, today we only have photographs or drawings, as some of the pieces removed have since disappeared.³

¹Peñalba (‘White Rock’ in Spanish) is located in the municipality of Villastar, a village of 500 inhabitants, located 3 km to the NE of Peñalba. Teruel, the provincial capital, is 6 km further.

²In fact, this place is still today very close to the border between the provinces of Valencia (in ancient times of Iberian language and culture), on the one hand, and Teruel and Cuenca, of Celtiberian language and culture in ancient times, on the other. The closest point in the province of Valencia is 13 km away as the crow flies, while the closest point in the province of Cuenca is 25 km away.

³Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing exactly how much has been lost. In her extensive and meticulous doctoral dissertation, published as a book in 2009, Silvia Alfayé devoted a specific

We can identify there today more than 30 inscriptions, both in Palaeohispanic and Latin scripts. 19 of them (Beltrán et al. 2021: 142–51), dated between the end of the first century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE, use the Latin alphabet to write Celtiberian texts. But they are not alone. Apart from a handful of inscriptions in Iberian writing and perhaps Iberian language (see however Jordán 2019: 807) and different engravings, there are also a few inscriptions in Latin (around a dozen found so far).

Apart from animals (horses, deer or birds) Cabré soon identified an engraving with a figure which he associated with Hercules, but which would be linked to Lug by Marco Simón (1986: 749–50), although some years later he was not convinced (cf. Alfayé 2009: 97). The long arms to the left and right reminded him of the common epithet of Lug in Irish literature: Lug the Long-Armed (*Lámfada*). Be this as it may, it constitutes in any case a plausible, albeit secondary, indication of the presence of a Lug cult at the site.

Something similar could be said of another engraving, in this case unfortunately lost (we only have the drawing in figure 1), in which Marco Simón tentatively suggested that we could have a two-headed Lug, which would direct us to other hypothetical (but of course uncertain) representations of Lug, such as the peculiar collection of three-headed bas-relief sculptures of gods from Reims (Terrisse 1999), or the triple Corleck Head from Co. Cavan, in Ireland.⁴



Figure 1. A two-headed Lug?



Figure 2. Gaulish Cernunnos

However, following the discovery in Peñalba de Villastar some years later (Beltrán, Jordán and Marco Simón: 2005) of two Latin inscriptions mentioning a new divinity (*Deo Cordono* or *Cornuto Cordono*), Marco Simón now prefers

chapter of more than 30 pages (89–123) just to describing the state of this site, as well as to commenting on all the inscriptions and engravings found there over the decades.

⁴This Iron Age stone idol (precise dating is difficult, cf. Gleeson (2022: 20), but it may be first or second century CE), was found in Northern Ireland in 1855 at a site whose modern name is *Sliabh na Trí nDée* (the ‘Hill of the Three Gods’), see MacKillop (1998: 104). This place, from the early Christian period onwards at least, was associated with the Lughnasad celebrations, something which evidently does not prove that the authors of the statue several centuries earlier did in fact have Lug in particular in mind.

to relate this drawing⁵ to this new god, whom he and his team of course link (2005: 938) with the Gaulish Cernunnos.⁶

I believe, in any case, that the possible presence of a cult to a god comparable to Gaulish *Cernunnos* (figure 2) is not incompatible with the presence in the same sanctuary of a cult to Lug. Our Celtiberian pair of *Cornutus Cordonus* and *Lugus* may well have been two associated gods in their pantheon, as is not uncommon in other Celtic or Indo-European religions in general. Indeed, the plural *Lugoves* may refer to a pair of deities, as well as the two-headed image, perhaps with two names.⁷

2. 'THE GREAT INSCRIPTION'



Figure 3. 'Great Inscription' from Peñalba de Villastar

Of the 19 Celtiberian-language inscriptions of this sanctuary,⁸ all but one are formulaic and rather short.⁹ The exception is the so-called 'Great Inscription' (17 × 42 cm), which was situated at ground level (Beltrán – Jordán 2019: 270).

⁵Marco Simón (1986: 750–1, fig. 1) had previously suggested that the bicephaly in Cabré's drawing might refer to a duplication of the deity (linking it to the plural *Lugoves*) by succession (mature god/young god). In their later paper Beltrán, Jordán and Marco Simón himself do not explore the link of this god with Lug. In fact, they refer to the image known as 'Candelario's Janus', from Candelario (Salamanca), of which Marco Simón had stated a few years before (1997) that it belongs in a group 'inadequately interpreted as an expression of the Celtic Lug', with examples in different points of Hispania and other regions of the Celtic world, linking them, explicitly, with 'Cernunnos-type divinities'. The English (horned) ghost *Herne the Hunter*, known from Shakespeare's 1597 play *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, might be another cognate example, if not a modern made-up character.

⁶There are images of horned gods in different parts of Hispania, and elsewhere, but the authors highlight a Gaulish inscription dedicated to *Iovi Corn[uto]* or *Corn[iger]*, in a significant Roman *interpretatio* of a Gaulish deity.

⁷One could maybe think of the relationship of father and son or of the death and reincarnation of Lug and Cú Chulainn as a remote parallel.

⁸They have recently been collected, reproduced, edited and commented on (Beltrán, Jordán, Díaz and Simón 2021: 139–51).

⁹They reproduce, typically, personal names of, very likely, the attendees to the sanctuary (Beltrán, Jordán and Marco Simón 2005; Beltrán and Jordán 2019: 270).

Now kept in the Archaeological Museum of Catalonia in Barcelona,¹⁰ this inscription apparently links the place to a cult of Lug. Although, as we shall now see, there is no unanimity on this, for me, Lug does play a leading role in the text and is mentioned twice.

Interpreting this text, written around the turn of the era (cf. Marco Simón – Alfayé 2008: 521), is certainly a humbling experience for linguists. As Javier de Hoz eloquently expressed thirty years ago about his own analysis (1995: 22) of the inscription, ‘of course all these are mere possibilities which do not contradict either the grammar of Celtic languages or the parallels in inscriptions of the same type, but as long as they are forms not attested in other contexts, and therefore uncontrollable, they lack any value as serious attempts at interpretation’ (my translation). Although it has been known for over a century and has been the subject of specific studies by many scholars over the decades, few specific points have been widely agreed upon. This reflects the extent to which our knowledge of the Celtiberian language is limited and distorted by the fact that most of our texts are onomastic in nature. We are acquainted with the Hispano-Celtic naming systems and so we can identify place names, family groups, individuals and occasionally divinities. But when the text ceases to be formulaic and we move away from known structural patterns, we can only resort to etymological approaches on the basis of the reconstructed ancient Celtic lexicon and Proto-Indo-European grammar. The results are that we are unable to understand the text: if each author sees it so differently, it is virtually impossible to know who is right, if anyone (cf. Jordán’s cautious words (2019: 21), or Meid’s (2014: 12), speaking about Gaulish texts).

I cannot discuss at length all the proposals published to date, but I will point out which of those that I will offer now follow the hypotheses of other authors, which ones are totally new, and which are the most significant discrepancies and coincidences overall. I have taken into consideration the studies (in chronological order) of Cabré (1910), Lejeune (1955), Tovar (1955–6, 1959, 1973), Untermann (1977 and *MLH* IV), Schwertck (1979), Ködderitzsch (1985, 1996), Olmsted (1988, 1991), Eska (1990, 2006), Villar (1991), Meid (1993–5, 1994, 1996), Prósper (1994/5, 2002, 2022), De Hoz (1995), De Bernardo (2000, 2001, 2008), Jordán (2005, 2015, 2019: 878–99), and Koch and Fernández Palacios (2017).

3. THE TEXT

We will start from a transcription that is currently more or less consensual:¹¹

¹⁰I am very grateful to the curator of the Museu d’Arqueologia de Catalunya (Núria Molist) and its director (Jusèp Boya) for authorising the inspection of the inscription, as well as to Joan Ferrer i Jané for providing me with high-resolution photographs.

¹¹Evidently, some of the discrepancies in the respective analyses of the different authors have to do with their different readings from the start. A systematic critical apparatus, with all the readings suggested over the decades by different authors can be found in Jordán (2019: 879–80). Here I will only refer to particularly significant discrepancies.

ENIOROŠEI¹²
 VTA TIGINO¹³ TIATVNEI¹⁴
 TRECAIAS¹⁵ TO LVGVEI
 ARAIANOM ÇOMEIMV
 ENIOROŠEI EQVOISVIQVE¹⁶
 OGRIS OLOCAS TOGIAS¹⁷ SISTAT LVGVEI TIATO¹⁸
 TO+TAS¹⁹

All scholars have recognised two parallel sections, separated by the space roughly equivalent to half an additional line: lines 1–4 vs 5–7. Both sections begin with the same word, ENIOROŠEI. In both sections we read a dative singular LVGVEI, the first time preceded by TO, to be equated with the preverb *to* of Old Irish (see Stifter 2014). However, identifying the verb or verbs and the subject or subjects has proven more difficult.

LVGVEI takes us directly to the most pressing question surrounding this text: Is Lug worshipped here or not? Is this a possible testimony of a festival to be compared to the Irish *Lugnasad*?²⁰

ENIOROŠEI. Villar suggested reading this first line as a sequence of the Celtiberian preposition *eni* (< **h₁eni*), followed by the dative of an *i*-stem toponym. De Hoz, De Bernardo and Prósper supported this as the best explanation, and that was my own opinion over the years. That OROSEI, as it was read at the time, was the dative of a toponym could, in fact, be even more plausible considering that coins have appeared not far from Villastar²¹ on which, in Celtiberian Palaeohispanic writing, one can read **orosiz** [A. 86].²²

¹²I follow Tovar (1955–6: 161) in marking with a dot below the letters that are no longer visible today but were recognisable when the inscription was first discovered. See the discussion below concerning what I reproduce here as Š (this special S, with a diacritic, also appears in lines 3 and 5).

¹³Meid (1993–5: 348 and 1994: 32) reads TICINO.

¹⁴Gómez Moreno (1942: 13; 1949: 208), Schmoll (1959: 27), Untermann (1983: 121; *MLH* IV, 624), Lejeune (1955: 8), De Hoz (1995:18), Jordán (2007: 850) or De Bernardo (2008: 187) read TIATVMEI. Tovar (1955–6: 161) preferred to read TIATVNEI, though, the same as Meid (TIATVNEI, 1993–5: 348). Prósper (2002: 213) also prefers TIATVNEI. Jordán reads T+ATVNEI in 2019: 879.

¹⁵Gómez Moreno (1942: 13; 1949: 208), Lejeune (1955: 8), Schmoll (1959: 27) and Jordán (2007: 850) read ERECAIAS.

¹⁶Gómez Moreno (1942: 13) read EQVEIS · VIQVE, while Lejeune (1955: 8) and Jordán (2019: 879) read EQVEISVIQVE. Untermann (*MLH* IV, 624) and *BDHesperia* [TE.17.03] preferred EQVOIS-VIQVE, which is also my reading.

¹⁷Gómez Moreno (1942: 13) read TO · OIAS; Untermann (*MLH* IV, 624) and *BDHesperia* [TE.17.03] read TO · GIAS.

¹⁸Many authors read TIASO or TIASO: Gómez Moreno (1942), Tovar (1955–6), Schmoll (1959), Meid (1993–5 and 1994), Lejeune (1955), Jordán (2007), Untermann (1983; *MLH*) or *BDHesperia*. Jordán (2019: 880) reads TIATO. See below for my view in more detail, however.

¹⁹Many authors read TOGIAS: Gómez Moreno (1942; 1949), Lejeune (1955), Tovar (1955–6), Schmoll (1959), Untermann (1983), Meid (1993–5 and 1994), Jordán 2007, *BDHesperia* or *MLH* (more precisely, in this last case, TOGIAS). Jordán (2019: 879) reads T++TAS. See below for my suggested reading.

²⁰Marco Simón (1986); Alfayé and Marco Simón (2008: 285).

²¹The city which minted the coins has not been identified.

²²Apparently, the ablative case of the same toponym: /orosio/.

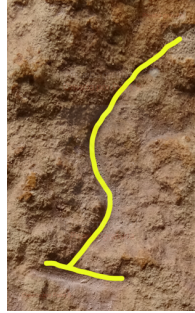


Figure 4. Ṣ̌ in ENIOROŠEI (line 1)

Figure 5. Ṣ̌ in ENIOROŠEI (line 5)

However, Carlos Jordán, who in recent years has detected that Celtiberian inscriptions in the Latin alphabet use a specific diacritic to represent different fricatives or affricates of the indigenous language, has discovered that the S of what was read at the time as ENIOROSEI does have this diacritic (a small horizontal stroke at the base),²³ so that the correspondence with the form **orosiz** in Palaeo-Hispanic writing would be lost, since we would expect it to be ****oroziz**, which is not attested. We would then have to reflect the presence of the diacritic in our transliterations. The method I have adopted is that of Jordan (2015 and 2019), so I transliterate this word as ENIOROŠEI. This procedure seems to have been more successful to date than Stifter's (2022) recently suggested transliteration with Š, although this idea reflects more closely the Celtiberian diacritic on the Latin letter S. One more option we see in Prósper, who, for her part, in the same year (2022) proposed transliterating it with what she calls 'barred <S>', with the idea of relating it to similar graphic phenomena known in Gaul.

It is possible, nevertheless, that ENIOROŠEI has a local sense somehow, even if it is not certain that it is a place name. Considering the characteristics of the location of the sanctuary and the cultic significance of the fact that these ceremonies were held at such heights (cf. the Lughnasad festivals held on high hills),²⁴ I am tempted to think that the local sense I am referring to could be the very location of the sanctuary on a mountain top.

Meid was the first (1993–5 and 1994), I believe, to relate this word to the Greek ὄρος, 'mountain'. The Indo-European pedigree of the term and whether it is attested in Celtic do not look very clear from the outset, although some Celtic cognates seem to exist. ὄρος in Greek is an *s*-stem verbal noun (meaning originally something like 'elevation') derived from the root **h₃er-* ('to rise, spring, stir') (IEW 326–8; LIV 299–301; Beekes 2010: 1109–10),²⁵ which is also

²³Figures 4 and 5 show this stroke. Less clearly in figure 5, but obviously there.

²⁴As MacKillop (1998: 274) puts it, 'Lughnasa and its counterparts provided a time for *horse-racing, horse-swimming*, and games of hurling. *Celebrants might enjoy climbing to the tops of nearby hills*, both to pray and to gather bilberries.' (My italics). Cf. MacNeill (1962: 79) or de Cléir (2017: 67 and 2022: 43).

²⁵The root is also attested in Sanskrit (*ṛṣvā*), 'rising up, high'.

the origin of the verb ὀρνυμι ('I rise'). The personal name Ὀρέστης literally means 'mountain man, highlander', perhaps from ὄρος followed by ἵστημι ('to stand') and -ης, a well-known anthroponymic formant suffix, etymologically meaning, therefore, 'he who stands on a mountain'. In fact, Thucydides (II, 80, 6) mentions an Epeirotic ethnic group called Ὀρέσται ('Highlanders').

Besides this, several Indo-European language families, such as Greek (ὄρρος), but also Germanic, Armenian, Hittite and, significantly, Celtic, have words meaning 'rump, tail, ass', which are often considered to be derived from a root with a laryngeal of a different quality: **h₁ers-*, **h₁ors-* (cf. *IEW* 336–7; *LIV* 241). This second formation is the one with which Old Irish *err* 'tail' (< **h₁ers-os*) seems to fit more easily. Beekes (2010: 1110) points out that this form is 'identical with the Germanic group of OHG *ars*, MoE *arse*, Arm. *or̄*, plur. *or̄-k* ('i-stem), and Hitt. *arra-* 'id', all pointing to IE **Hors-o-*, **Hors-i-*'. As for the precise colour of the laryngeal, Beekes suggests that the *e* in Old Irish *err* could be due, as he puts it, to "a secondary development" (2010: 1110), something, however, that he does not justify more thoroughly. If this idea is correct, he believes that *err* could be understood 'as enlargement of an s-stem **h₃er-(o)s-*' (on this formation see Stüber 2015: 105–7).

One of the main difficulties in situations like this, to be honest, when trying to determine the colour of a laryngeal in specific Indo-European roots or proto-languages, is that the phonetic results of the *o*-grade of **h₁e* and both the *e* and *o*-grades of **h₃e* coincide, appearing as **o* in many Indo-European languages, such as Celtic (Zair 2012: 19–20).

In sum, whether or not narrowly linked to Old Irish *err*, Celtiberian ENI-OROŠEI could perhaps derive from **h₃er-(o)s-* like Greek ὄρος. In any case, this is something not to be certain about, in my opinion.

The dative singular of both a full *e* or an *o*-grade formation of this root (**h₃er-* / **h₃or-*), suffixed with **(o)s-* as the Greek noun, could well be OROŠEI in Celtiberian, provided that in writing Š the Celtiberian author of the inscription was trying to reproduce a fricative sound susceptible to being represented with this letter (/z/?). We would have no way of knowing whether this would be the dative of an *s*-stem (like in Greek), an *i*-stem (like the ablative **orosiz** [A. 86] would suggest) or even a dental stem (with lenition).²⁶ But perhaps surprisingly, Š does **not** serve, in this variety of the Latin alphabet used in the eastern part of the Celtiberian territory, to write *everything* that in the Celtiberian script was written with sigma: a secondarily voiced intervocalic sibilant (/s/ > /z/ between vowels) is written with sigma (and not san) in the Celtiberian Palaeohispanic script: **alizos** [IR18] or **alizokum** [T1.2.2] (< **aliso-* 'alder', cf. Jordán 2019: 116). In other words, the Š/S distribution in this version of the Latin alphabet does not correspond faithfully to the sigma/san distribution in Palaeohispanic writing. In this same inscription, without going any further, in line 5, we can see that for a simple sibilant between vowels, supposedly voiced as well, this alphabet does not use Š but S: EQVOISVIQVE. Therefore, it seems that for

²⁶It cannot be ruled out, even, that the **orosiz** forms of the coins in the area [A. 86] represent a dissimilation with another fricative, which is very close, at the end of the word (the ablative ending *ō* or rather *θ*).

the /z/ of **alizos** or **alizokum** this ‘adapted’ Latin alphabet does not use Š. Therefore, the phonetic reality of the Š of ENIOROŠEI cannot be /z/. If /z/ was a separate phoneme in Celtiberian at the time, it seems that Š was not the letter used to represent it. And, even if /s/ simply had a voiced allophone in that context (we could read **alizos** or **alizokum** as an attempt at reproducing this allophone), Š was not used to represent it either, contrary to the practice that we seem to witness in Celtiberian script.

At any rate, all this is far from clear. Jordán is of the opinion that Celtiberian Š was intended to depict a voiceless fricative development of *-d (> *-ð > *-θ) (2013; 2015: 75; 2019: 126–9 and 2022; cf. also Simón and Jordán 2018). Celtiberian fricatives and affricates, their relation to dental stops and possible indications of the state of lenition in Hispano-Celtic have given rise to much scholarly debate in recent decades, especially following the contributions of Villar (1993 and 1995), with different authors²⁷ expressing quite different opinions in detail, although with remarkable progress towards a consensus on some important issues. Jordán (2019: 116–34) provides a good summary in this regard, but a recent and detailed article by Prósper (2022), which addresses this particular issue and provides new insights, makes it clear how many challenges this question still entails.

I do not claim to have my own answer to all the problems detected in relation to this point of Celtiberian phonetics and phonology reflected in different writing systems, which, in any case, would take me too far away of the present discussion. But I can say, however, that the inclusion of this diacritic, this improvement, so to speak, of the Latin alphabet, must indeed represent a conscious attempt to reflect a significant phonological difference (cf. Prósper 2022: 1ff). If the use of san in the Celtiberian script was intended to represent inherited /s/ in initial and final position, as well as in syllabic onset after voiceless consonants, there is disagreement concerning the nature of the intervocalic sibilant: we find what *seems*²⁸ to be the same phoneme sometimes written with san (**soisum** < *toisōm), sometimes with sigma (**kabizeti** < *kabi-s-e-ti). As for sigma, its use is more complex, as it most probably represents more than one phoneme. It seems to have been used for the lenited result of *d* and *d^h* in intervocalic and final position, as well as for *t* in final position. At the same time, sigma seems to have been used for an affricate or fricative sound that was the result of *-t(i)i-* (cf. Prósper 2014) and sometimes (not regularly) *-ti-*. Villar (1995) added to this the voiced results, perhaps allophonic, perhaps phonemic, of /s/ in certain voiced contexts (cf. Prósper 2022: 2–3), although this is not clear.

Without venturing any specific etymology, Jordán believes this word is the dative of a theonym, the name of the god to whom the dedication is addressed. In his words: “d’après ce qui vient d’être dit, nous pouvons proposer pour ENIOROŠEI les phases antérieures suivantes: *eniorodei, *eniorotyei, *eniorontyey

²⁷Untermann (MLH IV and 1999); Meid (2000: 17–24 and 2001); McCone (2001: 485–6); De Bernardo (2001: 328–31 and 2007); Prósper (2007b, 2013–14 and 2022); De Hoz (2018).

²⁸Of course, alternative explanations could be given for these etymologies; the apparent hesitations in spelling may be only apparent. Cf. Prósper (2022: 3).

ou **eniorogyei*” (2015: 89). This may be so, in which case the etymology in relation to the concept of ‘mountain’ is obscured, although, of course, not entirely impossible.

Prósper (2022: 12), admitting that, in her view, ‘no plausible etymology has ever been proposed for this strange-looking form’, offers some new and interesting options, although, as is very common in these cases, it is difficult to be sure of any of them. Explaining that this is a dative form of an *s*-stem creates difficulties with the writing system. But considering it to be the locative case of an adjective (as Prósper (2022: 12) seems to imply),²⁹ in my opinion generates syntactic problems: a noun as part of a prepositional phrase headed by ENI could be credible, but with a preposition we would not expect a locative, as she in fact points out. In my view it would be difficult to understand the adjectival value of the word,³⁰ unless she means an adjectival *origin* of the word, with, perhaps, a toponymic value. In any case, I fail to understand why this form would occur in the locative case.

We must have before us a *dative* form,³¹ most likely, after all, of an *i*-stem,³² a name (theonym, epithet or epiclesis of a deity), very likely of adjectival origins, built most likely with a **-nt-* suffix: **eni-h₁or-ont-*i*ei_t*³³ (‘to the one on the mountain top’). We should assume, maybe, that the dative ending of *i*-stems was **-iei* after all (Jordan 2019: 178),³⁴ perhaps for analogical reasons.

Our **(h₁)eni-h₃er-ont-is*, thus created, of adjectival origin, would be the basis for a theonym, an epithet or an epiclesis of a deity. The dative case generates the context for the process of lenition which we see reproduced in the local Latin script as ENIOROŠEI. What parallels could be adduced for this? What could the etymological ‘meaning’ be?

- We could consider Proto-Celtic **eni-stī*, ‘island’ (Old Irish *inis*, Middle Welsh *ynys*, Old Breton *inis*, Cornish *enys*), from Proto-Indo-European

²⁹Since *-i-ei* can hardly be a dative form (*-i*-stems have a dative *-ei*), and a locative would need no preposition to express location, the underlying form may have been **eni-(*φ*)oro(n)t-*i*-*ei**, the thematic locative of an adjective derived from **(*φ*)or-ont-*. In turn, this would be the present participle of a denominative **por-e/o-* that survives in OHG. *faran* ‘travel’, which would constitute a remarkable Celto-Germanic innovation. Alternatively, it could be the agentive derivative of IE **poro-* ‘causeway, path’ → **poro-t-*, which looks amazingly similar to L. *interpres* ‘go-between’, a compounded agent noun **enter-pore-t-*, from a noun **poro-* (cf. Nussbaum 2016: 290).’

³⁰TIATVNEI would also have to be the locative form of another adjective (formally complicated to justify), but on which noun would both of them depend?

³¹The sequence ENIOROŠEI EQVOISVIQVE (line 5) forces us to see it this way. Both forms, joined by -QVE, can only be dative. The first is from the third declension and the second from the thematic declension.

³²*S*-stems or *t*-stems would not produce the phonetic context that could justify the form we see. For other theoretically possible formations, with a **-dyei* or **-gyey* ending, I fail to find convincing morphological explanations. And simply thinking of a formation with the suffix **i-os* would generate the insurmountable difficulty that the dative would be **i-VI*, as we see in this same inscription (EQVOISVI-QVE).

³³Actually one of the forms considered, although not discussed, by Jordán (2015: 89).

³⁴Rather than postulating, alternatively, a fricativising capacity of an **-ei* (not **-iei*) ending on the dental stop, even without the participation of a yod.

*(*h*₁)*eni-sth₂-ih₂*, literally ‘that which stands in’ (Matasović 2009: 116).³⁵

- We could also think of Proto-Celtic **eni-fedo-* ‘position, place’ (Matasović 2009: 116), from where Old Irish *ined*, derived from PIE *(*h*₁)*eni-pedo-*, from **pedo-* ‘track, footprint’ (IEW 790–2; LIV 458), just as Hittite *pedan* ‘place’, Latin *peda* ‘sole’ or Armenian *het* ‘footprint, track’.
- We could finally adduce a reconstructed Proto-Celtic **enīk^w-o-s*, ‘face’ (‘that on which eyes are located’), which seems to be behind Old Irish *enech*, Ogam *INEQA-GLAS*, Old Welsh and Old Breton *enep*, as well as Old Cornish *eneb*. The Proto-Indo-European form reconstructed at its base, **h*₁*eni-h₃k^w-o-/eh₂* (IEW 775ff.; LIV 297), ‘which is convincing both formally and semantically’ according to Zair (2012: 261),³⁶ would also explain Sanskrit *ānikam*. Greek ἐνὼπιή, a very close formation, with a very similar meaning (‘look, face’), seems to have been formed on the full grade, however (**h*₁*en(i)-h₃ek^w-*). As for Proto-Greek **enīk^wā* (> ἐνίπη ‘reproach, menace, threat’), it was derived in a very similar way, although, according to Beekes (2010: 427), from a different root: **h*₁*eni-h₂k^w-eh₂*. The ī in Greek ἐνίπη could be understood as the result of the expected compensatory lengthening of the -i- in *eni* after the loss of the laryngeal, perhaps *h*₂, according to Beekes. In any case, this root has no clear commonly accepted explanation. I wonder, however, whether we could also have here *h*₃ and not *h*₂, and thus a zero grade of the word for ‘eye’. The semantic development is not so difficult to grasp: ‘to be in one’s eye reach’ > ‘to be within sight’, ‘to keep an eye on’ > ‘to watch’ > ‘to look with suspicion’ > ‘to reproach’ > ‘to threaten’. This also seems to be Zair’s view (2012: 261).

Given these three parallels, would it be too far-fetched to think that ENIORÓSEI is a dative form, the phonetic result of something like *(*h*₁)*eni-h₃er-ont-jei?* Would it be possible to think that this (most likely) proper name (theonym, epithet or epiclesis) could mean, etymologically, something like ‘the highlander, the mountain dweller, the one who lives in the mountains, the one who lives on the top of the mountain’? A dative case, a dedication to a deity who was believed to live in the mountains or who was regularly honoured on a mountaintop, would in my view be initially plausible. In this case, the dative could be translated as ‘to the one who lives in the mountains, to the highlander’.³⁷ This is, incidentally, the exact same sense Meid defended for this specific word 31 years ago (1994). He also thought that this was an epithet of Lug and arrived at a translation which is roughly the same as mine: ‘Dem auf dem Bergewohnenden (...), dem Lugus’ (1994: 394) (‘To the mountain dweller (...), to Lug’).

³⁵Cf. Latin *insula* (**en-salā*), ‘that which is in the salt (sea)’ (reconstruction rejected by De Vaan (2008: 306), however).

³⁶Even if Matasović (2008: 115–16) prefers a slightly different reconstruction that I personally find less appealing: **h*₁*en-h₃ekwo-* > **enokwo-* > **enekwo-* (by vowel assimilation).

³⁷Although, of course, if it is a proper name, a theonym, the ‘translation’ would be a different one: ‘to Eniorontis’, as its etymological meaning would be another matter.

In sum, in my opinion ENIOROŠEI could be alluding to *Lug* himself, as an epithet, but it is not clear whether the etymology could have something to do with the idea of a mountain or not, although it should not be discarded completely.

VTA TIGINO TIATVNEI. Here we have a copulative conjunction (VTA) opening the line, followed by a genitive singular (TIGINO) and, finally, closing the line, the word TIATVNEI, a dative of a nasal stem. If ENI were really a preposition, TIATVNEI could be dependent on ENI and coordinated with ENIOROŠEI: TIATVNEI's meaning should therefore also be local. Perhaps it could simply refer to the site or the specific area where the sanctuary is located. But it looks as if ENI is not really a preposition: both names may then well be dative forms of two theonyms or epithets of just one deity (perhaps of *Lug*?).

As for TIATVNEI, I am not aware of any clear etymology if we read it like that. Prósper (2002: 222–3) tried hard to find an etymological explanation, offering different options. She points out that what she reads as TIASO (I will comment on this word below and give my own reading) is a passive participle in **-to-* of the same verb that she identifies in TIATVNEI. Both forms would stem from a base **tiat-*, of which TIATVNEI would be, for her, an infinitive in **-Vunei*, with late monophthongization from *-ou-* to *-ū-*. In TIASO we would have the phonetic result of the encounter of the two dental plosives (the final *-t* of the verbal stem and that of the suffix **-to-*), from which we would then have *-ss-*, later simplified into *-s-* or simply not reflected in writing.³⁸

However, it is perhaps possible to propose a correction in the reading that has been made of this word up to the present day. The letters *I* and *L* are graphically very similar throughout the text. The differences, under ideal circumstances, are clear, but the circumstances are far from ideal. Almost all the *I*'s begin at the top at a point slightly to the right of their lower part (cf. fig. 6).

However, the *L*'s that we have are more vertically oriented, and their upper point is more to the left than their lower point (figure 7) or at least its lower end tends to the right (figure 8). More importantly, the two clearest *L*'s in the inscription, the initial of the second mention of *Lug* (the *L* of the first mention of *Lug* is in a more damaged area) and the *L* of OLOCAS, have a common and very clear characteristic: two small strokes to the right and left, at their base, reminiscent of a Greek lambda. See figures 7 and 8.

It so happens that the second letter of what has so far been read as TIATVNEI coincides with a fracture of the inscription, possibly related to

³⁸As for the verbal base, it could have evolved, according to Prósper, from **to-yāt-*, a prefixed form of one of the following possible formations (in all cases with loss of the vowel of the Celtic preverb **to-* before initial **y-* or before a vowel): 1) either the variant **yāt-* of Indo-European **yā-* 'to go' (cf. *IEW* 296 or *LIV* 309–10) or of **yet-* 'to aspire, to address' (*IEW* 506–7; cf. *LIV* 313–14), 2) of **to-epi-at-* 'to go, to go to' (cf. Latin *annus* < **at-no-*, Old Indian *ātati*, Welsh *adeg* (< **atikā*), or 3) of **to-epi-pat-* 'to extend' (*IEW* 824–5; *LIV* 478–9). Indeed, one of these options that Prósper puts on the table may perfectly well be correct, but, in my view, the explanation is uncertain. This is also Jordán's opinion (2009: 897).



Figure 6.
I in ENIOROŠEI
(line 5)



Figure 7.
L in LVGVEI
(line 6)



Figure 8.
L in OLOCAS
(line 6)

the moment of its removal in Cabré's time.³⁹ For this reason, perhaps, it has never been read as I am going to suggest.

Because of the fractured rock this reading cannot be certain, for obvious reasons: there is a breakage right there. But if we look at the detail of this letter, with regard to the two characteristics of the letters *I* and *L* in the rest of the inscription, there is really nothing to preclude us from reading the second letter as an *L*, and therefore to read rather TLATVNEI. Two small strokes could *perhaps* even be distinguishable, left and right, at the base of the letter (the only section of it still visible). See figures 9, 10 and 11.

Paradoxically, though, there is another word in the inscription, which is very difficult to read, but which could help us here: the last word of line 6, interpreted in various ways (TIASO, TIATO...). As we have just seen, Prósper explicitly observed already (2002 and 2022; cf. also Jordán 2019: 897) that this word could be related to what has been read so far as TIATVNEI. Well, in figures 12 and 13 we can see how its second letter, one of the clearest, is written.

In my opinion, figure 11 represents an *L*, for the reasons adduced above: it is more vertical than the *I*'s, and shows two small strokes at the base, to the left and to the right. We could compare the *L* in OLOCAS (figure 14) with the one that could be read in TLATO (figure 15).

I have had an exchange of views on this question with my colleague Carlos Jordán, from the University of Zaragoza, possibly the author who has worked most on Celtiberian epigraphy and language in recent years (indeed, in recent decades).

³⁹Cabré was able to see it and draw it before the removal. He drew an *I*.



Figure 9. **TLATVN...** in TLATVNEI (line 2)

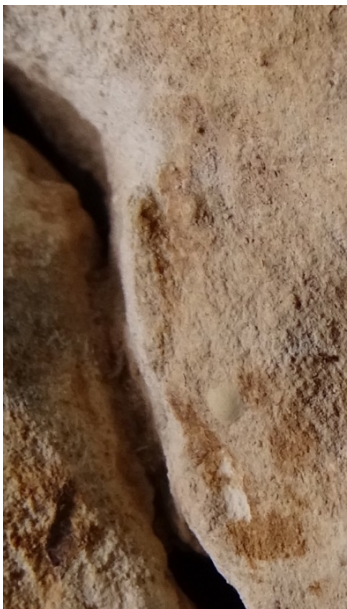


Figure 10.
L in TLATVNEI
(line 2)



Figure 11.
L in TLATVNEI
(line 2)

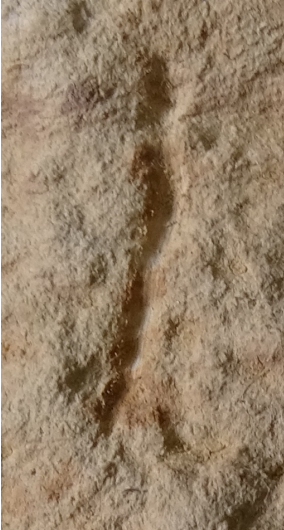


Figure 12.
L in TLATO
(line 6)



Figure 13.
L in TLATO
(line 6)

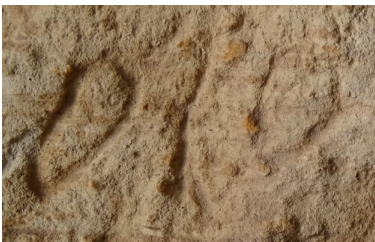


Figure 14. OLO in OLOCAS

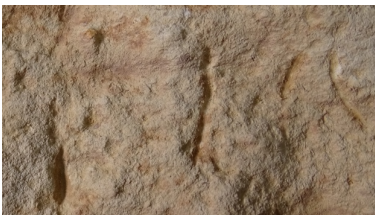


Figure 15. TLA in TLATO

We discussed these new readings of mine. As for TLATO, in this informal personal communication, he said to me that in his autopsies of the inscription (2005 and 2023) he had not noticed (or perhaps at the time he did not consider it relevant) the small stroke at the right hand side of the base of the letter which I suggest reading as L in TLATO. However, now, even if still not completely convinced, he told me, following my suggestion, that he would not rule out that this was a conscious stroke by the author of the inscription who may indeed have intended to write *L*, not *I*. In fact, he agrees that this suggested new *L* is very similar to the one we see in OLOCAS. However, he does not discard, either, the possibility that the small stroke we see is fortuitous. Nevertheless, after a new autopsy he performed in 2023, he tells me he would currently be in favour of reading T+ATVMEI, adding that he is now quite convinced of this.

That is, he returns to his 2005 and 2007 reading, also the one preferred by Gómez Moreno (1942: 13), Lejeune (1955: 8), Schmoll (1959: 7), Untermann (*MLH* IV, p. 624), De Hoz (1995: 18) or De Bernardo (2008: 187), as we have seen above.

Yet, let us not forget, other authors⁴⁰ over the years (as well as Jordán in 2017 or 2019) have preferred to read there an *N*, something, which, indeed, has certainly a clearer linguistic explanation, as Prósper (2002: 213, n. 1) points out. She argues that reading TIATVMEI⁴¹ would be against any ‘verosimilitud morfológica’, since ‘un tema en *-m- o, alternatively, en *-mi-, resulta virtualmente inexplicable.’⁴²

If we accept the reading TLATVNEI, as I would prefer, this word could be a Celtiberian deverbative nasal-stem noun⁴³ built on proto-Celtic **tlātos*, identical to Proto-Italic **tlātos* from Proto-Indo-European **t̥h₂tós*, zero-grade from the root **telh₂-* ‘support, carry, take away’ (*IEW* 1060–1; *LIV* 622–3; cf. De Vaan 2008: 329–30). **tlātos* is exactly the origin of the Latin perfect passive participle *latus*, a suppletive form for *ferō*, although its etymology links it originally to the verb *tollō*, *tollere*: its perfect, *tulī*, would end up also associated with *ferō*. Perfect *tulī* comes from a reduction of a reduplicated perfect *o*-grade (*tetuli*), of the same root (**tetólh₂e*). A perfect cognate for

⁴⁰Tovar (1955–1956: 161), Meid (TIATVNEI, 1993–1995: 348) or Prósper (2002: 213).

⁴¹Prósper relies, additionally, on a personal communication from F. Villar, who, after having personally performed an autopsy of the inscription, confirmed to her that he saw a letter *N* there “sin lugar a dudas”.

⁴²Of course, this last argument is not conclusive for the reading of the word, but in case of doubt, and doubt clearly exists, this is obviously something to bear in mind. There are many Celtiberian words with an ending in *-unei*, whether in Palaeo-Hispanic script or in the Latin alphabet. And, as far as I know, there are none in *-umei*. We have only one case (cf. De Bernardo (2008: 187 n. 32), in the Lead Tablet from Iniesta (cf. Lorrio and Velaza 2005: 1038) of a word ending in *-imei* (not *-umei*), perhaps a verbal form: *auzimei* – a verbal form, moreover, lacking a clear explanation. According to Prósper (2007a: 31–3), this word should rather be interpreted as an anthroponym or toponym. Jordán (2019: 206) considers this form to be a substantive (from **aw-d^heh₁-mey*), either a dative singular of an *i*-stem or a locative singular of an *o*-stem.

⁴³Even without considering this reading, Jordán (2019: 897) already stated that TIATVNEI, as he read in 2019, must be ‘un tema en nasal, de un N. **tiatu*, con el grado alargado generalizado’, also referring, in the same place, to the fact that ‘la lectura TIATO de la línea 6 facilita la relación etimológica entre ambas, como avanzaba Prósper, aunque no nos atrevemos a dar ninguna’.

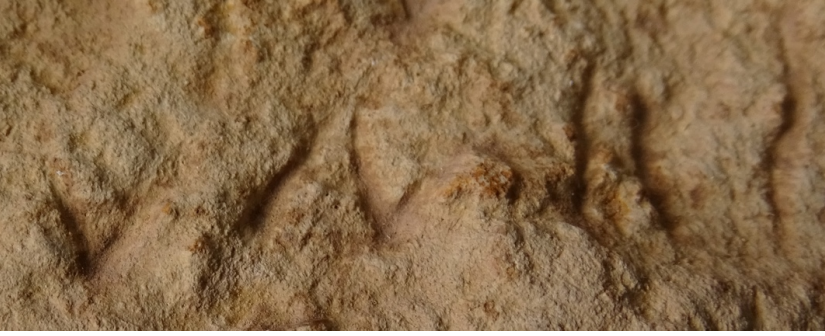


Figure 16.



Figure 17. VNEI



Figure 18. VMEI

Italo-Celtic **tlātos* is also Doric Greek *τλᾶτος* (Ionic *τλῆτος*), ‘steadfast’, also from **t_lh₂tós*.

In my opinion, this is also the Indo-European root to which we have to trace the name of the mythological character *Atlas* (Ἀτλᾶς, -αντος) that we know well thanks to Hesiod, despite Beekes’ (2010: 163) uncertainty and tentative association of it with a very hypothetical and undetermined pre-Indo-

European origin.⁴⁴ Beekes explicitly rejects ('clearly a desperate guess') the 'old interpretation' (cf. Chantraine 1968: 133–4) that considered that this word was built with **sm-* followed by the root **telh₂-*, concluding that 'it cannot to be expected that this ancient Titan carries an Indo-European name'.

However, in my opinion, Ἀτλας could perfectly derive from **η-tlh₂-nt-*, meaning, then, 'the one unable to endure', which can make sense thinking of the end of the Hesiodic myth (*Theogony* 517–20): he was a Titan condemned to sustain the weight of the heavens, until he collapsed because of his incapacity to *tolerate* it. Could *Atlas* etymologically mean 'the one that could not endure (eventually)?' Matasović (2009: 380) associates the root **telh₂-* with derivatives in Celtic like Middle Irish *tláith* (< **tlāti-*) 'weak, sick', Old Irish *tlenaid*. He derives a Proto-Celtic **talamū*⁴⁵ (< **telamū* < **telamōn*), 'earth' ('supporter'), from a full *e*-grade of the same root and a different suffix: **telh₂-mōn-*, and which is the origin of Old Irish *talam*. We could add (cf. Zair 2012: 81; Schrijver 1995: 187–8) Middle Welsh *tlawt*, Welsh *tlawd*, Gothic *þulan* (*LEIA* T-78; *LIV* 622–3). We could compare the Greek (Beekes 2010: 1446–7) doublet of τελαμών ('a strap to bear or support anything') and τλήμων, 'steadfast', this last one from the zero-grade (< **tlh₂-mōn-*).⁴⁶

The doublet *Atlas* (Ἀτλας) – *Telamon* (Τελαμών) could be quite significant in this respect: *Telamon* is a frequent epithet of *Atlas*, which we could interpret as a sort of alternative denomination, an epiclesis, of the same divinity, or as two different divinities secondarily associated with each other. *Atlas* and *Telamon* are two derivatives of the same Indo-European base. We will come back to this later.

In different Indo-European languages, what has come to be called a Hoffmann's suffix (Stüber 1998: 120–43), **-h₃en-* / **-h₃on-*, may be added to different roots in order to form possessive derivatives.⁴⁷ In Proto-Celtic in particular we have **-tiyū*, from **-ti-ōn*, with an analogical spread of the lengthened grade of the nominative to the rest of the paradigm (**-ti-ōn* < **-ti-on* < **-ti-h₃on-*). **-ti-h₃on-* seems to be an extension of **tis* with **-h₃on-*,⁴⁸ in a very similar manner to the development of the Latin suffix *-tiō* (genitive *-tiōnis*). And so, we get action nouns from verbal roots:

⁴⁴Atlas gave also his name to the island of Atlantis (Ἀτλαντὶς νῆσος) and, of course, to the Atlantic Ocean.

⁴⁵The first /a/ is due to the change now called Joseph's rule: vid. Joseph (1982); cf. Zair (2012) or Stifter (2017).

⁴⁶With a different suffix, we also have Latin *tellūs* 'earth' (< Proto-Italic: **telnos* < **tel(h₂)-nos*).

⁴⁷This suffix is known at least in Greek, Indo-Iranian, Albanian, Germanic, Italic and Celtic.

⁴⁸**-tiyū* may, at any rate, also be the phonetic result of an elongation of the same root simply with the individualising suffix **-on-*. The analogical extension of the lengthened grade of the nominative to the rest of the paradigm (**-ti-ōn* < **-ti-on*) would lead to the same end result and formally there is nothing in my opinion against it. However, for semantic reasons, it seems to me preferable to assume here the involvement of Hoffmann's suffix (cf. Stüber 1998: 120–43), although both options are perfectly possible, and therefore it is difficult to be certain (Stüber 2004; cf. Brugmann 1906: 294ff and Pronk 2015: 328).

**wid-* ('to tell') + **-tiyū* → **wissiyū* ('telling, saying')

**sem-* ('to pour') + **-tiyū* → **santiyū* ('outpour')

**men-* ('to think') + **-tiyū* → **mentiyū* ('thought')

In Latin *-tiō* (also with analogical spread of the lengthened grade from the nominative) usually is suffixed to a participial form in order to generate a new noun: from *translātum*, for instance, supine of *transferō* 'to transport', the Latin language obtains *translatiō* 'a transport'. Following exactly the same procedure just seen with **wid-*, **sem-* and **men-*, starting from the zero grade of the root *telh₂-*, i.e. **tłh₂-*, if we add the suffix complex **-tiō* (**tłh₂* + **-tiō*) I believe we would expect something like **tlāitiū* in Old Irish (cf. Middle Irish *tláith* < **tlāti-s*), a form that I feel is extremely close to the name of the Irish goddess *Tailtiu*,⁴⁹ Lug's mother or foster mother in the *Lebor Gabála*.⁵⁰ In my view, this is too close to be just a mere coincidence.

Zair (2012) recently addressed, in detail, the rather complicated question of the expected complex outcome of laryngeals in Celtic in different phonetic contexts.⁵¹ As for our particular problem now, having the close parallel of Middle Irish *tláith*, coming from **tlāti-s*, the result of a hypothetical Proto-Celtic form derived from **tłh₂tiō* we would expect to have been Irish **tlāitiū* (< **tlātiū*), whereas the form we have, *Tailtiu*, seems to have come rather from **taltiū*, which, with palatalisation,⁵² would have become **tailtiū* / *Tailtiu*. I am not sure, however, whether this relatively uncommon result⁵³ is to be attributed to undetermined phonological conditioning factors or to a specific analogy which I will discuss below. The etymological meaning of the name would be 'the one who brings support, the supporter, the provider', which makes perfect sense, if one takes into account the description of *Tailtiu* in Irish myth. She is credited with having cleared the land of the trees that prevented it from being used for agriculture and having thus ensured that humanity had a reliable and permanent source of food. According to the myth, she died of

⁴⁹According to early Irish tradition, (...) Lug himself established the festival to honour his foster-mother Tailtiu in Brega, modern Co. Meath; Lug also led the horse-raiding and martial arts contests.' (MacKillop 1998: 174).

⁵⁰Carlos Jordán (2001: 453; 2019: 168) considers that this same procedure was known in Celtiberian and served to create personal names applied to women, considering that in correspondence to the attested genitives *lukinos* [P4, II-1], *atinos* [P4, II-44] or *elkinos* [P4, III-28] we would need to assume that the respective nominative forms, not yet documented, should be **lukiu*, **atiu* and **elkiu*. Prósper (2015: 138–45) is not convinced, though.

⁵¹For the context that concerns us here, our challenge (Zair 2012: 69–89) is how to justify seemingly contradictory results for the sequence **CRHC(C)-*, which in some cases seem to have been **CRāC(C)-* (examples discussed in Zair 2012: 71–7) while in others they seem to have been rather **CRāC(C)-* (Zair 2012: 77–82), and finally, apparently, they sometimes showed, unexpectedly, **CaRC(C)-* (Zair 2012: 82–84). He then offers a tentative, hypothetical explanation of the phonological conditioning factors (2012: 89), aware, in any case, of their 'extremely speculative nature'.

⁵²Cf. McCone (1996: 115–20), who, speaking of certain types of analogic verbal inflection instances (which are not directly relevant here), points out that 'ā impeded palatalisation of a following consonant by an *i* / *i*' (p. 117). Having Middle Irish *tláith* (< **tlāti-s*), this is clearly of no concern for us now.

⁵³Although this is one of the three results recognised by Zair, he states (2012: 82) that 'since the development of **CRHC* to **CaRC*- is unexpected, there have been various attempts at explanation.'

exhaustion after this (*Atlas* also died of exhaustion), and her son *Lug* would be responsible for establishing a harvest festival and funeral games in her honour, the *Óenach Tailteann*, later known as the *Tailtin Fair*, which continued to be held as late as the eighteenth century (MacKillop 1998: 309–10, 395–6) at a place whose name is also related: Teltown (Irish *Tailtin*), in County Meath, a few km north-west of the Hill of Tara. Aspects of this festival survive to this day in the celebrations of *Lughnasadh*, which marks the beginning of the harvest season.

The unexpected resolution of the first syllable of the name could be due, perhaps, at least in our case, to an analogy or association with the word *talam*, ‘the earth’, considering that *Tailtiu*’s myths are reminiscent of a chthonic deity. Her story is strongly evocative of the pairing of *Demeter* (whose name probably (cf. Beekes 2010: 324–5) means, etymologically, ‘mother Earth’) and *Persephone* in Greek mythology.

Talam comes from the same root, as we saw, although, in this case, from the full *e*-grade and a different suffix (**telh₂-mōn-*). The different sound context triggers the phonetic modification known to us as Joseph’s law,⁵⁴ which justifies the first /a/ in the Irish form (cf. Greek τελαμών, from **telh₂-* (‘to bear’) + -μων (*-mōn*), ‘bearer, supporter’). As we suggested above, the doublet *Atlas* (Ἀτλας) – *Telamon* (Τελαμών) could indeed be quite significant in this respect. *Telamon*, a name with the full grade, is in fact a frequent epithet of *Atlas*, a name derived from the zero grade of the same root. We could also compare the name of *Glachtga*, a sorceress with whom *Tailtiu* is so closely associated in Irish literature that we might think of her as an *alter ego* or a local split of the same divinity (MacKillop 1998: 359). *Glachtga*’s name was attached to the Hill of Ward, also in County Meath, a few km west of Tara and a few km SW of Teltown. The three sites form a fairly regular triangle on a map, the three sides of which are between 18 and 24km long. *Glachtga* seems to derive also from **tlā-* (< **tl(e)h₂-*), followed by the Old Irish nominal suffix *-acht*.⁵⁵ This *tlacht*⁵⁶ so created would form then a compound with Old Irish *ga* (< **gaisos* < PIE **ghoyso-*, perhaps a Germanic loanword in Celtic; cf. Matasović 2009: 154). The compound seems to mean then, etymologically, ‘spear of the supporter > spear of the Earth’. The spear is taken as a metaphor for ‘lightning bolt’. The explanation of *Tailtiu*’s name has generated doubts for decades. Binchy (1958: 123–4), not fully convinced, follows Thurneysen’s (1936: 369) explanation according to which the idea of a deity would have sprung from the name of the place where the fair was traditionally held. Thurneysen indicates that an older form was actually *Teiltiu*, in his view a Brythonic borrowing (cf. Welsh *telediwl* (< **teletiw*), ‘well-formed, beautiful’). At any rate, the semantic content in relation to the idea of ‘supporting’ seems preferable to me, considering the

⁵⁴Cf. Joseph (1982), Zair (2012) or Stifter (2017).

⁵⁵This suffix originates in Proto-Celtic **axtā*, feminine form of the past participle of the verb **agetī* (< PIE **h₂égeti*), ‘to drive’ (> Old Irish *aigid*), cognate of Latin *agō*.

⁵⁶In Old Irish *tlacht* by itself means ‘covering, protection, hide, skin’ or even ‘clothing, garment, ornament’ (eDIL s.v. *tlacht*, accessed 12 June 2025). The semantic development we might assume is perhaps that it is the earth that sustains us or protects us.

attributes assigned to this divinity.

Be all this as it may, Celtiberian TLATVNEI is a dative singular of a very similar construction, although the suffix has a slightly different form. It could be traced back to $*t_lh_2t\text{-}\bar{o}\text{-}n\text{-}ei$ ($< *t_lh_2\text{-}t\text{-}h_3o\text{-}n\text{-}ei$, with an analogical spread of the lengthened grade from the nominative), probably a masculine formation (although not necessarily so), but very close to the feminine derivative $*t_lh_2 + *\text{-}tiy\bar{o}$, which *could* be the origin of Irish *Tailtiu*.

In TLATVNEI, the Hoffmann's suffix did not elongate $*\text{-}tis$, like Irish $*\text{-}tiy\bar{u}$ and Latin $*\text{-}ti\bar{o}$ ⁵⁷ but was added directly to the verbal adjective suffix $*\text{-}to\text{-}$, still without passive meaning.⁵⁸ We could compare the similar case of Greek $\piλοῦτος$ 'richness',⁵⁹ which, with the addition of $-\omega\nu$ becomes $\Piλούτων$, literally 'one who possesses richness'. It must be stressed, in any case, that what we see in Latin $\text{-}ti\bar{o}$ and Celtic $\text{-}tiy\bar{u}$ is **not** the only way to coin new words with a Hoffmann's suffix in Indo-European. In Greek we have $-\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ (genitive $-\acute{\omega}\nu\etaς$), which can be added to a personal name to form a feminine patronymic: from Ζεύς [$\Delta i\text{-}$] + $-\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$ we get $\Delta i\acute{\omega}\nu\eta$, literally 'daughter of Zeus'. Similarly, in Latin we have a suffix $-\bar{o}na$ (genitive $-\bar{o}nae$), that can be used to form names or epithets of female deities. Although apparently similar, this does not seem to be the same formation we see in the name of the Gaulish goddess *Epona*, and similar Celtic names, which apparently has a short o : $Ep\bar{o}n\bar{a}$ (cf. Stüber 2004). These Latin, Greek and Celtic goddess names share, though, that they are *feminine* nouns of the first declension: the suffix is secondarily lengthened with $-\text{eh}_2$, which has this feminising capacity. We could compare what happens with Proto-Celtic $*ab\bar{u}$ ($< *h_2ep\text{-}h_3\bar{o}\text{-}n < *h_2ep\text{-}$ 'water'), 'river' and the Gaulish and British feminine $*ab\bar{o}n\bar{a}$ ($< *h_2ep\text{-}h_3on\text{-}eh_2$). Celtiberian TLATVNEI is a third declension dative singular. The ending suffix is not secondarily elongated with eh_2 . If it were, we would have a first declension ending: $-\text{AI}$. However, of course, this does not mean that a form without the elongation with eh_2 cannot be feminine. $*ab\bar{u}$, Proto-Celtic for 'river', without going any further, was a feminine, as was its Old Irish descendant *aub*, also meaning 'river'.

In short, we could be looking here at a new reasonable etymology for the name of the goddess *Tailtiu*, something that had eluded us until now. And it would be very significant to relate the name of the Irish goddess, mother of *Lug* in the *Lebor Gabála*, with the form TLATVNEI of Peñalba de Villastar, which appears precisely in the line above the first of the two mentions of *Lug* (TO LVGVEI) in this very inscription.

The word preceding TLATVNEI in our text, **TIGINO**, is a genitive singular form, perhaps of a common noun, perhaps a proper name (place or personal name). If it is a personal name, although we have a rich collection of Celtiberian

⁵⁷As we saw above, from *translātum*, supine of *transferō* 'to transport', Latin obtains *translatiō* 'a transport'.

⁵⁸In Italic and Celtic, the verbal adjective suffix $*\text{-}to\text{-}$, secondarily, would be used for past participles with a passive value. But even in Latin we can find this same suffix originally not providing a passive meaning but forming adjectives with the basic sense of 'provided with': *iūs* ('law, justice') $> iustus$ ('lawful, just').

⁵⁹ $\piλοῦτος$ derives from $*plew\text{-}$ 'sail, flow', followed by $*\text{-}to\text{-}$ s, which served to form adjectives from verbal or nominal roots, with no passive meaning whatsoever.

anthroponyms, we must say that neither the form TIGINO nor the possible alternative reading TICINO are attested. If it really is an anthroponym, it would be strange if we did not know it.

The etymology could be related (Jordán 1998: 207ff) to a Celtic **tigerno-* ‘lord, master’ whose etymological provenance from **(s)tig-* ‘pointy, sharp’ (LEIA T-63; IEW 1016f.; LIV 592–3; De Bernardo 1999: 535–7) is not entirely clear to Matasović (2009: 378–9), who, moreover, is not convinced that the Celtiberian word can be related to it.

It is somewhat puzzling that what appears to be the same name or noun is mentioned, also in the genitive, in another of the minor inscriptions of Villastar⁶⁰ (Jordán 2019: 908–9; Beltrán et al. 2021: 148–9), a difficult one, in this case accompanying the adjective VERAMOM (‘supreme’, ‘highest’),⁶¹ an accusative (or a neuter nominative). Prósper believes (2002: 223 n. 20) that this adjective is nominalised, which makes perfect sense, but this inscription is not complete and there are doubts about the reading. Any analysis is therefore complicated.

Prósper (2002: 223) believes this is a toponym (perhaps the name of a river), bringing up the ancient name of Pavia, *Ticīnum*, and the river *Ticīnus* (today Ticino), a tributary of the Po from which it takes its name. For a river name, a link with **tēg-o-* ‘go’ (the Celtic zero-grade would be **tig-*) (Matasović 2009: 379) would be plausible and the zero-grade linked to the addition of the nasal suffix. Yet, if it is a place name, we could also consider the root **(s)tig-* ‘pointy, sharp’ we saw above, and perhaps think of it as a name for the mountainous region where the sanctuary is located: could this name mean something like ‘the peaks, the summits, the mountain range, the highlands’? Could we translate TIGINO TLATVNEI as ‘(to) the Supporter of the Highlands’?

That could be an interesting option. TIGINO could certainly be a toponym, but if the names of both inscriptions from Peñalba are the same, one could wonder whether it would make more sense to think of a personal name. However, we would not expect a person’s name in the genitive in a cultic inscription, but more probably in the nominative, as the person responsible for the act itself (cf. contemporary Latin or Greek divine dedications). Therefore, if, as I believe, TLATVNEI is a theonym or simply an epithet or epiclesis of *Lug*, TIGINO could perhaps be a genitive of the name of the father of the god/goddess, along the same lines known to us in Celtiberian personal onomastics. Its position in the text, though, would be unexpected: in the well-known Celtiberian onomastic formulas we find singular genitives providing the name of the father – but they follow the father’s name, they never precede it. In the Celtiberian onomastic formula, the genitive appears behind because it actually precedes the word ‘son’ (GENTIS), which often appears, albeit abbreviated, behind it (Jordán 2019: 907). Of course, if the noun on which the genitive depends is not the word ‘son’ (which does not appear here), but TLATVNEI

⁶⁰In this other text the editors (Beltrán et al. 2021: 148) prefer reading TICINO.

⁶¹VERAMOS seems a superlative (Beltrán et al. 2021: 145, 147 and 148) formed on **u(p)er*, and, accompanied by the word VIROS, as in VIROS VERAMOS, also in Villastar (MLH IV, K.3.18). It seems equivalent, with Celtic phonetics, to a Latin *Vir supremus*.

itself, then TIGINO could obviously appear before it. But then the connection with the personal naming system seems to fade away.

Be all this as it may, there is an additional, alternative possible explanation of the etymology of the name that is attractive to me, although I am perfectly aware of the fact that it is also highly speculative and far from certain. Matasović (2009: 376) considers that, besides Proto-Celtic **tegos* ‘house’, the origin of Old Irish *tech*, Old Breton *-tig* (second member of compounds), Old Cornish *ti*, Welsh *tŷ* (GPC IV: 3667), all derived from a full *e*-grade of a well-known PIE root **(s)teg-os* ‘cover, roof’ (IEW 1013; LIV 589), we could have forms coming from a lengthened grade of the same root: Old Irish *tí* ‘cloak’ (< **Proto-Celtic* **tīg-s* < **(s)teg-s*). I wonder therefore whether TIGINO could have been formed on this, adding a nasal suffix (cf. Matasović 2009: 378–9), giving the whole the meaning of ‘the covered / cloaked / hidden one’. Hades, the name of the god of the underworld in Greek myths, seems to mean, etymologically, ‘the unseen one’ (*Ἅιδης* < **h₂uid-*, Beekes 2010: 34). We could see parallels between, on the one hand, Greek Persephone, abducted by Hades under the Earth for half a year, to reappear in spring, when nature resuscitates and ensures, by allowing sowing, the survival of humans thanks to the future harvest, and, on the other, Irish *Tailtiu*, daughter of the Earth, who achieves human sustenance by clearing the forests and leaving the land ready for agriculture. Could TIGINOS be the Celtiberian ‘hidden one’, the Hades, the God of the underworld?

We could think of the name of the underworld in Old Irish myths: *Tech nDuinn* (literally ‘the House of Donn’), significantly formed on **tegos*, precisely, followed by *donn*, an Old Irish adjective meaning ‘dark’ (< Proto-Celtic **dusnos* < **dʰewh₂-s-n-os* ‘smoke’). Donn, ‘the king of the dead’, ‘the dark one’, is relatable to the Greek god Hades and the Hades, as the place where mortals go when they die, is relatable to *Tech nDuinn*.⁶²

I find equally significant a comment by MacCana linking Donn to a very ancient Celtic divinity, the god of the dead *par excellence* (MacCana 1970: 42), the god whom, according to Julius Caesar, the Gauls considered their common ancestor. Caesar (*Commentaries on the Gallic War* VI:18), calls this god *Dis Pater*, associating him with the homonym Roman god of the underworld (De Vaan 2008: 173–4), equivalent to *Pluto* and the Greek *Hades*. This is a very clear example of Roman *interpretatio*: what Caesar meant was that all Gauls claimed descent from a Gaulish god that he equated with the Roman *Dis Pater*.⁶³ Could

⁶²In the Greek myth (as narrated in Hesiod’s *Theogony* or in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, as well as in many later sources) Hades, with the permission of his brother, the supreme god Zeus, abducts Persephone and takes her as his wife to his Underworld kingdom where she remains for half a year each year. The ancient Greeks used the myth of Persephone to explain the origin of the four seasons. They believed that spring and summer took place during the months when Persephone stayed with her mother Demeter, who caused flowers to bloom and crops to grow in abundance. During the other months, when Persephone was to live in the underworld with Hades, Demeter showed her sadness by letting the earth become barren and covering it with snow, which gave rise to autumn and winter.

⁶³Identified with Pluto, in Rome *Dis Pater* adopted some of his mythological attributes, being one of the three sons of Saturn (Greek Chronos) and Ops (Greek Rhea), along with Jupiter (Greek Zeus) and Neptune (Greek Poseidon). In Roman mythology, *Dis Pater* – *Pluto* ruled the underworld

the first two lines of the inscription, ENIOROŠEI VTA TIGINO TLATVNEI, mean “To Eniorontis (‘the Mountain-dweller’) and to Tlato (‘the Supporter’), (son) of Tiginus (‘the Hidden one’)”?

We might finally recall that, on the Chamalières lead tablet, a Gaulish tablet of invocation to the divinity found in 1971 and written within a few decades of the Great Inscription from Peñalba de Villastar,⁶⁴ we read *andedion* and *anderon*, both words interpreted as plural genitives derived from the same Indo-European root: **ǵd^he* + **-dio-* and **ǵd^hero-* (*IEW* 771), respectively. The etymological meaning of this term would be something like ‘which is below, inferior’. The second formation is also the origin of Latin *inferus*, ‘which is below, infernal’, a term that we find in the name of the Roman *dii inferi* or ‘divinities of the underworld’, and of which we also know cognates in the Indo-Iranian languages (Delamarre 2003: 47). Both *andedion* and *anderon*, according to Lambert (1993: 150), refer to divinities of the Underworld; the prefix actually reappears in religious terms used by Insular Celts centuries later: Welsh *annwfn* ‘the Otherworld, the Underworld’ (< **ande-dubno-* ‘the world underneath’) or Old Irish *An-dé*, ‘the gods below’.

As appealing as this second explanation may initially seem, it is fair to acknowledge that the word order, with TIGINO appearing *before* (not *after*) TLATVNEI, makes it much less plausible if not impossible.

TRECAIAŠ. Despite some doubts in the past, the first letter is clearly a T to me. The upper horizontal stroke is undoubtedly visible (see figure 20). As for the final S, the diacritic in the lower part pointed out by Jordán is very clear (see figure 21), so that the form clearly cannot be a feminine plural accusative or a singular genitive, as has been thought for decades. Now this ending only allows us to think of a singular ablative or of a verb with a lenited dental ending.

At any rate, even before we all became aware of the new reading, the etymological explanations of this term did not entirely convince me. The most common (Lejeune, Schwertek) linked it to a Proto-Celtic **kagyom*, ‘pen, enclosure’ (< Proto-Indo-European **kag^hyóm*, ‘enclosure’), from which Old Breton *cai*, Cornish *ke*, Welsh *cae* (< **kag^h-* *IEW* 518; *LIV* 342; Delamarre (2003: 97); De Vaan (2008: 123); Matasović (2009: 184)),⁶⁵ but this raises the question of why this word shows lenition and disappearance of the intervocalic -G- while in TOGIAS this does not occur (cf. Prósper 2002: 216). More importantly,

along with his wife, *Proserpina* (the Greek *Persephone*). As MacCana (1970: 42) puts it, ‘it may be significant that he should specifically mention Dis Pater, Roman god of the dead, for it is not unusual that the first man and father of mankind [...] should also be the first of the dead and lord of the underworld. And in point of fact Irish tradition provides a close analogue to the Gaulish Dis Pater.’

⁶⁴Chamalières is now dated (on this inscription see Meid 2014: 12ff.), with little precision or certainty, to some moment between the middle of the first century BCE and the middle of the first century CE, while the Great Inscription of Peñalba de Villastar must come from the last years of the first century BCE or the first years of the following century (Marco Simón – Alfayé 2008: 521).

⁶⁵The a-vocalism, as well as the distribution of the reflexes to NW Europe, points to the possibility that these words were borrowed from some non-IE language.’ Matasović (2009: 184).



Figure 20. TRECAIAŚ / TRECALAŚ

in addition to the etymological and phonetic problems, there is a syntactical problem. I see no way to fit a singular noun in the ablative case here. Therefore, it seems preferable to me to assume that what we have here is a verbal form.

The letter in figures 22 and 23, on the other hand, is not at all clear in my opinion. It has always been read as *I*, and that is certainly the impression it gives at first glance. However, to my mind, it is difficult to completely rule out the possibility of seeing a small stroke at the base, on the right-hand side, which could be an attempt to represent ‘the right foot’ of the *L* mentioned above. We can compare figures 22 and 23 with figure 12 and, especially, with figure 14 or with figure 15. Although it is unclear, I believe we should not discard this reading. Carlos Jordán, in personal communication, says that he does not perceive here the small line to the right of the base here, although he does not reject it in TLATO, as we mentioned earlier. For me it is considerably less clear, but not impossible.

With both TRECAIAŚ and TRECALAŚ, it seems we have a first element derived from Proto-Celtic **trē* ‘through, across’⁶⁶ (< PIE **terh₂-*), cognate with English *through*, Latin *trans*, as well as a Proto-Celtic **taras-* ‘across’ (IEW

⁶⁶An alternative analysis would be to see **tri-* as the first element, frequent in place names, such as the modern Tres Cantos (Madrid), the famous Celtiberian *Trikantam* from Botorrita, or many other cases, like the Galician islands called *Trileukoi* by Ptolemy (García Alonso 2003, s.v.) etc. This option is endorsed, without going into too much detail, by De Bernardo in her 2000 article, although she abandons it in 2006 for semantic reasons. However, in order to see the numeral here we would need to tackle the problem of the unexpected vocalism (we would expect **tri-*).



Figure 21.
S in TRECAIAS̄ / TRECALAŚ



Figure 22.
I or L?



Figure 23.
I or L?

1074–6; *LIV* 633–4). With some problems,⁶⁷ this **trē* could provide the origin of the later Insular Celtic forms.⁶⁸

As for the analysis of the second part, if we read TRECALAŚ, it would be possible⁶⁹ to see here a derivative of the root **kelh₁-*, ‘to call, cry, summon, invoke’ (*IEW* 548–50; De Vaan 2008: 85):⁷⁰ Greek καλέω (Aeolian κάλλημι), ἐκκλησία, κλήσις, Latin *clamare*, *con-cilium* (< **kel-iom*), *calare* (‘to call, summon’), *clarus* (< **klā-ro-s* < **klh₁-ro-s*), *calendae* (< **kal-end-*). In Celtic we

⁶⁷As Matasović (2009: 388) puts it, ‘if **trāns-* first yielded **trās*, and if this was still a root-noun in PCelt., the dative sg. form **trās-ē* could have been contracted as **trāē* > **trē* after the loss of intervocalic **s* in Insular Celtic. Needless to say, this is just a speculation.’

⁶⁸From where Old Irish *tre*, Old Welsh *trui*, Old Breton *tre*, Modern Breton *dre*, Cornish *dre*.

⁶⁹Less convincing seems to me the alternative possibility to see here a word related to **kaylo-* ‘omen’, linked by Delamarre (2009: 197) to Old Welsh *coil(i)ou* [p] ‘omens, auguries’; Middle Welsh *coel* ‘belief, presage, omen’, Old Breton *coel* ‘haruspice, priest’, Modern Breton *koel*, Old Cornish *chuillic* ‘augur’. This follows a very interesting proposal by Schrijver (1991: 267f.), endorsed explicitly by De Vaan (2008: 80–1); in his words, ‘watching the flight of birds in a demarcated area of the sky as a form of divination played a prominent role in the religion of the Italic peoples. There are some indications that bird watching as a form of divination was practiced by the Celts, too.’ These Celtic forms could be considered to come from PIE **keh₂i-lo-* ‘whole, healthy’, ‘blessed with good omen’ (*IEW* 520 and 916–18; cf. *LIV* 347 (?**kejt-*), 360 (?**kh₂ejd-*) and 549 (?**skeb^H-*)). Cognates could be Latin *caelum* ‘sky’, Gothic *hails*, both the modern English *whole* (whose *w* in spelling is not etymological) and *holy*, as well as Balto-Slavic forms (cf. also De Vaan 2008: 80), etc. Delamarre ventures that ‘the first element of the toponym *Caeilo-briga* in Spain is probably also related’. As De Vaan (2008: 81) puts it, ‘possibly, *caelum* got its meaning in the augural sphere, as the “whole” in contrast with *templum* “the part”’. In fact, the etymology of *templum* leads to PIE **temh₁-* ‘to cut’, with an epenthetic *p* in Latin. Cf. Greek τέμενος (and τέμνω). This option would imply assuming a phonetic development leading to a geminate *L* simply not reflected in the writing. It is not impossible, in any case. It could also just be a failed attempt to write *IL*.

⁷⁰*LIV* (361) has it under the entry **kleh₁-*. De Vaan (2008: 85) has **kelh₁-* / **klh₁-*. Beekes (2010: 623) derives the Greek forms from **klh₁-*.

know of derivatives of **kalyākos*, such as Old Irish *cailech* or Welsh *ceiliog*, both meaning “rooster”.

TRECALAŚ could then perhaps be the third person singular of a verb with a secondary ending, which evolved from *t* to *θ* in final position in Celtic-Iberian. I propose that it is a radical (suffixless) athematic aorist (preterite) indicative form. We would have a verb with **trē* as a preverb and followed by *kalaθ*⁷¹ (< **kelh₁-t*),⁷² meaning something like ‘he summoned, he invoked, he dedicated’.

However, if we read TRECAIAŚ, the only etymological possibility I can think of is to consider that, ultimately, it derives from **keh₂-* ‘to wish, to love’ (IEW 515, LIV 343), which in Celtic (Old Irish *caraid*, Middle Welsh *caru*, etc., see Matasović 2009: 191) appears in zero grade and with the suffix *-ro-*: **kă-ro-* (< **kh₂-ro-*; cf., however, Latin *cārus*, < **keh₂-ro-*). But apart from the serious semantic problems that positing this root would entail, I do not see a plausible formation either. Which, indeed, does not mean that it does not exist.⁷³

TO LVGVEI. Most authors, with the notable exception of Carlos Jordán, have seen here a reference to the god *Lug*, who appears in the dative, preceded by **to* ‘to’, analysed by Matasović (2009: 381) as a dative preposition (Old Irish *to-*, *do-*, *do*; Old Welsh *di*, Old Breton *do*), even if, as he recognises, there are ‘no clear connections in other IE languages’. However, Stifter (2014: 14ff.) points out that there is no such a thing as a Celtic preposition **to*, since the Celtic preverb *to* is historically unrelated to the Old Irish preposition *do* ‘to, for’. In

⁷¹The *e* > *a* change in the first syllable is known as Joseph’s Law. Cf. Joseph (1982); Zair (2012); Stifter (2017).

⁷²Cf. Zair (2012: 58–9).

⁷³If we were to consider a verb formed on Proto-Celtic **-āti* (from which Old Irish *-aid* verbs, like *caraid*, derive), the resulting form would be an imperfect, and, even if the last vowel would fit, we would not be able to explain the presence of that *I* in TRECAIAŚ. **-āti* comes from **-h₂ti*, used in Indo-European to create factitive verbs from adjective stems. The corresponding secondary ending was **-h₂t*. But with this ending would not have here **kaiat* > **kaiaθ*, but rather something like ***(TRE)CAŚ* (< **kă + āt*). The presence of that intervocalic *I* in our inscription may lead us to think that we are dealing with a verb with that same verbal root **keh₂-*, but followed by the suffix **(e/o)-yéti*, which forms factitive verbs, although since it is used to form present stems, the addition of a secondary ending would result in an imperfect as well, which is impossible from the point of view of what would be expected in the inscription. We should rather have, moreover, ***(tre)kaiet* (< **keh₂-ye-t*). A reconstructed Indo-European verb **kéh₂-ye-ti* seems to have derivatives in Indo-Iranian languages (LIV 343; cf. IEW 515), that probably follow a Proto-Indo-Iranian **ka(h₂)-yati*, and therefore proposing such a formation would not be too far-fetched. The basically unsurmountable question that arises is how to justify a *preterite/aorist* value for a present stem formation with secondary endings (therefore, in theory, an imperfect). Luraghi et al. (2021) analyse in detail how Indo-Iranian created a specific formation to express the passive voice based on a present stem suffix with *-ia-* (Sanskrit *-ya-*, etc.), relating it to the stative PIE suffix **-eh₁-/-h₁-*, which would also be related to the ancient Greek suffix *-ē-*, which in Greek was used to create passive *aorists*. There would be relatable forms in Armenian and other languages of the family (see Hardarson 1998: 332–4). The idea of the existence of this specific suffix, accepted by many authors (LIV 25), is nevertheless explicitly rejected by Jasanoff (2002–3), after discussing it in depth. In short, I fail to find any of these possibilities plausible, even in strictly phonetic terms.

this inscription, in any case, TO seems to be functioning either as a preposition or as some sort of connector (Eska 2007: 189–90; Stifter 2014: 207).⁷⁴

Jordán argues in an article (2005), significantly entitled ‘chronicle of an announced theicide’, where he provides lengthy explanations of his viewpoint, that, in his view, LVGVEI is a *u*-stem verbal noun from the same root as the theonym with the meaning of ‘oath’, ‘consecration’ or ‘dedication’ (he adduces the Old Irish verbal noun *luige* (related to *luigim* ‘I swear’) and its Welsh cognate *llw* (the name of the god in Welsh is *Llew*)), but it does not actually refer to the god himself here. In order to reinforce his analysis, he points out that the numerous epigraphic occurrences of *Lug* on the Continent (Gaul or Hispania) are always in the plural, which would not be the case here. More importantly, the position of LVGVEI in the text, at the end of line 3, makes him think that this word cannot refer to the divinity to whom the cultic ceremony is addressed. In my opinion, however, none of the three main reasons invalidates the possibility that the god *Lug* is mentioned here. The most significant, in my view, is the third one, but it can be solved if we think that both ENIOROŠEI and (TIGINO) TLATVNEI or EQVOISVI(QUE), which occupy the first, focused positions in the text, may be epithets of the name of the god, and, therefore, anticipate the reference to the deity honoured.

ARAIANOM. I think this word is a neuter singular nominative or accusative adjective. It is a word that has generated many problems of interpretation.

At first glance it seems that it could be related to the root **h₂er-h₃*, ‘plough’ (IEW 62; LIV 272–3).⁷⁵ This is the origin, among other forms, of Greek ἄρῶν or Latin *arāre* ‘plough, till’, Latin *arātor* ‘ploughman, husbandman’, with derivatives in Celtic as well. Cf. Middle Irish *airím* and Welsh *arddu*, both ‘to plough’, Welsh *arddwr* ‘ploughman’, etc. Latin has *arātrum* ‘plough’ (with analogical *ā* from the infinitive *arāre*), whereas the Celtic cognate forms are derived from *arātrum* (< **h₂er-h₃-trom*): Welsh *aradr*, Cornish *aradar*, MBret. *arazr*, Middle Irish *arathar*, all with the same meaning. However, the formation is not clear, and I do not see how this word can be related to this root.

There is an alternative that I find much more appealing. Already more than two decades ago, De Bernardo (2000: 189) analysed this word as **are-yānom*, linking it to Welsh (with possible, not certain Irish cognates) *iawn*, ‘right(ness)’, ‘propitiation’ (Williams 1997), and translating it in this text as ‘lo justo’, an adjectival direct object of an omitted verb in the first part of the inscription (according to her analysis). Jordán (2005) basically accepted De Bernardo’s proposal in relation to this word, which he translated as ‘propiciatoria’, as a neuter adjective accompanying COMEIMV, the following word.

⁷⁴If TO is a preposition here, we wonder why LVGVEI, the dative it seems to accompany, is the only dative in the text that has a preposition. The other dative forms do not seem to need it. De Bernardo (2008), who also considers TO to be simply a preposition in the Celtiberian text, proposed a possible explanation a few years ago: forms with TO imply a complement to a verb of movement, and dative forms without a preposition are simply indirect objects, the recipients of the dedication.

⁷⁵Proposed by several authors in the past (Schwarteck was the first).

Williams had analysed all the etymologies of this word known to him published prior to his paper of 1997, eventually putting forward one of his own (1997: 1008): he related it to the root that we see in Latin *iūs* (older *ious*), *iuris*. This is derived from **h₂yéw-*, from **h₂ey-* ‘vital force, life’ (*IEW* 17–18), which is the origin of Latin *aevum* and *aetās* (< **aiwotāt-s*; cf. De Vaan 2008: 29), Proto-Celtic **ay-sso-*, **ay-to-* (Matasović 2009: 51) and finally Old Irish *áes*, Old Welsh *oit* ‘time, period’ and *ois* ‘age’, with similar forms in Breton, Cornish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx.

However, in my opinion, at least for this word in our inscription, there is another explanation of those reviewed by Williams that I personally prefer, even if that means going back almost 80 years: T. F. O’Rahilly’s. As Williams points out (1997: 1006–7), O’Rahilly (1946: 286–307) had linked Welsh *iawn*, ‘right, just’ as an adjective and ‘right, equity’ as a noun, not only with Breton *eeun* ‘right, just’ but also with Old Irish *án*, ‘fiery, bright, glowing, brilliant, splendid, delightful’ and *áine* ‘fieriness, speed’, which is exactly the name of the sun-goddess *Áine*. O’Rahilly linked all these forms to a Proto-Celtic **jānos*, that we must derive from the Indo-European root **yeh₂-* ‘to go, to go in, to enter, to ride, to travel’ (*IEW* 296, *LIV* 309–10, Rix 2001: 369 and Derksen 2008). **yéh₂-no-* is known in Proto-Indo-Iranian **yáHnam*, which is the origin of Sanskrit यान् (*yāna*). In Proto-Italic it was **jānos*, identical to the Proto-Celtic form adduced by O’Rahilly. This would be the origin of Latin *Iānus* or *iānuā*. Pokorny (1950) accepts deriving Welsh *iawn* from **jānos*, but rejects the connection with the Irish forms which he believes should be linked to the Indo-European root **ās-* (*IEW* 68–69),⁷⁶ which gave way to Latin *āreō* ‘to be dry’, *āridus* ‘dry, arid’ or *ārdeō* ‘to burn’.

I would not be able to decide who is right, O’Rahilly or Pokorny, as regards the connection of the Irish forms with the Brythonic ones, but in the case of our Celtiberian inscription I am inclined to the root accepted by both for Welsh *iawn*, which would give the word a sense of movement, among other reasons because it seems to be preceded by a preposition which would reinforce this idea: is ARAIANOM a Celtiberian derivative from the same root (**are-yeh₂-no-m*)? **φare* (< **φari* < **prh₂i* < **preh₂-* ‘before, in front’) (*IEW* 810–16; De Vaan 2008: 485–6) in Celtic (Welsh, Breton and Irish *ar*) can act as a preposition or as a preverb. It would seem we have it here. This word is usually found as *are* in Celtiberian texts. We would need to assume some phonetic development (rather than a morphological problem). We could compare the modern Spanish place name *Aravaca* (in the province of Madrid), formed on the Celtiberian ethnonym which our Latin sources give as *Arevaci*. I am taking this word as an adjective (neuter nominative) that I would venture to translate as ‘come here, met here, assembled, present’. The very word *present*, by the way, is formed with the same old preverb, in its Latin form, as the present active participle of the verb *prae-sum*, giving it the meaning of ‘present, existing, prompt or propitious’.

⁷⁶This is reconstructed as **h₂eh₁s-* by Rix (2001: 257–8), *LIV* 257–8 or De Vaan (2008: 49, 53, 58ff) but as **h₂es-* by Lubotsky (1985) and Schrijver (1991: 53–4).

COMEIMV. Like Lejeune, De Bernardo, Untermann and Jordán (cf. Jordán 2019: 897) I think that this word is a neuter singular nominative. De Bernardo thinks of a *nomen actionis*, a *u*-stem, **com-ey-mū* (< **kóm-h₁ey-mōn-*),⁷⁷ which she translates as ‘romería’, the word used in Spanish to refer to a journey or pilgrimage, especially one made for devotion to a sanctuary, as well as the popular festival with snacks, dances, etc., held in the countryside near a sanctuary on the religious feast day of the place. Untermann sees in this a neuter verbal abstract formed with the suffix **-mō(n)*, **-mōnos*, with the same root and basically identical meaning (**com-ey-mū*), similar to Latin *conventio* (Jordan 2019: 897). I suppose we could translate these last two words as ‘assembled congregation’. They are, in my opinion, the only nominatives in the whole inscription and thus the subject of the main verb of the text (TRECALAŚ).

ENIOROŚEI EQVOISVIQVE.⁷⁸ These two words go together, united by –QVE. EQVOISVI (< **ek^wois-ūi* < **ek^wosi-ūi* < **ek^wosi-ōi*) is the dative of an o-stem. Given that it is coordinated with ENIOROŚEI as is line 2, it could be a parallel, alternative denomination to TIGINO TLATVNEI, which occurs there. If above it was understood as a dedication to “the Supporter of the Summits”, here we could have another theonym, epithet or epiclesis, *Equoisos* with an ultimate lexical reference to horses. Interestingly enough, Taittiu’s husband, according to the *Lebor Gabála*, was *Eochaid mac Eirc*,⁷⁹ last High King (*Ard Rí*) of the Fír Bolg, whose first name has traditionally been linked to Old Irish *ech* ‘horse’, apparently sharing a lexeme with EQVOISVI.⁸⁰

OGRIS OLOCAS TOGIAS. In my opinion these three words are in the accusative plural and are the direct object that makes explicit the dedication mentioned in line 3. Thus, syntactically they depend on the verb TRECALAŚ, which would need to be understood here. As for the etymology of these terms, I find Prósper’s proposals (1994/5 and 2002) convincing:

- (i) **okrins* ‘mountains’, accusative plural of an *i*-stem,⁸¹ from **h₂ek-* (‘sharp’) elongated twice as **h₂ek-r-is* (*IEW* 21; *LIV* 261), which would result in

⁷⁷**kóm* is the preposition and preverb meaning ‘with, beside, near, by’ (*IEW* 612–13; De Vaan 2008: 128). **-h₁ey-* is the verbal root meaning ‘to go’ (*IEW* 293–6; *LIV* 232–3), which originates Latin *ire* (De Vaan 2008: 191–2) or Greek *εἶμι* (Beekes 2010: 388).

⁷⁸Marco Simón (1986) relates what he reads as EQVEISVI, to *Equos*, the ninth month of the Coligny Calendar and suggests a celebration on July/August, for which there would be parallels in the Irish *Lugnasad*.

⁷⁹See MacKillop (1998: 162).

⁸⁰Cf. Meyer’s ‘King Eochaid has horse’s ears’ (1903). See Doherty (2018). Pedersen (1909: 1. § 161) linked *Eochaid* (gen. *Eochada*), to an Ogamic anthroponym IVACATTOS, in relation to the word for ‘yew’ in Proto-Celtic. However, Bergin (1932: 11.142) and Hamp reject this connection, indicating that IVACATTOS (in Hamp’s words) “must remain one of the many unidentified Ogam names” (1953: 283 n. 3). MacKillop (1998: 162) suggests different etymological origins, all based on the word for horse: ‘horse-rider’, ‘fighter on horseback’, ‘horse of conquest’.

⁸¹This is the first analysis that Prósper offered (1994/5), but in 2002 she preferred to see it as nom. plural (< **okreyes*). As I said, I believe that these three words are in the accusative.

Proto-Celtic **okris*,⁸² Latin *ocris* ‘rugged mountain’ (from a Proto-Italic **okri-* ‘hilltop’) and *acer* ‘sharp’ or Greek *ὄκρις* ‘sharp edge’ and *ἄκρος* ‘high’ (Beekes 2010: 57).⁸³

- (ii) **(p)olkās* ‘cultivated lands’, from **polkā*, an accusative plural with Celtic loss of initial /p/ and with an epenthetic non-etymological /o/, is the explanation for the second word.⁸⁴ It is based on **pelk-*, **polk-* ‘turn, rotate’, **polkā* (< **pol(h₁)k-eh₂*) ‘turned’ (IEW 807), with derivatives in Germanic,⁸⁵ Balto-Slavic,⁸⁶ and more importantly, Celtic: Gaulish *ōlca* ‘arable land’, from where French *ouch* ‘arable land’. A Hispano-Celtic cognate, epigraphically documented as a place name,⁸⁷ was the ancestor of Spanish *huelga*, ‘fertile cultivated field’.
- (iii) **tog-yās* seems formed on IE **(s)teg-* (Schwerteck 1979: 189–90, followed by Meid or Prósper). Prósper (2002: 221) links it specifically to Old Irish *tuige* ‘roofing, thatching’ (as well as *to*, the Welsh, Cornish and Breton cognate), from **tog-yā* ‘roof’ (IEW 1013–14; LIV 589; De Bernardo 1999: 210; Matasović 2009: 376).⁸⁸

SISTAT LVGVEI. After the three accusatives, there is a significant problem with the syntax of the text. SISTAT is a singular verb without an apparent subject, followed by the name of the god again in the dative, now without a preposition.⁸⁹ Trying to fix this difficult syntax led Prósper to suggest (2002: 216–20) that we are, actually, confronting a plural form (< **SISTANT*), which is not impossible in epigraphic terms since there are abundant ancient Hispanic epigraphic examples where an *n* in coda position is not written; but this is extremely difficult to prove. Having a plural verb helped her to fit all the pieces

⁸²From which Old Irish *ochair* ‘edge’, *acher* ‘sharp, violent, fierce’ and *ér* ‘high, noble, great’.

⁸³We have several instances of Continental Celtic place names (some in Spain) going back to **ok-elo-*, a different formation on the same root, meaning ‘promontory’ (García Alonso 2003: s.v.; Sims-Williams 2006: 96ff.). Cf. IEW 18–22, De Vaan (2008: 424), Matasović (2009: 28) and Beekes (2010: 1066).

⁸⁴Already Schwerteck, supported by Ködderitzsch, and then Prósper.

⁸⁵Proto-Germanic **falgō* > Old High German and Old Saxon *felga*, Old English *fielg* ‘wheel rim’; Proto-West Germanic **falgu* > Old English *fealh* ‘barrow’, Middle English *falge*, *falwe* ‘arable land lying idle’. English *fallow*, Old Frisian *fallach* ‘arable land’. Cf. Kroonen (2013: 125).

⁸⁶Proto-Balto-Slavic **palsā* > Proto-Slavic **polsā* > Russian *polosā* ‘section of a field, strip’; compare with Lith. *plėšti* (-šiu, -šiau), Latv. *plēst* ‘to tear, pluck; to plow land for the first time’ < **pleh, K-ie-*). Cf. Derksen (2008: 411) and Kroonen (2013: 125).

⁸⁷As ‘*castellum OLCA*’ in an inscription from Rodeiro (Pontevedra), *CIRG* II, pp. 201–2, N. 84: ‘D. M. LVCILA VITALIS (CASTELLO) OLCA AN. XI.’

⁸⁸This also underlies Germanic forms like Old Icelandic *þekja*, or Old High German *dekchi*, as Prósper pointed out. We could also add (cf. Matasović 2009: 376) the Latin verb *tegō*, *-ere* (< **(s)teg-e/o*) ‘to cover’ and all its derivatives (De Vaan 2008: 608), among them *tectum* ‘roof, ceiling, dwelling’, *tegulā* ‘roof-tile’, *togā*, with Italic cognates. From **tego-* we also have Old Irish *teg* ‘house’, as well as *imthach* ‘a cover’ (*tuigethir* ‘to cover’ comes from **tog-yā*, cf. Matasović 2009: 376). In Greek (cf. Beekes 2010: 1393) we have *στέγω* ‘to cover, keep closed’, *στέγος* ‘covered, waterproof, clogged’, *στέγος* and *τέγος* ‘roof, house’.

⁸⁹Possibly because the syntactic relation is different here from what is the case with COMEIMV, with its preverb (De Bernardo 2008). Cf. Eska (1990 and 2006).

into her vision of the puzzle: the three previous words would be the subject of a verb in the plural. However, to me, these words should be taken as direct objects of TRECALAŚ (on the assumption that it was understood as implicitly repeated).

SISTAT is perhaps the only word that has enjoyed an almost unanimous interpretation (apart from Prósper's suggestion that this is a plural form): it is a third person singular reduplicated form of the verb **steh₂* 'stand' (*IEW* 1004–8; *LIV* 590–2), with a formation very similar to Latin *sistō* or Greek *ἵστημι*. To me this verb is an intransitive present subjunctive third person singular, with a desiderative value. Since we are dealing with a present tense, the desinence is of course primary, but it already shows here the loss of the inherited final *-i* that we still see in verbal forms written with the Palaeo-Hispanic semi-syllabary (**ambitiseti** [P2 A5], **auzeti** [P2 A10], etc.). The recent loss of this final *-i* is the reason why the now final *-t* does not yet seem to have suffered the effects of lenition (for the same analysis of this ending in this word, see Villar 1995: 30–3 and 36 and Jordán 2019: 220), contrary to what happened, as we saw above with TRECALAŚ, with forms with secondary endings (and therefore without the final *-i* since the beginning), in a similar process to that of prehistoric Latin (cf. Clackson – Horrocks, 2007: 22):

- Latin third person singular primary ending **-ti* > *-t* vs third person singular secondary ending **-t* > *-d*.⁹⁰
- Celtiberian third person singular primary ending **-ti* > *-t* vs third person singular secondary ending **-t* > **-ð* > **-θ*.

Aware of the difficulty of my solution, which is unprovable given the challenge posed by the text, and relating it to the fact, which I will discuss below, that there could be a different hand at the end of the inscription, I wonder whether there could be a syntactic break, though obviously not marked in the text. That is, that SISTAT TO LVGVEI is a kind of summary, a conclusion, of all that has gone before, but syntactically a separate sentence: 'May this (dedication / offering / monument) stand/remain/be in honour of *Lug*'.

TLATO / TOVTAS. I think that the last two words of the text were written by someone else. Some of the letters (A, T) look quite different from what we have seen in the rest of the inscription. We will never know, but it could even be that these last two words were added later.⁹¹

TLATO has historically been one of the most difficult words to interpret in the text, for two main reasons: because the reading is very unclear and

⁹⁰Later, in Latin, the third person ending *-t* became generalised in all types, so the language lost this distinction (Clackson – Horrocks 2007: 22).

⁹¹Apart from the specific shape of the letters, TLATO breaks the length of line 6, which was already longer than the previous ones, and the last word stands alone on a new line. In particular, the A in TLATO and the one in the following word have a more rounded shape, different from the rest of the A's in the inscription.



Figure 24. TOVTAS?

because the ending is difficult to understand. My proposal here, linked in some way to the reading TLATVNEI that I propose for the second line, opens up a hitherto unexplored avenue: that the last word in line 5 is not a singular genitive of an unidentified second declension noun, but a verbal form, and, in particular, a verbal form that would show a third person singular secondary ending **-to*, i.e. the singular form corresponding to the third plural **-nto* form recently recognised by Jordán (2019: 212–13) in the word **auzanto** [P4, 01], which Untermann (*MLH* IV, 408–12) had considered a possible *ā* subjunctive (**awdh-ā-nto*) and Jordán analyses as a middle voice radical athematic aorist indicative (**awdh₁-nto*). In my opinion, both options could be applied here, with the verbal root **t_lh₂-* (discussed above) followed by the third person *singular* middle voice secondary ending in this case (**-to*). For reasons to do with the strange syntactic structure of the inscription itself (as far as we can understand it), I would be inclined to see it as a subjunctive, but it would be impossible to deny that Jordán’s hypothesis could also work phonetically here: **t_lh₂-ā-to* and **t_lh₂-to*. We could translate this word as ‘may he support, may he provide for’.

TOVTAS. The reading is not certain, but I think the last three letters are clear: *TAS*. The first one is also clear, although less so: *T*. The problem is with regard to the second and especially the third letter. But I think it is reasonable to posit an *O* for the second. The third is the most difficult one, but it is not impossible to appreciate (or almost imagine) a *V* here, at a slightly lower level. This would give us a plural accusative of a well-known feminine noun of the first declension: *TOVTAS*, from **tewtéh₂* (< **tewh₂-* ‘to swell’; *IEW* 1080–5; *LIV*

639–40), with well-known derivatives in Italo-Celtic (**toutā*; cf. De Vaan 2008: 625; Matasović 2009: 386), Balto-Slavic (**t(j)autā*’, cf. Derksen 2015: 461) and Germanic (**peudō*; Kroonen 2013: 540). In Celtic **toutā* is a feminine noun that means ‘people, tribe or tribal land’. Derivatives are Welsh and Breton *tud*, Old Irish *túath*, Gaulish and Celtiberian *touta*. I propose to translate this here as ‘the communities’.

4. TEXT AND TENTATIVE TRANSLATION

Fully agreeing with all those who, explicitly or implicitly, have refused to proceed to a translation of this text, and sharing with the most cautious of them that this exercise is dangerous, I offer here my reading of the text and put together a possible translation of the whole, as a modest attempt to fit the pieces together according to the analysis of the preceding pages, in the hope of perhaps having opened up some new possibilities of interpretation, but being aware that it is quite possible that we will never have a definitive answer to the many doubts that a challenge such as the one posed by this difficult inscription undoubtedly raises.

<i>ENIOROŠEI</i>	<i>To the Mountain Dweller</i>
<i>VTA TIGINO TĻATVNEI</i>	<i>and (to) the Supporter of the Highlands,⁹²</i>
<i>TRECALAŠ TO ĻVGVEI</i>	<i>to Lug the assembled congregation</i>
<i>ARAIANOM CQMEIMV</i>	<i>dedicated</i>

<i>ENIOROŠEI EQVOISVIQVE</i>	<i>To the Mountain Dweller and Horse-breeder</i>
<i>OGRIS OLOCAS TOGIAS</i>	<i>(dedicated) mountains, fields and houses.</i>
<i>SISTAT ĻVGVEI TĻATO</i>	<i>May it all be for Lug. May he support</i>
<i>TOVTAS</i>	<i>the communities</i>

5. CONCLUSIONS

Let me finally say that, in my opinion, Lug is indeed mentioned in this inscription. But we could also see another divinity, or an epithet or epicleris of Lug, in a name that seems very similar to that of Irish Tailtiu, mother of Lug and wife of Eochaid mac Eirc, whose name could also resonate among the white rocks of Villastar, in the form EQVOISOS (or EQVEISOS). The two ends of this bridge are separated by a thousand years.⁹³

We could speculate in many diverse ways to try to explain this. But, to my mind, what is most relevant is the fact that the very names of Lug and Tailtiu are linked in Irish myth: they are mother and son. And what could be a Celtiberian version of the same names seems to appear, in contiguous lines, in a Celtiberian text a millennium older. Since, in my opinion, TĻATVNEI is

⁹² “And (to) the Supporter, (son) of the Hidden one”??

⁹³ It is funny to think that, according to the *Lebor Gabála*, the *Fír Bolg* stayed in Iberia in their return trip from Greece to Ireland.

a masculine formation, I think that in this case it may simply be an *alter ego*, an epithet or epiclesis of the god Lug himself. We could wonder about ways in which this *alter ego* would have ended up becoming in the Irish myth the mother of the god. But to try to give precise answers would be even more of a stretch.

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FIFTY YEARS ON: ABSOLUTE/CONJUNCT, THE 2PL. COPULA, VERBAL ACCENT AND A POINTLESS PARTICLE

ABSTRACT

The focus below is upon attempts made in the last fifty years or so to account for the absolute and conjunct verbal inflections peculiar to the Insular Celtic branch of the large Indo-European language family. A critical survey of various proposals regarding the endings themselves and associated irregularities in compound verbs is accompanied by some new considerations, notably a hitherto overlooked 2pl. abs. form of the copula in the Würzburg Glosses and the negative passive preterite's potential as a means of generating enclitic pronouns with geminated initial consonant. These lead to a somewhat modified version of the author's previously published views on the topic.

1. PIE PRIMARY AND IC ABSOLUTE ENDINGS: AN ELUSIVE ENCLITIC PLUS 'PARTICLE PACKAGE', THE 'ACTUAL ENCLITIC' ALTERNATIVE, AND ACCENTUAL APPROACHES

THERE HAS BEEN over a century of argument about the origins of the contrast in a number of Old Irish (OIr.) tense/mood categories between an 'absolute' inflection typifying initial simple verbs and a 'conjunct' inflection generally used otherwise (GOI 350), and it is now fifty years since the great American Indo-Europeanist Warren Cowgill's (1975) conclusive demonstration that both sets continue Proto-Indo-European (PIE) primary endings, thanks in part to an early Insular Celtic (IC) apocope of 3rd-person $^{*}(n)ti > ^{*}(n)t$. Since almost general subsequent acceptance of this insight has not put an end to controversy¹ but has shifted its focus to specific formal issues such as the IC apocope's range and the factor(s) responsible for differentiating abs. from conj. endings, the half-century of Cowgill's decisive intervention seems a good time to take stock of later contributions and venture some further suggestions. There is a reason for the prominence of the infrequent OIr. active 2nd-person

¹Critical accounts of previous contributions to this debate are not lacking: e.g. Cowgill (1975: 40–8); McCone (1979: 1–5); Sims-Williams (1984: 139–46); ODVC 69–89; Budassi and Roma (2018, 293–301), who surprisingly assert that 'the bedrock of McCone's theory is C. Watkins' (1963) and Meid's (1963) simultaneous argument that, at an early stage, Proto-Indo-European had not yet developed the primary vs secondary opposition' (2018: 297). In fact, the bedrock of McCone's theory is neither Watkins's nor Meid's account but Cowgill's (1975) equation of IC conjunct with PIE primary endings (with $^{*}-i$ except in 1/2pl. and them. 1sg.) and rejection of PIE secondary endings (always without $^{*}-i$) as a factor in IC verbal inflection. I am grateful to an anonymous reader for a prompt report making inclusion of this long article in the current issue of *Celtica* possible and for a number of helpful suggestions on further reading and other matters.

plural absolute *-the*: despite playing a key role in particle-based derivations of IC abs. from PIE prim. endings, it was almost certainly not the original ending and this calls into question a particle's relevance to the basic active abs. inflections at the heart of its *raison d'être*.

'The presence, in every verb, of a particle **ed*, unless it is replaced by some other particle, such as **yo*, **k^{we}*, or **de*' was posited by Boling (1972: 85) in the first full application of an enclitic (E) of the shape **eC* (> 'C after V')² to the absolute endings of initial simple verbs (GOI 350) and otherwise irregular features linked with the proclitic first preverb of initial 'deuterotonic' forms of compound verbs (GOI 351): e.g., deut. *as:beir* 'says' < **eχs-ed=beret* (not **a:beir* < **eχs=beret*) vs 'prototonic' *ní:e-pir* < **nīs=eχs-beret*; *fo:ceird* 'puts' *fo-t:cheird* 'puts you (sg.)' < **wo-'d kerdet* and **wo-'d-tu kerdet* respectively (not **fo:cheird* < **wo kerdet* or **fo-d:cheird* < **wo-tu kerdet*). OIr. active pres. ind. abs. sg. 1 *biru*, 2 *biri*, 3 *be(i)rid*, pl. 1 *berm(a)i*, 3 *ber(a)it* were derived from **berū+d*, **berī+d*, **bereti+d*, **berosmesi+d*, **beronti+d* and in the 2pl., 'the most doubtful of all the absolute forms, the form **beretes+ed* would give the attested *beirthe* ... Such an explanation seems preferable to the suggestion that the relative forms of the first and second persons singular, **berū+yo* and **berī+yo* (→ *biru*, *biri*), have shifted to non-relative function' (Boling 1972: 94).

This amounts to a 'particle package' of three points out of six in the most basic OIr. paradigm where a clear edge is claimed for a particle over a plain primary ending with (except for thematic 1sg. **-ū* < **-ō*) final **-i*: PIE 1sg. athematic **-mi*, 2sg. **-si*, 3sg./pl. **-ti/*-nti*, and arguably Proto-Celtic (PC) 1pl. **-me/osi* (PIE **-me/os*), 2pl. **-tesi* (PIE **-te*). Boling posited OIr. abs. 1/2sg. *bir-u/-i* < **ber-ūd/-īd* (not **biur/*bir* like conj. *-biur*, *-bir* < **ber-ū/-ī*), and 2pl. *beirthe* < **bere-tēd* < **-te(h)ed* < **-tes-ed* (not **be(i)rid* like conj. *-be(i)rid* < **bere-tes*). The particle was, however, superfluous in abs. 3sg. *be(i)rid* < **bere-ti±d* (conj. *-beir* < **bere-t*), 3pl. *ber(a)it* < **bero-nti±d* (conj. *-berat* < **bero-nt*) or 1pl. *berm(a)i* < **bero-smesi±d* (conj. *-beram* < **bero-mo*; cf. Boling 1972: 83 and 97). Since Boling was concerned with the effect of an **ed* 'closely paralleled by the Vedic usage of the neuter pronominal form *id*' (1972: 80, followed by examples of Vedic Sanskrit *íd*) on the OIr. verbal system as a whole, he was mostly content to add **(e)d* to Watkins's reconstructions of personal inflections³ without further comment. These, however, were based upon two questionable assumptions:⁴ (i) that Celtic did not inherit regular

²C and V are italicised as abbreviations for consonant and vowel in order to distinguish these from other uses, notably C = conjunct particle and V = verb.

³Watkins (1963) was acknowledged by Boling (1972: 73), who then tacitly adopted his proposals: 'in the third person ... the absolute reflects the Indo-European primary endings and the conjunct reflects the Indo-European secondary endings. Abs. 3 sg. *berid*, 3 pl. *berait* < **bhereti*, **bheronti*, cjt. 3 sg. *-beir*, 3 pl. *-berat* = **bheret*, **bheront*... The other persons of the paradigm of the conjunct likewise clearly all go back to archaic secondary forms: 1 sg. **bherō*, 2 sg. **bheri* (**bherei*), 1 pl. **bheromo*, 2 pl. **bherete*... The forms of the other persons of the absolute are not entirely clear, though 1 pl. *-mi* strongly recalls Ved. *-masi* < **-mesi*' (Watkins 1963: 42).

⁴Cogent objections have been raised (e.g. Cowgill 1975: 42–8, and 1985; ODVC 97–9 and 102–4) against claims (i) that Celtic somehow rejigged (e.g. Kurylowicz 1964: 133–4) or did not inherit (Meid 1963: 99–107; Watkins 1963: 41–9) the tense- or mood-based primary/secondary

attachment of primary **-i* to the 2sg./3sg./3pl. and athem. 1sg. endings in certain tenses/moods, although this must have been a PIE feature because it is found not only in Indo-Iranian, Greek, Italic etc. but also in Anatolian, ‘generally regarded as the first branch to have separated from the other Indo-European languages’ (Watkins 2004: 551); (ii) that a formal difference reconstructed in the 1sg. (them. **-ō* vs athem. **-mi*) also characterised other persons such as the 2sg. with alleged them. **-ī*/**-ei* rather than **-e-si* aligned with athem. **-si*.

While recognising a particle’s relevance to problems affecting compound verbs, Cowgill focussed upon absolute/conjunct in some detail. Having exposed shortcomings of the then usual connection of OIr. conjunct endings with secondary inflections, he made an incontrovertible case (ODVG 78) for their derivation from the corresponding PIE/PC primary endings: e.g. 1sg. pres. conj. *-biur* ‘I bear’ < **bir-ū* < **ber-ū* < prim. **b^her-ō* rather than **-ber* < **beran* < sec. **b^her-o-m* (Cowgill 1975: 48–9). Cowgill (1975: 50–1) rejected unstressed *es* > *is* (GOI 49) as the cause of raising in 2sg. *-bir* or an *s*-stem dat. sg. like *nim* ‘heaven’ (< **ber-is*, **nem-is* < sec. **b^her-e-s*, endingless locative **nem-es*), positing (1975: 57) **2sg. conj. *-bir*** (as opposed to **-beir* < **ber-es*) < **bir-ī* < **ber-ei* < **ber-e(h)i* < **prim. **b^her-e-si***; dat. sg. *nim* (as opposed to **neim* < **nem-es*) < **niμ-ī* < **nem-ei* < **nem-e(h)i* < *i*-loc. **nem-es-i*. **Conj. 2pl. *-be(i)rid*** < **PC **ber-e-tes*** (with arguably Italo-Celtic prim. **-tes*; cf. Lat. *fer-tis* ‘you (pl.) bear’) and **1pl. *-beram*** < **b^her-o-mos* with prim. **-mos* (cf. Lat. 1pl. *feri-mus* ‘we bear’ etc.) were proposed (Cowgill 1975: 59–60; vs PIE 1pl. sec. **-me(m)* according to n. 16). A key innovation (Cowgill 1975: 56–7) was P(roto)-I(C) apocope of **-ti* > **-t* (cf. Lat. pres. 3sg. *fer-t* ‘bears’, 3pl. *feru-nt* ‘bear’) deriving **conj. 3sg. *-beir***, **3pl. *-berat*** < **beret*, **beront* < **prim. **b^her-e-ti*** and **b^her-o-nti* and ruling them out as direct precursors of abs. 3sg. *be(i)rid*, 3pl. *ber(a)it*. Crucially, when the *s*-preterite (e.g. conj. 1sg. *-carus* < **karass-ū*) ‘was partially thematicized, ... the only thematic endings the language had were the primary ones: the old imperfect had no doubt disappeared long before and thematic aorists like **lude* “went” < **ludh-e-t* had already been remodelled as perfects, on the basis of the coincidence ... of their third singulars in **-e*’ (Cowgill 1975: 63).

Once PIE prim. were made the source of PIC conj. endings, their abs. counterparts needed explaining. Boling’s **ed* was discounted (Cowgill 1975: 55–6) for the good reason that the identical 3sg. nom.-acc. neuter pronoun **ed*, far from blocking lenition, actually caused it owing to early loss of *-d*: e.g. OIr. *d-a:chlaid* ‘digs it up’ < **t(o)-e=χlaδeh* < **to-e(d)=kladet(i)* vs *do:claid* ‘digs up’ < hypothetical **to-(e)d=kladet(i)*. Etymological viability and two likely examples of verb + **id* in Gaulish (*buetid*, probably *bueti+id*; ODVC 173) could not withstand insuperable formal objections to **ed*. It is methodologically unacceptable, not to say absurd, to seek an explanation for phonological

opposition ineluctably reconstructed for PIE, or (ii) that PIE had peculiar thematic primary endings such as 3sg. **-e(i)* outside the 1sg. (e.g. Watkins 1969: 59–68). Even if (ii) is accepted, there are compelling grounds for positing primary them. sg. 2 **-e-si* and 3 **-e-ti* aligned with athem. **-si* and **-ti* in Celtic as in neighbouring Italic and Germanic (ODVC 104–6).

irregularities (notably, non-lenition after vowel-final proclitic preverbs) in an irregularly behaving (by not leniting) putative particle.

Cowgill (1975: 55–6) posited **es* of unclear origins as the only phonetic shape capable of both blocking lenition and generating abs. endings: e.g. pres. ind. sg. 1 *biru* < **birū-h* < **berū-(e)s*, 2 *biri* < **birī-h* < **beresi-(e)s*, 3 *be(i)rid* < **bereθi-h* < **bereti-(e)s*, pl. 1 *berm(a)i* < **beromos-es*, 2 *beirthe* < **bereθē-h* < **bereθe(h)-eh* < **beretes-es*, 3 *ber(a)it* < **berodi-h* < **beronti-(e)s* (1975: 58–61). 3sg./pl. **bereti-s*/**beronti-s* were preferred to apocopated **beret-es*/**beront-es*, because *beirthe* with 3sg. m./n. suffixed pronoun ‘points to **bereti-s-e(n)*; **beret-es-e(n)* should have given *šbeirthe* [cf. 2pl. *beirthe*]. If so, the loss of *-i* ... must be a development of Insular Celtic itself’ (Cowgill 1975: 59).

The ‘particle package’ now became (Cowgill 1975: 51) abs. 2pl. **beretes-es* (instead of **beretes-ed*), 1sg. **berū-(e)s*, 2sg. **beresi-(e)s*. Although ‘more difficult’ because **beromos-es* > OIr. **berm(a)e* should follow from ‘passive preterit, *brethae* < **britos-es*’, the 1pl. abs. was added on the dubious grounds that ‘*berm(a)i* cannot be from **beromo-s*, whereas it can be from **beromos-es*’ (Cowgill 1975: 60). Boling’s **(e)d* was superfluous to ‘the deictic particle **i*’ (1972: 95 and 98; cf. Watkins 1963: 47–9) in abs. 3sg./pl. but Cowgill’s **(e)s* differentiated 3sg./pl. abs. *be(i)rid*, *ber(a)it* < **bereti-(e)s*, **beronti-(e)s* from conj. *-beir*, *-berat* < **beret(i)*, **beront(i)* by blocking apocope, upping the ‘particle package’ from 50% to 100%. Schrijver essentially adopts Cowgill’s 3sg./pl. reconstructions (1994: 159) but tentatively envisages the prim. 1pl. **-mosi* liable to apocope (1994: 164) supported by McCone (1982: 27) and Sims-Williams (1984: 150). Also endorsing abs. 2pl. *beirthe* < **beretes-es* and 1sg. *biru* < **berū-s*, Schrijver (1994: 180) enthuses that ‘the capacity of the “particle theory” to explain the formal differences between the absolute and conjunct endings of Old Irish is stunning’.

Cowgill’s OIr. conj. 3sg. *-beir* and 3pl. *-berat* < **bereti* and **beronti* via PIC apocope of **(n)ti* was a gamechanger because, in the absence of some other means of preventing their loss of **-i*, it made derivation of abs. *be(i)rid* and *ber(a)it* < **bereti* and **beronti* seem impossible without adding a particle. The impeding of **(n)ti* > **(n)t* by an attached enclitic rendering its **-i* non-final was an eminently reasonable assumption, but it cannot be limited to a particle **ed* or **es* and must include other enclitics such as relative **yo*, connective **k^we* ‘and’ and object pronouns like 1sg. **me*/**mu*,⁵ 3sg. m./n. **en*/**e(d)* or 3pl. **sūs*: cf. the treatment of verb + enclitic as a single phonological unit in the later Prim(itive)Ir(ish) apocope exemplified by OIr. 3pl. abs. *ber(a)it* ‘they bear’ < **berod*’ < **berodi(h)* < **beronti-(s)* but rel. *bert(a)e* ‘who bear’ < **berod’e* < **berodeya* < **beronti-yo* or 3sg. abs. *be(i)rid* ‘bears’ < **ber’eθ*’ < **bereθi(h)* < **bereti-(s)* but (+ n. pron.) *beirthe* ‘bears it’ < **ber’eθ’i* < **bereθi(y)-e* < **bereti-(s)-e(d)*.

⁵Owing to depalatalisation of consonants in proclitics (*RelChron*, 135), non-palatal infixed *-m-* could be from **-me*, but not suffixed *-m* in *tāth-um* ‘(there is to me), I have’. It appears, then, that the immediate preform of OIr. 1sg. *-m(-)* was **-mu* through remodelling of inherited **me* (e.g. Gk. *me*) under the influence of 2sg. **tu*.

The non-controversial PIE syntactic rule known as Wackernagel's Law automatically placed a sentence E(nclitic) directly after an accented initial V(erb), P(reverb), N(egative) or X (= noun, non-enclitic pronoun, adverb, conjunction etc.). As a result, *-i was shielded from apocope by E only in clause-initial PIC verb forms like *bereti-yo/-k^we or *bereti(y)-e(d), as also assumed for *bereti-(e)s etc. Since that is exactly where OIr. simple verbs with absolute endings are found, it was proposed (McCone 1979: 29–31) that new initial forms with *-i but no enclitic were extrapolated after PIC *-i > -∅ from initial forms with enclitic(s) (# = clause/sentence boundary, . or ... = one or more unspecified constituents other than V): e.g. #*bereti-k^we(...)# 'and bears', #*bereti(y)-e(d)(...)# 'bears it' and then also #*bereti(...)# 'bears' (> OIr. abs. *beirid*) in clause-initial position but otherwise #(E)(...)*beret# 'bears' (> OIr. conj. *-beir*).

This brief sketch will suffice, pending a closer look (§§7–8 below) at compound as well as simple verbs. The proposed solution starts from Cowgill's demonstration that PIE/PC primary endings underlie IC conj. and abs. inflections alike, but does not restrict apocope to 3rd-person *-(n)ti or differentiate abs. from conj. by adding hypothetical *es to unapocopated primary endings. It obviates a particle by extracting the *-i of almost all PC prim. and PIC abs. active inflections (§§2–3 below) from a nucleus of initial forms in which it was shielded from loss by any 'actual' (in effect, securely reconstructed) PIC enclitic.

Cowgill (1975: 56) posited an effectively *ad hoc* PIC apocope of -i through reluctance 'to require of Celtic a rigidity in its sound laws which we do not require of its Italic sister languages. It is quite generally accepted that by 500 BC Latin *iouesat* and *mitat* had lost final *-i ... We are quite used to accepting an early apocope of *-i in finite verb forms in Italic, even though we know that in many other forms it remained, giving Latin *-e, e.g. in neuter *i*-stems like *mare*, *rēte*, locatives like *pede*, *rēge*, infinitives like *amāre*, *esse*. It is legitimate therefore to posit for Celtic also an early loss of *-i in third person verb forms'. Latin 2sg. forms such as pres. ind. *es* 'you are' < *esi or *regis* 'you direct/rule' < *reg-e-si display apocope of *-si like that of *-ti in 3sg. *est* 'is' < *es-ti or *regit* 'directs, rules' < *reg-e-ti etc. However, Cowgill did not admit a PIC parallel, preferring a decisive role for the particle in differentiating 2sg. abs. *biri* < *birī-h (*-h < *-(e)s) from conj. *-bir* < *birī and deriving -ī(-) more or less *ad hoc* from unapocopated *-e-si(-). Without further explanation, Schrijver (1994: 164) deemed apocope of *-si > *-s probable in 1pl. conj. *-mos < *-mosi, but merely possible elsewhere. While basically adhering to Schrijver's version of the particle (§4 below), Schumacher (KPV 141, 146–8) implicitly accepted regular *-si > *-s and derived pres. 1pl. abs. *berm(a)i* 'we bear' < *ber-o-mosi-(e)s but pret. pass. 3sg. abs. *breth(a)e* 'was borne' < *bri-tos-es.

A neophyte article (McCone 1978) proposed extending Cowgill's early loss of -i to account for the prevalence of 'shorter' over 'longer' (GOI 200) dat. sg. forms of consonant stems in the Würzburg Glosses before a dramatic shift towards the latter in Milan. A regular general PIC sound change could then replace a sporadic one after 3sg./pl. -t- alone: e.g. dat. sg. *n*-stem (GOI 209–14;

nom. *toimtiu* ‘opinion’) *toimte* < **tojedeyan* < **tomen-tiyon* < loc. *-ti(y)oni*; dat. sg. *t-stem* (GOI 205–7; nom. *ointu* ‘unity’) *ointu* < **oino-θūh* < **-tūt* < loc. **-tūti* like 3sg. conj. *-beir* ‘bears’ < **-ber-eh* < **-et* < **-eti*. The dat. sg. of OIr. *s-stems* (GOI 215–16) like *nem* ‘heaven’ is no problem (pace McCone 1978: 30–1) if PIC apocope of *-i* was preceded by unstressed *es* > *is* before a vowel (GOI 49; *RelChron.* 99–100): e.g. dat. sg. *nim* < **nīuih* < **nem-is* < **-is-i* < loc. **-es-i*. Starting from a normal PIE locative in **-i* (cf. Lat. *gener-e*) nullifies Cowgill’s (1975: 50–1) justified objection to an at best residual endless locative as the source and makes apocope of PIC 2sg. **-si* quite straightforward: e.g. 2sg. conj. *-bir* ‘you bear’ < **biri*h < **ber-is* < **-isi* < **-esi*.

Unlike Cowgill, Meiser (1998: 73–4) posited regular Proto-Italic loss of unaccented *-i* in categories where this was invariable (e.g. primary verbal endings, or Lat. *et* ‘and’ vs Gk. *éti*, OInd. *āti* < **h₁éti*) but its survival in those also containing accented *-i*: e.g. ‘in the abl. (< loc.) sg. of the *s-stems* (*gener-e* < **gēnes-i* cf. Gk. γένει) and the active infinitive ending based on it (*regere* < **reḡes-i* ...), cf. the likes of *ped-i*’ (> Lat. abl. *ped-e* ‘with the foot’). Alternatively, *-i* may only have been lost after *-s-* and *-t-* in Italic and then restored in categories where it had often been retained: e.g. Lat. nom./abl. (< loc.) sg. *vir-tūs/-tūte* ‘virtue’ (< **-tūt-i* for **-tūt* < **-tūt-i*) etc. like *pēs/ped-e* ‘foot’ (< **ped-i*) etc. or *pec-us/-ore* ‘livestock’ (< **-os-i* for **-os* < **-os-i*) etc. like *fulg-ur/-ure* ‘lightning’ (< **-ur-i*) etc.⁶

PIC apocope of *-i* was limited to position after a voiceless stop (*-t-*, *-k^(w)-*) and ‘perhaps’ *-s-* with the implausible help of endless locatives etc. by Schrijver (1994: 159–65; critique in *RelChron.* 100–2). Regular general PIC **-i* > *-ø* remains preferable, but its occurrence after *-s-* as well as *-t-* is all that really matters here. It has just been seen that PIC **-si* > **-s* combines with unstressed *es* > *is* before a vowel to account impeccably for dat. sg. forms like *nim* and 2sg. conj. forms like *-bir*. Where *-i* was shielded from loss by a hypothetical or actual enclitic, this combination also covers 2sg. OIr. abs. *biri* < **biri*⁷ < **biri*yī < **beri(h)i(-h)* < **berisi(-s)* < **beresi(±e)s* and Brit. **-ið* < **-iði* < **-iyi* < **-i(h)i(-h)* < **-isi(-s)* < **-esi(±e)s* satisfactorily, whereas with **-ī(-h)* < **-ei(-h)* < **-ehi(-h)* < **-esi(-s)* ‘some British endings remain obscure, e.g. 2sg. pres. ind. MW *-y(d)*, MCo. *-yth*, MBr. *-ez*’ (Cowgill 1975: 66). Allowing **-si* > **-s* also enables **esti* > **essi* by PIC postvocalic *st* > *ss* and then apocope to **ess*, whereas restriction of PIC apocope to **-ti* necessitates **esti* > **est* > **ess*. OIr.

⁶The Latin infinitive seen in *es-se* ‘to be’, *rege-re* ‘to rule’ is a petrified *s-stem* loc. **-(e)s-i* but does not go back to Proto-Italic (Meiser 1998: 325) and so was likely created after analogical restoration of **-i* in the *s-stem* paradigm.

⁷With *-ī* retained in OIr. as *-i* like nom./acc. pl. *cnám(a)i* ‘bones’ (GOI 190) < **knāu-ī* < **-ih* vs gen. sg. *fir* ‘man’s’ < **wir-i* < **-ī* (cf. *RelChron.* 120–1). For OIr. *biri* < **biri* < **biri*yī cf. McManus (1991: 115): ‘The *yo-stem* gen. sg. ending differed from that of the *o-stems* only in the presence of *y*, viz. *-yī* which became *iyī* in Primitive Irish ... That the distinction between the two was always maintained is clear from the fact that they have different reflexes in Old Irish, where the *yo-stem* ending appears as *-(a)i* as compared with the complete loss of original *-ī*. In Ogam, however, where both are written *-I*, this distinction is never brought out ... and Kim McCone has suggested to me that the explanation may be that *-ī* had first become *-i* ... and then *-iyī* [> *-iyi*] > *-ī*, which survived in the same way as an original long vowel followed by /h/’ (cf. *RelChron.* 113).

2sg. abs. *-i* < **-isi* < **-esi*(-E) obviously entails 2pl. abs. **-thi* instead of *-the*, but that will turn out to be an advantage.

Koch (1987) posits PC retention of a PIE distinction, directly inferred only (and questionably according to Klein 1992: 96) from Vedic, between unaccented non-initial and accented initial verbs in main clauses as opposed to their invariable accentuation in a subordinate clause. However, the crux (1987: 161) of his ‘prosodic’ approach to abs./conj. inflection and (§8 below) non-lenition by vowel-final pretonic preverbs is an automatic (assignment or) shift of accent to the syllable preceding an enclitic⁸ in Celtic, resulting in (**béreti-me* or **bereti-me* ‘bears me’ etc. from which were then extrapolated initial (**béreti* or) **bereti* etc. with no enclitic and an **-í* immune to apocope in unstressed non-initial verbs (Koch 1987: 162–3). Hence **bereti*(E)...# vs #.(E)...**bereti*(i)# etc. by a two-stage process identical, to all intents and purposes, with that of the ‘actual enclitic’ hypothesis above. However, there is no evidence for enclitic P(I)C non-initial main-clause verbs (Watkins 1963: 39) or for automatic accentuation of a pre-enclitic syllable, and alleged main-clause verbal enclisis seems to be irrelevant or, in the case of deut. PV from original prot. PV (§8 below), unhelpful to Koch’s derivations.

Isaac (2007) envisages the survival of unstressed non-initial verbs ‘deep into the period of the Celtic languages’ (2007: 58) and limits apocope of **-i* to unstressed verbs (51–2), whence non-initial **bereti* > **beret* vs initial **béreti*(-E). Koch (2022: 43) silently shifts position by replacing the ‘actual enclitic’ mechanism with **bereti* > **beret* vs initial **béreti*, while retaining (**béreti*-E or) *bereti*-E with a pre-enclitic accent still needed to trigger gemination (§8 below). If

⁸The Ancient Greek and Latin parallels alleged by Koch (1987: 149–51) are conditioned quite differently from what he posits for Celtic. The basic Greek rule is that enclitics do not affect a directly preceding word’s accentuation (e.g. *philos (tis)* ‘(some) friend’) unless their addition pushes that accent further back in the resultant unit than normal Greek constraints allow, in which case their host receives an extra acute on its final syllable: e.g. *ánthrōpos* ‘man’ or *sōson* ‘save!’ with maximally regressive antepenult acute and penult circumflex respectively and so *ánthrōpós tis* ‘some man’ or *sósón me* ‘save me!’ (e.g. Smyth 1920: 42–3). There are clear indications (vowel weakening and syncope) that Latin had regular initial stress until about the 4th. century BC, but in the classical language ‘the (main) accent lies on the last syllable but one, if this is long (by nature or position, i.e. ends on a long vowel or is closed), [and] otherwise the last but two (antepenult) is stressed’ (Meiser 1998: 53). So, the point that ‘in Latin a following enclitic moves the stress, as in *uirum-que* [wi.rũj.kʷe], *hominēs-que*, etc.’ (Koch 1987: 149) simply boils down to making the group as a whole conform to this rule, whence *virum* but *vi.rum-que*, *hominēs* but *homi.nēs-que*. Greek and Latin usage, then, depends on those languages’ specific restrictions upon the accent’s placement and would only be relevant to PC or PIC if it had had a similar constraint for which the attested Insular Celtic languages provide no evidence. Koch, however, makes a quite different claim (1987: 161–2) of automatic attraction of the P(I)C stress to the final syllable of a word directly followed by an enclitic. It is worth noting that addition of enclitics does not affect the position of the stress in Spanish (on the penult of words ending in vowel, *-n* or *-s* and otherwise on the final syllable as a rule, deviations being marked in writing by an acute; Kattán-Ibarra and Pountain 1997: 8–9): e.g. *sentémonos* ‘let’s sit (*sentemos*) ourselves (*nos*) down’ or *dámelo* ‘give me (*me*) it (*lo*)’. In Italian, where the stress is normally no further back than the antepenult, ‘clitic pronouns ... following the verb are irrelevant to stress placement. In (theoretically possible) forms such as *fabbricamicene* “make me some of them there” [V+mi-ce-ne], or *apiccaticelo* “stick it to yourself there” [V+ti-ce-lo], the stress may appear to be six syllables from the end, but it is only three syllables from the end of the “host” words (*fabbrica* and *apiccia*) to which the clitics are attached’ (Maiden and Robustelli 2013: 15).

absolute and conjunct inflections had arisen from originally accented and unaccented forms respectively, the former should, in the light of the aforementioned Vedic and arguable PIE distribution, also have occurred non-initially (including in compounds) in subordinate clauses. They do not.⁹

Restriction of **-i* > *-ø* to unstressed words runs counter to derivation of the ‘shorter’ dat. sg. of *t*-stem nouns (an undeniably accented category) found with over 80% of OIr. *-tu* abstracts in Wb. (McCone 1978: 26–7) from a normal PIE locative in *-i* (cf. Gk. dat. sg. *pod-í* ‘foot’ etc.): e.g. Wb. *oíntu* < **oino-ūh* < **-tūt* < loc. **-tūti*. This excludes ‘longer’ *oíntaid* < **oino-θūθi* < unapocopated **-tūti* much as Cowgill’s *-beir* < **beret* < **bereti* rules out *berid* < **bereti*. Isaac (2007: 52–4) opts to derive OIr. ‘shorter’ datives like *oíntu* from old endingless locatives like **oinotūt*, but it is impossible to see how or why a formation already greatly eroded by a more distinctive **-i* variant in PIE became so productive in Celtic (unlike other IE sub-families), especially when loc. sg. *-i* is clearly attested in the Gaulish consonant-stem names *Atemaguti* (a *t*-stem), *Magurīgi* and *Edađatextorigi* (*RelChron.* 101). Koch (2022: 47) evades the issue, merely claiming that ‘**móri* “sea, lake” did not undergo the Insular Celtic early apocope of **-i* that affected unaccented verbs, as shown by Old Irish *muir*; see also dative singular **déit* “tooth” < Proto-Celtic **dant-i* < **Hd̥nt-*, *inn-uraid* “last year” < Proto-Indo-European **péruti*’. The first two can easily be due to analogy (McCone 1978: 33 and 36) and the form of the article (OIr. *inn* not *ind*) shows that *inn-uraid* is not an old unapocopated *i*-locative but an accusative < **e/arut-en* (McCone 1992: 36, n. 101; *RelChron.* 101; ODVC 111; Schrijver 1994: 162). Anyway, since it would entail not endingless **pérut* (> Skt. *parut*) but **péruti* (> Gk. *πέρυσι*) with **-i*, a locative origin of petrified *inn-uraid* would be a further obstacle to deriving an OIr. dat. sg. like *oíntu* from endingless as opposed to apocopated (< **oino-tūti*) **oino-tūt*. Further evidence that *±stress* was irrelevant to PIC apocope of **-i* is furnished by OIr. neut. proclitic *na* ‘any’ < **neh* < PIC **nek^(w)* < **ne-k^wi* < **ne-k^wid*, and stressed *ní* ‘anything, something’ for **nē* (under the influence of *an-í*; GOI 311) < **neh* < PIC **nek^(w)* < **ne-k^wi* < **ne-k^wid* (McCone 2003). Apocope of **-i* cannot be credibly restricted to unstressed words.

Koch and Isaac are both sceptical of a PIC node, and Koch’s preference for Gallo-British (1987: 49, n. 113) would perforce shift alleged non-initial enclitic V-**i* > V back to PC or at least a Gallo-Insular phase. There is some evidence for *-t* instead of **-ti* (de Hoz 1997) at later stages of Celtiberian and Gaulish, when Latin influence could have been a factor. Nevertheless, it is clear from examples like *Atemaguti* above, non-initial *uedííumi* ‘I pray’ (§2 below) and *i(m)mi* ‘I am’ (2×, both disobligingly non-initial; Lambert 1994: 89 and 124; §5 below) that there was no general or enclitic loss of PC **-i* in Gaulish. There is also at least 80% probability that Celtiberian attestations of *-(n)ti* represented /*(n)ti*/, either actually or at least when the Iberian alphabet was adopted (*RelChron.* 10, 12–15). Final *-d* was retained undoubtedly in Celtiberian (as [ð] or [z] written

⁹Isaac (2007) ignores this problem but Koch (2022: 35) tackles it with a change of opinion: ‘it is unlikely that Celtic continued a subordinate clause structure like that seen in Vedic’, thereby significantly weakening the case for a direct accentual comparison.

z) and almost certainly in Gaulish (*buetid* above), and OIr. *na/ní* above proves PIC loss of *-i* after loss of *-d*. It follows that the apocope of *-i* now generally agreed to have been responsible, one way or another, for the idiosyncratic Insular Celtic absolute/conjunct opposition was a specifically PIC development (ODVC 172–5).

As seen above, proposed solutions to the problem have tended to correlate inflections peculiar to initial simple verbs with aberrant deuterotonic stress-patterns and (in main clauses) non-leniting pretonic preverbs of initial compound verbs, for the good reason that these features coincide with post-initial ‘Wackernagel position’. The obvious inference was that enclitics played a role. All versions of the particle hypothesis devise and prime enclitics to generate absolute endings, block lenition and then disappear, but the alternative (McCone 1979 etc.) uses directly attested enclitics as an indirect trigger of the features in question. Koch’s (1987) version of this ascribes absolute inflection of initial verbs and gemination of post-initial enclitics to the accent on an initial constituent’s final syllable assumed to result from a following enclitic: e.g. initial simple **béreti-me* > **beretí-me* > **beretí-mme* > OIr. *beirthium(m)* ‘bears me’ and compound **tó-bereti* > prot. **tó-bberet* > deut. **to:bbéret* (with flipped accent; §8 below) > OIr. *do:beir* ‘brings’.

Isaac does not give enclitics a central role and so there is a disconnect, duly criticised by Koch (2022: 44), between his accentually based account of the abs./conj. opposition (Isaac 2007) and a proposal (Isaac 1993: 19–28) that lenition of suffixed/infixed pronouns or deut. compounds’ stressed/tonic portion (e.g. the *:beir* of *do:beir*) was blocked by ‘an inherited, non-intraphrasal juncture, across which neither earlier sandhi nor later mutations operated’ (1993: 27; §8 below). The earlier account, which ‘is not necessarily incompatible with the origin of absolute and conjunct given by McCone (1979: 28–31)’ (Isaac 1993: 26), is not discussed in the later one (Isaac 2007), which is incompatible with it. Koch’s recent (2002) move from an ‘actual enclitic’ trigger to basically the same explanation of abs./conj. as Isaac (2007) uncouples abs./conj. from gemination as the outcomes of two different ‘prosodic’ factors: a lack of stress rendering non-initial finite verbs liable to **-i* > *-∅* and hence conjunct, and an enclitic-induced syllable-final stress causing sentence-initial preverbs or verbs to geminate enclitics.

There is a disconcertingly arbitrary contrast between light/weak and heavy/strong: for Isaac (2007: 22) ‘the constituents which come first in the phrase are the lightest in phonological terms’ but for Koch (2022: 29) ‘phonologically stronger forms of verbs and preverbs occur in sentence-initial position’. Isaac (1993) sees attested $\acute{P}\acute{V}$ where Koch posits counter-intuitive $\acute{P}\acute{V}$, but Isaac’s $\acute{V}\acute{E}$ seems bizarre unlike Koch’s $\acute{V}\acute{E}$. Isaac keeps his ‘juncture’ (#) in place by excluding the proclitic preverb of a lexical compound like deut. *do:beir* from the verbal phrase (Isaac (1993, 24–5) and by making clitic pronouns heavy ($\acute{V}^{\#}\acute{E}$, $\acute{P}^{\#}\acute{E}\acute{V}$) as surrogates of the noun(-phrase) in $\acute{V}\acute{N}^{\text{obj}}$, although it is not that such ‘objects are always really “heavier” than verbs’ but ‘simply that the formal category NP potentially allows greater complexity’ (Isaac 1993: 23). Non-phonological criteria like these belie Isaac’s classification of constituents

as light or heavy ‘in phonological terms’ and, anyway, his later postulate of unstressed non-initial V (Isaac 2007) would presumably change his $\acute{P}\acute{V}$ to PV (or $\acute{P}\acute{V}$ à la Koch?).

2. 2PL. ABSOLUTE AND/OR RELATIVE FORMS OF THE COPULA,
AND 2PL. ABS. -*THE* IN OLD IRISH

The PIE active 2pl. was most likely prim./sec. $*-te$,¹⁰ as in ancient Greek (e.g. Rix 1976: 240). Hittite sec. 2pl. *-ten* must have acquired *-n* from the 1pl. as a prerequisite for 2pl. *-teni/-ten* as well as 1pl. *-ueni/-uen* with an analogical ‘mainstream’ prim./sec. *-i/-ø* pattern. Similar influence, this time from 1pl. $*-me/os$, would have produced (prim./sec.) $*-tes$ underlying Lat. *-tis* (Meiser 1998: 216) and OIr. 2pl. forms, but this could easily have become 2pl. sec./prim. $*-tes/-tesi$ (cf. 1pl. prim./sec. $*-mosi/-mos$; §3 below) on the model of 2sg. sec./prim. $*-s/*-si$. Latin *-tis* could continue $*-tesi$ as well as $*-tes$, and 2pl. prim. *-tesi* and sec. *-tes* may well be attested in Gaulish. Lines 1–2 of the Chamalières inscription (text Lambert 1994: 151) contain 1sg. *uediūmī* ‘I pray (to), beseech’ (OIr. *-guidiu* ‘I pray (to), beseech’ < $*g^w ed-yū$), a cross between them. $*-ū$ and athem. $*-mi$ (like, but independent of, OInd. them. $-āmi = *-ā$ [< $*-ō$] + $*-mi$), plus at least four accusative forms likely enough to include the names of more than one deity. Line 3’s *lop/tites snī eđđic sos* preceds the names of six males in the acc. sg. (ll. 4–7), to whom *sos* presumably refers as an acc. pl. (/so:s/ < $*sons$)¹¹ of the Celtic *so-* demonstrative (PIE $*so-/*to-$; Schrijver 1997: 9–16). This is coordinated with 1pl *snī* corresponding to PIC $*snī$ (> OIr. *snī*, MW *ni* ‘us’) by *etic* ‘and’ (cf. l. 7 *adđedilli etic secoui* ‘of A. and S.’ and Lambert 1994: 98–102 and 161). Whatever it means, *lop/tites* looks like a 2pl. verb and an optative ($-ī-$ < PIE $*-ih_1-$) with expected secondary ending $*-tes$ would suit a wish ‘may you ... us and them’ directed at the gods invoked. However obscure overall, the Châteaubateau tile (text Lambert 2000: 71) contains more 1sg. verb forms in $-(i)umi$ (l. 1 *nemnaliūmī* [+ neg. *ne?*], 4 and 7 *iegumī*, 6 *upīummi*), including *mīiiegumī* (l. 4) plausibly segmented as *mī iegūmī* ‘I say (?)’ with 1sg. subj. pronoun + 1sg. verb. It is hardly a coincidence that one of the two forms ending in *-tesi*, namely *íexsetesi/sue* and *suirexetesi*¹² (ll. 2/3 and 5), is directly followed and the other directly preceded by an element with *su-* like

¹⁰OInd. prim. *-tha* vs sec. *-ta* arguably points to PIE prim. $*-th_1e$ (e.g. Beekes 1995: 232), but this would anyway have fallen together with sec. $*-te$ in Italic and Celtic.

¹¹See *RelChron.* 61–2 on late (after $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$ and, in final syllables only, $\bar{o} > \bar{u}$) PC simplification of $-ns > -s$ with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. The analogies proposed there to account for the different reflexes of $-ons$ seen in OIr. acc. pl. *fir-u* < $*-ūs$ and Gaul. *sos/sōs/* < $*sons$ could be avoided by positing $-ns > -s$ in the separate prehistories of Celtiberian, Gaulish and Insular Celtic, the result after $-o-$ being lower $-ōs$ in Gaulish but higher $-ōs > -ūs$ in PIC. This would be no more problematical in Celtic than in Ancient Greek, where different reflexes prove that compensated simplification of $-ns$ was not a Proto-Greek phenomenon but occurred separately in a number of dialects and not at all in a couple: e.g. PGk. acc. pl. $*tons$ (< PIE $*to-ns$; PC $*so-ns$) > Cretan/Argive *tóns*, Arcadian *tós*, Lesbian *toís*, Heracleian *tōs*, Attic-Ionic *tous* (Rix 1976: 67) denoting /tōs/ with a higher $\bar{o}$ later raised further to $\bar{u}$ (Lejeune 1987: 230) to give *tous* /tūs/.

¹²There seems to be no doubt about *su...tesi*, despite Lambert’s hesitation about the intervening letters (2000: 71).

the PIC 2pl. pronoun **swī* underlying OIr. *sí* and MW *chwi*. The parallel with *mī iegūmi* ‘I say (?)’ on the previous line points strongly to contrasting *mī/suī* and analysis of the second example as *suī...etesi* ‘you ...’ with 2pl. *-e-tesi*. PC prim. 2pl. **-tesi* > OIr. abs. *-the* contradicts Cowgill’s **-esi-(e)s* > **-ehi-h* > **-eih* > **-ih* > OIr. 2sg. abs. *-i* (§1 above) but, even without **-esV-* > **-isV-*, the latter would be quite compatible with **-thi* < **-θih* < **-θeih* < **-θehi-h* < **-tesi-(e)s*.¹³

The only OIr. 2pl. abs. forms of the copula recognised by GOI (484 and 488) are pres. ind. *adib* (19 exx. plus 1 of *idib* in Wb., *LexWb.* 583; none in Ml.) and subj. *bede* (Wb. 13^a10). There are four examples of *adi* in the Würzburg Glosses, three of which may be due to assimilation of *-b* to a following labial in speech, i.e. to *b-* probably or to *m-* possibly: *adi boill* (Wb. 22^b10; *adib baill* 22^b1), *adi mmaic* (9^a13; *adib mairb* 3^b6, *adib mogae* 3^b15, *idib maithi* 16^b9), and *ada baill* (3^b7) reflecting assimilation of quality to non-palatal *b-*. That leaves *hóre adi ellachti* ‘since you are united’ (21^c17; cf. *adib ellachti* 19^c18 and 22^a14), dismissed as ‘probably a mere scribal error’ by GOI 484 (and similarly *Thes.* i, 635, n. e, and *LexWb.* 583).

The *-b* is an example of 1/2sg./pl. abs. pres. ind. forms of the OIr. copula (paradigms GOI 484–92) with personal affixes like those seen in prepositional *fri(u)-m(m)/-t(t)/n(n)*, *fri-b* ‘against me/thee/us/you’, *indiu-m(m)/-t/-n(n)*, *indi-b* ‘in(to) me/thee/us/you’ etc. (GOI 272–6). This feature is regular in monosyllabic 1sg. *a-m* ‘I am’ and 2sg. *a-t* or *i-t*, the norm in disyllabic 2pl. *adi(-b)* but still very rare in 1pl. *ammi(-n)* (in Wb. just *ammin éulig* 14^d28 vs 12 exx. of *ammi*; *LexWb.* 583). It is confined to the pres. ind. as the only tense/mood with inherited 1sg. *-m*, namely *am* ‘I am’ < **em* < PIC/PC **e-mmi-* (*RelChron.* 45–6; < **es-mi* < PIE **h₁és-mi*), the trigger for conversion of 2sg. **i* < **i-h* < IC **isi-* < PC **e-si* (*RelChron.* 99–100) or **a* < **e-h* < PC/PIC **esi-* (< PIE **h₁é(s)-si*)¹⁴ into *at* or *it* on the model of *frim*, *frit* etc. If already proclitic, **esi-* would have become **isi-* by PIC **es* > **is* but, if not, would have remained unchanged. Whether preceded by *a-* or *i-*, the form’s *-t* had led to *-b* prevailing in the 2pl. by the time of Wb. The innovatory nature of the affix outside the 1sg. is obvious from its bare beginnings in the 1pl. and evidently palatal *-b* (as in stressed *frib*, *indib* etc.) pointing to the creation of 2pl. *adib* after EOIr. depalatalisation of consonants in proclitics (*RelChron.* 135). GOI etc. give no reason for arbitrarily emending Wb. 21^c17 *adi ellachti* to *adib ellachti* but apparently acted on a presumption of original 2pl. *-the* (as in 2pl. pres. subj. cop. *bede*, subst. vb. *be(i)the* etc.) implying that *adib* /aðəβ’/ was created by adding palatal *-b* to **ada* (< **e-θ’e*).

It was later argued (McCone 1995: 124–6) that *adi* was the inherited form < **e-θ’i* < **e-θī* < **e-θi yi* < **e-θi hi* < PIC **e-tisi* < PC **e-tesi* (or, with a formally pointless particle, < **e-tis-es*/**e-tisi-s* < **e-tes-es*/**e-tesi-(e)s*) and the copula had retained once general 2pl. abs. **-thi*. There will have been ambiguity between,

¹³Alternatively **-tesi-(e)s* or **-tes-es* > **-tisi-s* or **-tis-es* (both > OIr. **-thi*) if the particle had been added to main-clause verbs before **-esV-* > **-isV-* and **-i* > *-ø*. If not, unaffected (in the absence of a following vowel) **-tes* and then **-tes* + **es* > **-te(h)-eh* > **-tēh* > OIr. **-the*.

¹⁴Underlying root **h₁es* + 2sg. *-si* realised as **h₁esi* (e.g. OIrd. *ási*, Gk. *eī* < **e(h)i* < **esi*) because PIE did not tolerate geminate consonants.

say, 2pl. abs. **beirthe* ‘you bear’ and more frequent *beirthe* ‘(s)he bears him/it’¹⁵ (3sg. abs. + 3sg. m./n. suffix). An obvious response would be to free 2pl. rel. *-the* < **-θ’eya* < **-θiya* < **-θīya* (cf. OIr. *muilenn* ‘mill’ < **mul’ena(h)* < **molina* < **molīnah*, Lat. *molina*) < **-tisi-yo* < **-tesi-yo* for use as a distinctive 2pl. abs., whence *beirthe* ‘you bear’ etc., by introducing a relative construction with *no* into the 2pl.: e.g. *no(m)beirid* in place of **beirthe* ‘whom/which you bear’. The proclitic copula, however, used infixes not suffixed pronouns (e.g. *iss-id n-aithrech* ‘(it is a regret to him,) he repents’; *GOI* 269), and ‘class C’ *-id* here (cf. OIr. rel. *imm-id*, preverb *imm* + ‘class C’ 3sg. m./n.) was doubtless a late prehistoric replacement of **-i* (pace Schrijver 1997: 64 and 145). It differentiated 2pl. abs. forms like fut. **beθ’i* from 3sg. + m./n. pronoun **beθ’ið*, a solution unavailable to stressed verbs with their single set of suffixed pronouns, and also spread to pres. ind. 3sg. + m./n. pron. **is’i*, although it was already distinct from 2pl. abs. **eθ’i*.

After a discussion (*KPV* 90–114) of abs./conj. that opts for Schrijver’s particle **eti* > **(e)t* (§4 below), Schumacher rejects unstressed *-es-* > *-is-* before a vowel (*KPV* 138–53) but accepts **-si* > **-s* (see §1 and §3). 2pl. abs. *-the* < **-tes-et* is insisted upon (*KPV* 143), but the divorce of *-si* > *-s* from *es* > *is* complicates the derivation of an *s*-stem dat. sg. like *nim* with analogical replacement of **neueh* (> OIr. **neim*) < **nem-es* < **nem-es-i* by **neuih* under the influence of a gen. sg. **neui-ah* (> **niui-ah* > **niue-ah* > OIr. *nime*) etc. with *-i* < *-e* in hiatus before a back vowel after loss of *-h* (*KPV* 144–5). This is at best weakly motivated, at worst impossible. Schrijver (1995: 387) gives just four examples of this alleged raising. Two of these (*s*-stems and **so-de-sos* > **suð’iah* > OIr. *suide* ‘the aforementioned’) could just as easily be due to *-es-* > *-is-* and the other two involve PrimIr. raising of stressed *e* > *i*,¹⁶ which hardly supports raising of unstressed *e* in view of the restriction of normal PrimIr. raising of *e* > *i* to a stressed syllable (*GOI* 47–8; *RelChron.* 110).

The fact that Wb. only has *a-* in the 2sg. abs. (3 exx.; *LexWb.* 579) and Ml. has *at* (36^a32, 126^c9) or *it* (55^d11, 108^d2) persuades Schumacher that *a-t* was the older form with **a* < **e* < **ē* < **ēh* < **e(h)iθ* < **esi-t* (*KPV* 139–40). The awkward consequence of this is 2sg. pres. ind. abs./conj. **beire/*-beir* (< **berēh/-eh* < **ber-e(h)i-θ/-eh* < **esi-t/s*) and an elaborate set of implausible analogies and/or preforms leading to actually attested OIr. *biri/-bir* ‘you bear’ (*KPV* 145–52; criticised by *ODVC* 111–15). One way of avoiding troublesome 2sg. **-esi(s)* > **-ē(h)* would be PC 2pl. **-te* directly inherited from PIE (e.g. McCone 1982: 27–8; now scarcely tenable in view of Gaulish *-tes* and *-tesi* above) and OIr. abs.

¹⁵Relative endings and those containing a suffixed pronoun occurred in the same basic independent ‘slot’ as absolute endings and so were subject to similar pressure towards distinction of their forms from other (abs./rel.) independent inflections. In practice, only the commonest (half the total of the table in Breatnach 1977: 86) and least clearly characterised 3sg. m./n. suffixed forms were likely to be troubled by ambiguity.

¹⁶See *RelChron.* 109 on Ogam NIOTTA. Schrijver’s two OIr. exx., acc. sg. *sieir* ‘sister’ < **sweor-* and gen. sg. *niad* ‘of a sister’s son’ are due to a significantly later post-syncope (and hence post-apocope) raising in hiatus (*RelChron.* 130): e.g. OIr. *niad* < *nioth* < (by raising in hiatus) **neoθa(h)* < (by lowering) **nioθa(h)* (= Ogam NIOTTA) < (by early raising of stressed *e* in hiatus) **neoθah* < **ne(p)ot-os*.

-the < *-θēh < *-tēs < *te-es (cf. -the < *-te-e(d) posited by Sims-Williams 1984: 178–9). This, however, would necessitate more ‘whack-a-mole’ analogy, this time because of resultant OIr. suffixless pret. 3sg. abs. *gegn(a)e < *g^weg^won-ēs/t < *g^weg^wone-es/t vs conj. -geguin < *g^weg^wone etc. instead of actually attested abs./conj. (-)geguin ‘killed’ etc. (§9 below).

While the obvious inference from the few attestations in Wb. and Ml. is that *a-t* was older than *i-t*, earlier forms unattested in Wb. are sometimes found in Ml. (e.g. original 3pl. *t*-pret. -at vs -atar from suffixless pret.; KPV 63), and 2pl. *idib* (Wb. 16^b9) for normal *adib* implies the existence of 2sg. **i* and/or *it* at the time. Anyway, priority for 2sg. *at* does not have to incur 2sg. **beire*/*-*beir*, since IC unstressed prevocalic *es* > *is* would not have applied to initial 2sg. cop. **esi*(-) if it was still stressed at the time. Alternatively, if it was already proclitic and became IC **isi*(-), it could have got its -*t* by the proportion 1sg. *fri(u)-m* : 2sg. *fri(u)-t* = 1sg. *a-m* : 2sg. *x* (*x* = *a-t*). Coexistence with well-characterised 2sg. *a-t* would then have led to acquisition of -*t* by increasingly sidelined **i* (cf. rare *adi* beside *adi-b*) with the result that 2sg. *it* aligned with 3sg. *is* competed more or less equally in Ml. with 2sg. *at* aligned with 1sg. *am*.

An origin of OIr. -*the* as a 2pl. relative ending would obviously rule out the derivation < *-θēh < *-θe(h)eh < *-tes-es/t prized by aficionados of a particle. Schumacher rather desperately takes *ada* (once, before *baill*!) as the oldest 2pl. cop. form (allegedly < **e*-θe < **e*-tes-et) and *adi* /aði/ as an unmotivated back-formation from *adib* /aðəβ/ owing its /-i/ to the influence of 1pl. *ammi* (KPV 306–8; criticised by ODVC 120–2).

This would be disproved by just one example of OIr. -*di* outside the copula’s pres. ind., its only tense/mood with added personal affixes. An indubitable case seems to have escaped detection hitherto, namely *badi fíriáin-si*, *hóre adib ellacht* in Christo, *amal as firían-som* ‘you will be righteous, because you are united in Christ, as he is righteous’ (Wb. 22^a24). This oversight was presumably due to 2pl. subjunctive *be-de* and the reading *badí* in *Thes.* through misinterpretation of the long straight line plus two dots well above the gloss (facsimile ed. Stern 1910) as a mark of length and not as a construe mark probably relating to the previous line of main Latin text. Two gratuitous emendations (*Thes.* i, 637, note f.) of *badi* were *bad fíriáinsi* ‘be ye righteous’ with a 2pl. ipv. or *adib fíriáinsi* ‘ye are righteous’ but, if not trifled with, it gives perfect sense as *badi fíriáin-si* ‘you shall be righteous’ with a fut. 2pl. abs. of the copula having exactly the same vocalism as 1pl. abs. *bami* ‘we shall be’ (Wb. 4^a17) and deriving regularly < **be*-θ’*i* < **be*(y)*a*-θī < **bi*(y)-ā(h)*e*-θi(h)*i* < **bi*(b)*w*-āse-tisi (McCone 1991: 124) < *-tesi-. Wb. *badi*, then, conclusively confirms preservation of 2pl. abs. -*di* < *-*thi* with the copula as the only verb where it was not formally ambiguous.

2pl. subj. *bede* (as opposed to **bada* with *a* < *e* in proclisis; *RelChron.* 115) differs only in voicing of /θ/ between unstressed vowels (*RelChron.* 133) from the substantive verb’s *beithe* (e.g. Wb. 6^b4, 24^b13; cf. 1pl. *bemmi* 31^c11) and

seems to owe its *e* and probably palatal *-d-* to the latter's influence.¹⁷ It could be an instance of 2pl. abs. *-de/-the* penetrating the copula's paradigm, but the context makes for a better explanation: *con:icfid-si bede preceptoru uili* (Wb. 13^a10) 'you will all be able to be teachers' (lit. 'you will be able that you all be teachers'). Thurneysen (*GOI* 318) notes frequent use of nasalising relative clauses 'as the complement of verbs ... of saying and thinking, and also of possibility' and *DIL* (C-446, 3) gives this gloss and three others from *ML* and *Sg.* as examples of this with *con-icc* 'can, is able': e.g. (3sg. rel. cop. twice), *etir in dobrethir s6n con:ic bes ndobr(iathar) 7 bes rems(uidigud)* (*Sg.* 27^a18) 'that is between the adverb which can be an adverb and a preposition' (lit. 'is able that it be an adverb and that it be a preposition'). Since 'a nasalising relative clause can be replaced by a formally independent (i.e. principal) clause in almost every instance' (*GOI* 319) and the *OIr.* 2pl. did not have a rel. ending as a rule, *bede* was taken by *GOI* (488) as a 2pl. abs. However, the copula's retention of 2pl. abs. *-di* makes 2pl. rel. *-de* < **-the* there, as in 1pl. abs. *-(m)mi* vs rel. *-(m)me*), eminently plausible.

Supporters of a particle have vaunted *OIr.* 2pl. abs. *-the* as the one ending upon which its vowel had a tangible effect instead of having to be zapped by aphaeresis so as not to mess things up. However, the *OIr.* copula's uncontradicted evidence leaves little doubt that it is not an old main-clause form at all but a recently shifted relative containing **-yo* not **-es*. Ambiguous inherited 2pl. abs. **-thi* may have been replaced by *-the* elsewhere, but the original system is still attested in the *OIr.* copula as 2pl. abs. *-di* vs rel. *-de* with regular voicing between unstressed vowels. That being so, unstressed *-es-V(-)* > *-is-V(-)* can be accepted without (further) detriment to the case for a particle by positing *-di* < **-thi* < **-tis-es* < **-tes-es* or, alternatively, < **-tesi(-e)s* as a (formally, at least) equally viable preform for **-thi*, whether via **-tisi(-e)s* or Cowgill's more questionable **-te(h)i-h* > **-ti-h*. Similarly, 2sg. *-i* can be < **-e-si(-e)s* via either **-isi(-e)s* or Cowgill's **-e(h)i-h* > **-i-h*.

How does the 'particle package' now fare in comparison with 2sg. **-si*, 3sg. **-ti*, 2pl. **-tesi* and 3pl. **-nti* extrapolated from environments shielding **-i* from PIC apocope by any 'actual enclitic'? Clearly, forms like *OIr.* abs. 3sg. *be(i)rid* and 3pl. **ber(a)it* can be derived just as easily < **bereti* and **beronti* in the latter way as < **bereti(-e)s* and **beronti(-e)s*. Cowgill's derivation of *OIr.* abs. 2sg. *biri* can be extended to 2pl. **beirthi* and requires a particle **(e)s* for preservation of the *-i*. Since, however, *biri* and **beirthi* are now straightforward < **berisi* and **beretisi* < **beresi* and **beretesi*, with or without **(e)s*, they too are ineligible for inclusion in a 'particle package' calling for an indubitable formal advantage.

1sg. abs. *biru* can, of course, be < **beru(-e)s* but not < **beru*. However, if 2pl. abs. *beirthe* must be a shifted relative, with or without a main-clause particle, there is no reason why *biru* could not similarly be < rel. **beru-yo* displaced by *no:(m)biur* 'which/whom I bear'. While not ambiguous, **biur* would have been quite anomalous as a monosyllabic abs. form identical with

¹⁷See *GOI* 488 and 490 for cop. pres. subj. 2pl. conj. *-baid* with pal. final (like corresponding subst. vb. *-beith*) beside regular *-bad*, or cop. 1pl. abs. fut. *bemmi* (like subst. vb. *be(i)mmi*) beside regular *bami*.

its conj. counterpart (-*biur*). Substituting *biru* (< **berū-yo*) for abs. **biur*, would produce a 1sg. abs. with at least two syllables in conformity with an otherwise general rule (including the likes of OIr. 1sg. abs. *ben(a)im* 'I strike' < **bina-mi*; §3 below) outside the 3sg., where a limited number of exceptions were at least distinct from the corresponding conjunct forms (e.g. abs. pres. ind. *tét* 'goes' vs conj. -*tét*, s-subj. *geis* 'may pray' vs conj. -*gé*).

Sims-Williams (1984: 153) suggested that 'the reason why REL 1sg. †*biru* and 2pl. †*beirthe* were not used was surely their identity with the ABS forms'. It now appears that the latter actually were the old relative forms. Indeed, as Ruairí Ó hUiginn points out to me, rel. 2pl. is attested in *saigthe* 'which you seek' (*Fél. Prol.* 161; ed. Stokes 1905) and may well survive in OIr. combinations of simple *tá(-)* with nasalising *ol* in the sense 'than (is/are)' (*GOI* 477–8). Since the well-attested 3sg. *od-daas* and 3pl. *ol-dáthe* are patently relative, OIr. 1sg. *ol-dau/-dó* and later attested 2pl. *ol-dáthe* (*GOI* 278) should also be analysed as containing an original rel. 1sg. -*u* and 2pl. -*the* while 2sg. *ol-daí* could be the direct outcome of rel. **tai-(y)a* < **taī-ya* < **ta-yiyi-ya* < **yihī-ya* < **yisī-yo* < **-ye-si-* + **-yo* (see *LexWb.* 726 for exx. of 1/2sg. and 3sg./pl. in *Wb.*). Since petrification of these forms of the substantive verb with *ol* seems unlikely to have been much earlier than the OIr. period, a full personal set of relative endings apparently survived (in the pres. ind. of the substantive verb, at least)¹⁸ well into or even beyond the 6th cent. AD before being replaced in the 2sg. and displaced in the 2pl. and 1sg. by the *no* construction.

3. 1PL. ABSOLUTE AND CONJUNCT IN THE COPULA AND OTHER VERBS

There can be no reasonable doubt about 1pl. conj. pres. ind. -*beram* 'we bear' < **beromah* < **ber-o-mos* etc. or PIE primary *-*mos* (§1 above). The question is whether PIC conj. *-*mos* is its direct outcome or arose from *-*mosi*. 'The primary/secondary hypothesis explains *berm(a)i* by reference to Vedic -*masi*, Avestan -*mahi*. But no other Indo-European language points to a first plural ending *-*mVsi* ..., so that -*masi*, -*mahi* must be ... made by adding the primary marker -*i* of the singular and third plural to the inherited primary ending -*mas* from -*mos*; to explain Irish -*m(a)i* in similar fashion we have to suppose that the same innovation occurred independently at opposite ends of the Indo-European territory' (Cowgill 1975: 53). What Indo-Iranian -*masi/-mas* and Hitt. prim. -*ueni/sec.* -*uen* do show is that descendants of PIE 1pl. *-*me/os* (e.g. WGk. -*mes*; Lat. -*mus* < *-*mos*) or *-*mem* (EGk. -*men*, Hitt. sec. -*uen*) could

¹⁸MidIr. 1pl. *oldammit* (*GOI* 478) with innovatory abs. ending (*EIV* 174–5) is quite compatible with OIr. rel. **oldāme*, given a MidIr. tendency to use abs. instead of rel. endings outside the 3sg. (*EIV* 182–3). Pret. 3pl. *ol-mbatar* (Ml. 123*8) could be rel., abs. or conj., while 3sg. *ol-mboí* (*Wb.* 9^c10) looks abs./conj. but could be an old rel. if OIr. *boí* (cf. *a mbaí* 'when was' at ll. 15 and 498 of the OIr. Life of Brigit, ed. Ó hAodha 1978) was the regular outcome of **boe* < rel. **bo(w)e-ya* and *boí-e* (*GOI* 483) analogical to the likes of 3sg. abs. *luid* 'went' vs rel. *luid-e* 'who went'. Alternatively, occasional conj. forms like 2pl. fut. *ola-mbieid-si* (*Wb.* 26^d26 *ol* + *a* 'that (which)'; *GOI* 278) may have been triggered by the formal identity of 1sg. -*dáu/-dó* and 2sg. -*daí* to conj. *a:táu/a:tó* 'I am', *a:taí* 'you (sg.) are'. The only reasonable starting point is a consistently relative construction with *ol* + substantive verb at the time when the forms became stereotyped.

acquire new ‘regular’ primary endings post-PIE through addition of **-i*. Pace Cowgill, straightforward 1sg. **-m* : **-mi* = 1pl. **-me/os* : *x* (*x* = **-me/osi*) makes such regularisation easy to envisage in Indo-Iranian and Celtic independently – or even in Italo-Celtic, assuming Lat. 1pl. *-mus* < **-mosi* and/or **-mos* (cf. Lat. 2sg. *-is* < **-esi* and 2pl. *-tis* < **-tesi* and/or **-tes* in §1 and §2 above).

Examples of OIr. 1pl. abs. *-mi* with unsynocopated preceding vowel like *pridchimmi-ni* ‘we preach’ (Wb. 15^b18) < **preð’iχam’i* (cf. rel. *pridchimme(-ni)* in 14^d39 and six more exx.; *LexWb.* 741) reveal its basically palatal unlenited /*m’*/ vs the non-palatal lenited /*μ*/. of 1pl. conj. *-beram* etc. with invariable OIr. *-m*. The different outcomes of *-os-es* in Cowgill’s 1pl. abs. *-mi* < **-mos-es* and pret. pass. 3sg. abs. *brethae* < **britos-es* seem to have inclined Schrijver (§1 above) towards 1pl. **-mosi*. Schumacher (KPV 140–2) was less hesitant: ‘The absolute form is OIr. /-m’i/, the relative form /-m’e/. The nasal is palatalised in both cases ... Following McCone (1996 [=RelChron.]: 131f.) and Schrijver (1997: 55), I consider it probable that the underlying form here is to be reconstructed as **-mosi*. Unlike McCone, I assume with Schrijver that the absolute forms arose through the attachment of a particle **(e)t* < **eti* ...: **-mohit* > **-mo.iθ* > **-moih* > **-m’ih* > *-mi* /-m’i/ ... The development of the relative form, by contrast, is as follows: **-mohijo* > **-mo.i.a* > **-moja* → *-me* /-m’e/ ... The arrow between **-moja* and *-me* simply signifies that the palatalisation of the /*m’*/ is not regular ... The absolute form of the 3sg. of the passive preterite developed somewhat differently: **-tohet* > **-θo.eθ* > **-θēh* > **-θ’ēh* → *-thae* /-θe/ ... The palatalisation was obviously cancelled later on the analogy of the conjunct form (*-breth* < **-briθah*).’ Furthermore, ‘in the original Insular Celtic form the reflex of a geminate *-mm-* is ... due to the copula’s analogical influence ... whether the Insular Celtic form was already influenced by the copula [as implied by Boling’s *berm(a)i* < **bero-smesi±d* in §1 above] or this analogy first occurred later ... [I]t could be that final Proto-Celtic **-t#* became **-h* via **-s* (cf. Schrijver 1994)’ (KPV 141, n. 155).

A particle plays a significant, if problematical, role in generating a 1pl. abs. like *berm(a)i* from **beromos-es*, but **beromosi(-e)s* has no formal edge over **bero-mosi* and so reduces to zero a ‘particle package’ that once claimed up to four items out of seven.

The trouble with OIr. 1pl. abs. *-mi* < **-mosi(±e)s* and rel. *-me* < **-mosi-yo* is that both are essentially *ad hoc*, insofar as the intervening steps are devised to lead, with the help of some special pleading, from a desired preform to the required outcome. It is not clear that *-oy(-)* < *-o(h)i-* < *-osi(-)* would have yielded palatalising *-ī(-)* > OIr. *-i* rather than non-palatalising *-ē(-)* > OIr. *-e* as in pret. pass. 3sg. rel. *brethae* ‘who/which was borne’ < **breθoy* < **briθo(h)ya* < **britos-yo* or OIr. stressed (ro:)boi /boi/ ‘was’ < **boy* (RelChron. 131) < **bow’* < **bow-e* versus unstressed *-ra-bae* /ra-βe/ < **bē* < **boy* etc. Thurneysen saw a possible way out: ‘The 1pl. [abs.] may go back to *-mesi*, thus corresponding to Skt. *-masi* (the by-form of *-mah*). The doubling of *m* is probably due to the influence of the copula, where 1sg. **es-mi*, pl. **es-mesi* (?) gave **emmi*, **emmesi*’ (GOI 361–2). ODVC (100) suggest that ‘OIr. 1pl. *bermai* can be plausibly derived from a Proto-Celtic primary ending **-mosi* (> **-mohi* > **-moī* > **-moi* > **-mī* >

OIr. *-mi*; ... **-mesi* > OIr. *-mi* would be even easier formally in line with **-tesi* > OIr. *thi* ... but hard to square with the undoubted **ber-o-mos* underlying 1pl. conj. *-beram* etc.). Cowgill's **-mos-es* could be salvaged by a development (like *brethae* < **britos-es*) to OIr. 1pl. abs. **-me* identical with rel. *-me* (< **-mē* < **-moy* < **-mo(h)ya* < **-mos-yo*) and then creation of a distinctive abs. from the corresponding EOIr. 2pl. forms: 2pl. rel. **-the* : abs. **-thi* = 1pl. rel. *-me* : abs. *x* (*x* = *-mi*). Nevertheless, if sec./prim. 2pl. **-tes* had been reshaped in Italo- or Proto-Celtic to **-tes/*-tesi* on the model of 2sg. sec./prim **-s/*-si*, sec./prim. 1pl. **-mos* would most likely have followed suit, becoming **-mos/*-mosi*.

The two attested ablaut variants (e.g. EGk. *-mes* but Lat. *-mus*) seem likely (Rix 1976: 240; cf. *ODVC* 100) to have originated as accented **-més* in amphikinetic athematic paradigms (e.g. Ved. *ás-mi* 'I am', *s-más* 'we are' < PIE **h₁és-mi*, **h₁s-més*) and unaccented **-mos* elsewhere, notably in thematic paradigms. Generalisation of the latter in the OIr. 1pl. conj. (e.g. *-beram* 'we bear' < **-beroqah* < **ber-o-mos(i)*) is no surprise in view of the prevalence of thematic formations in Insular Celtic (McCone 1986: 227–9 and 243–54). Unlike the corresponding British form (e.g. MW *-af* < **-a-μi* < **-a-mi*), originally athematic OIr. 1sg. abs./conj. *-(a)im(m)* (e.g. *ben(a)im(m)* 'I strike'; PIC **bi-na-mi*) has an unlenited /m'/, which must also have come from the copula (1sg. *a-m* < **e-m'* < **e-mmi* < **es-mi*). GOI's 1pl. abs. *-(m)mi* /-m'i/ from cop. 1pl. abs. *a-mmi* < **e-m'i* would make morphological as well as phonological sense in the likely event that the verb 'to be' preserved 1pl. athem. prim. **-mes(i)*.

It would imply 1pl. conj. *-beram* < **-beroqah* < **ber-o-mos* < **-mosi* and PC 1pl. primary/secondary **-mosi/*-mos* for the most part but **-mesi/*-mes* in still athematic **e(s)-* with pres. ind. **e-mmesi/*e-mmes* < **es-mesi/*es-mes*. If this contrast survived into Primitive Irish, the result would have been 1pl. abs./rel. **bero-μe* (< **-mosi(-yo)*) and 2pl. abs. **bere-θ'i* (< **-tesi*), rel. *bere-θ'e* (< **-tesi-yo*; §2 above) in most verbs but fully symmetrical 1pl. abs. **e-m'i*, rel. **e-m'e* and 2pl. abs. **e-θ'i*, rel. **e-θ'e* in the common copula. There would then be natural pressure towards homogeneous symmetry by replacing (non-pal.) abs./rel. **-μe* with the copula's (pal.) abs./rel. **-m'i/*-m'e* (rel. < **-mesi-yo* just like **-θ'e* < **-tesi-yo* in §2) as 1pl. counterparts of (pal.) 2pl. abs./rel. **-θ'i/*-θ'e*. Unlenited 1pl. **bena-m'i* (> OIr. *benm(a)i* 'we strike') etc. then exposed 1sg. **bena-μ'* (< **bina-μi*) to the copula's influence: abs. 1pl. **e-m'i* : **bina-m'i* = 1sg. **e-m'* : *x* (*x* = **bena-m'* > OIr. *ben(a)im(m)*). This account provides a hitherto lacking reason for cop. **-mmes(i)* vs **-mos(i)* elsewhere and a motive for the copula's undeniable analogical influence upon other verbs in the 1st person.

4. MORE PROBLEMS WITH PARTICLES

PrimIr. loss of only the last syllable of OIr. proclitic neg. rel. *nad* < **ne-de*, *nach* < **ne-k^w(e)-en* and *nacham* < **ne-k^we-mu* etc. shows that enclitics and their host formed a single phonological unit. As Boling (1972: 75) puts it, 'the pretonic portion functions as a word and not as a collection of separate words: i.e., there are no occurrences of word boundaries of any sort between the various formatives of the pretonic complex'. Although far from ubiquitous in main

clauses, Indic *id* and probable Gaulish *id* (§1 above) make Boling's **ed* the most functionally viable particle proposed so far. It also calls for no word boundaries within the proclitic chain as a rule. However, 'to explain why *fa:ceird* "puts him" is not *§fod:ceird*, as would be expected if the pretonic portion is from **wo-d-en*, and why *beirthi* "carries him" is not *§beirthid*, as would be expected from **bereti-d-en*, Boling says "that we have to do with an early reduction rule" (86) which deletes **(e)d* before a third singular masculine or neuter object pronoun. But surely an explanation is greatly to be preferred which does not have to posit such an unmotivated sporadic deletion' (Cowgill 1975: 55). Worse still, Boling's basic *fo:ceird* 'puts' < **wo-(e)d:kerdet* was falsified by identical leniting neut. sg. **ed* as in OIr. *f-a:cheird* 'puts it' < **w(o)-e(d):kerdet* (§1), and OIr. *na* 'any' < **neh* < PIC **nek^(w)* < **ne-k^wi* < **ne-k^wid* (§1) makes **(e)d* incapable of shielding **-i* from loss: e.g. 3sg. **bereti-d* > **bereti* > **beret* > **bereh* > OIr. **beir* (not *be(i)rid*) or 1sg. **berū-d* > **berū* > **biru* > **biur* (not *biru*). In short, Boling's **ed* is utterly untenable formally.

A consonant lost intervocalically was needed, and that boiled down to a single *s* making *f-a:ceird* and *beirth-i* 'quite regular from **wo-s-en kerdet* and **beretisen*' (Cowgill 1975: 55). The originally 3sg. nom. m. enclitic subject pronoun **is* (or **es* in view of PIC **ed* or **en* for **id* and **im*; Schrijver 1997: 51–63) advocated by Dillon (1943) was to be rejected, despite phonological advantages over other candidates, because of two serious functional drawbacks: (a) there is no need or evidence for such a form in PIE or its non-Anatolian descendants, including Celtic, where personal verbal inflections were the grammatical indicators of a pronominal subject;¹⁹ (b) its supposed spread from 3sg. m. **beret(i)-is* to other persons to give 3pl. **beront(i)-is*, 1sg. **berū(i)s* etc. is hard to justify.

Pedersen (VKG ii, 340–4) presented a mishmash of abs./conj. from athem./them. prim. endings (§1, esp. n. 3) with some analogy in the 1/2sg. but otherwise sec. endings (> conj.) plus matching enclitic subject pronouns (> abs.) in combinations of varying antiquity: abs. 3sg. **beret is*, 3pl. **beront ei* (< nom. pl. m. **joi*; VKG i, 170), 1pl. (after PrimIr. apocope) **berom ni*, 2pl. (old) **berete wes*. The idea of varying subj. pronouns has been taken up and developed (but with **is* in 3pl. as well as 3sg.) into a less arbitrary scheme of suffixation to (except for them. 1sg. **-ū*) **-i-* and lenition-blocking infixation by Budassi and Roma (2018). Their key proposal, namely assimilation of 'old subject clitic' pronouns in Wackernagel position to main-clause verbs to contrast them as declarative with relative forms marked by **-yo* (Budassi/Roma 2018: 301), is vitiated by the *notae augentes* (GOI 252) of Old Irish and the functionally as well as formally

¹⁹Dillon later (1947: 21–4) compared his Celtic **is* with Hittite subject enclitic *-aš*, but it has since been shown that the latter (e.g. OHitt. *aki-aš* or *n-aš aki* 'he dies') was an Anatolian innovation: 'Hittite and other Anatolian languages show a *split-ergative* system ... an important common innovation of the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European family. It is closely connected with another important morpho-syntactic innovation of Common Anatolian, the development of enclitic subject pronouns with "unaccusative" intransitive verbs' (Watkins 2004: 560). This refers to a classification of intransitive verbs as "unaccusative" [e.g. 'die', 'hide'] if the subject is "notionally equivalent to the object" and "unergative" [e.g. 'look', 'speak'] if it is 'notionally identical to the subject of their corresponding transitive counterparts' (Watkins 2004: 564).

similar affixed pronouns of British (GMW 57–8 on Middle Welsh): these are almost certainly derived from secondarily cliticised PIC subject pronouns (cf. Griffith 2011: 184) and the OIr. *notae* do not behave as Wackernagel enclitics but are regularly attached to the end of the verbal complex (ODVC 214–24; Greene 1973: 122–30), probably to mark a pronominal topic in the first instance (Griffith 2011: 184). Their form, placement and function thus differ markedly from those of the subject pronouns envisaged by Budassi and Roma, and it is not clear how both developments could have taken place or, indeed, why main-clause marking was needed when **-yo* already marked relative clauses. Analysis of Gaulish *-u-mi* as 1sg. *-ū* plus cliticised 1sg. subject pron. *-mi* < *mī* (Budassi/Roma 2018: 304–6; cf. Sims-Williams 1984: 151) seems less likely than 1sg. them. *-ū* + athem. *-mi* (cf. Gaulish *mī iegūmi* with overt 1sg. subj. pron. *mī*; §2 above). The reconstructions of the supposed affixes as 1sg. **-m(V)*, 2sg. **-t(V)*, 1pl. **-n(V)*, 2pl. **-w(V)* (rather than expected but intractable **-sw(V)*) is unacceptably imprecise, especially since their unspecified vowels are arbitrarily included or excluded as needed (e.g. Budassi/Roma 2018: 315–27). Incompatibility between abs. 2sg. **berisi-t* (not **berisi-tu*) > **birīθ* > *biri* (316) and 2pl. **beretesi* + **w(V)* > **beretesiV* > **beretehiV* > **bereθei* > *berthe* could be resolved by positing original OIr. 2pl. **-thi* < **bereθih* < **beretesiV* (cf. §2 above), but fusional pronominal approaches still raise far more questions than they answer.

Cowgill (1975: 66) noted that ‘*es*, ‘*s* is exactly what should develop in Primitive Irish and Early British from an apocopated enclitic Celtic **est* < PIE **esti* ‘is’ and would be ‘quite at home’ in 3sg. pass. pret. **britos es(t)* > OIr. *brethae* (abs.) ‘was carried’ or **nī’s(t) britos* > OIr. *ní:breth* ‘was not carried’, but was mystified by its spread thence ‘to all other indicative and subjunctive non-relative verb forms’. Another problem got short shrift: ‘That **bereti-s(t)* must have been formed before *-i* had been lost in ordinary presents is not a decisive argument against this etymology, since enclitic **esti* can well have been apocopated in advance of other verbs’ (Cowgill 1975: 67). Lack of a viable alternative trumped concerns about ‘etymology and rationale’ and Cowgill (1975: 67) invoked Sherlock Holmes’s adage in chapter 1 of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle’s novel *The Sign of Four*: ‘eliminate all other factors, and the one which remains must be the truth’. An asseverative function in declarative main clauses was then suggested for **es* < **esti* ‘it is (so)’ (Cowgill 1975b: 30–2; Kortlandt 1979: 51–2;²⁰ Kim 2002: 151).

Schrijver (1994: 180–6 and 1997: 131–80) sought to improve the semantics by deriving **es* < **et* < **eti* ‘and’ (183). Since his and Schumacher’s (KPV 96–114) claims are criticised elsewhere (ODVC 225–46 and 112–15), a couple of points will suffice. The semantics are fairly straightforward and there are obvious cognates (Gk. *éti* ‘still’, Lat. *et* ‘and’, Goth. *ip* ‘but’), including Gaulish

²⁰ Although he later expressed doubts: ‘We may have to return Pedersen’s view and derive the particle from the Italo-Celtic subject pronoun **es* (PIE **e*), Latin *is*, Old Irish *é*’ (Kortlandt 1984: 182, n. 3). Since Lat. *is* and OIr. *é* were not enclitic and a pronominal subject was indicated by a verb’s personal endings, not an enclitic pronoun, from PIE to OIr., this effective reprise of Dillon’s **is* (rather than Pedersen’s model) has little to recommend it.

eti-c (§2 above), but none of these is enclitic and leniting initial O/MW *yt/d* (GMW 171–2) would be a regular reflex of non-enclitic PIC **eti* (ODVC 231–2). Allegedly parallel narrative *nu* in SOV late Hittite (Risch *apud* Cowgill 1975: 68) and *wa* ‘and’ in VSO Biblical Hebrew (KPV 102) are both sentence-initial like O/MW *yt/d* and Hitt. *nu*’s OIr. cognate *nu/no*. This and occupation of the PIC ‘Wackernagel’ connective slot by **k^we* ‘and’ and **de* ‘and, but’ (ODVC 227) make conversion of initial **eti* into a still unparalleled general enclitic marker of main clauses (cf. Koch 2022: 59) most implausible. Once cliticised onto the verbal complex, already apocopated **et* < **eti* underwent loss of its initial vowel after any other vowel (like Dillon’s **(i/e)s*, Boling’s **(e)d* and Cowgill’s **(e)sti*) and otherwise unnecessary *-t* > *-s* (Schrijver 1994: 165–77; criticised by ODVC 225–6). Schumacher (§3 above) ignored *-t* > *-s* (§3 above) by proceeding straight from **(e)t* > **(e)θ* > **(e)h* in KPV, but counter-intuitive auslaut *-θ/s* to *-h* was still necessary directly before an enclitic pronoun (cf. Cowgill 1985: 117) in breach of Boling’s principle above. There was a blatant mismatch between this supposed boundary (#) and the lack of one with a directly preceding verb or preverb that was indispensable for blocking PIC auslaut loss of *-i* in, say, **bereti-(e)t*, **bereti-t^h-e(n)* > OIr. *beirid*, *beirithi* ‘bears (him)’.

Generalisation of already apocopated **es*, whether < enclitic **esti* or **eti*, in main clauses before apocope of *-ti* or **-si* elsewhere is hard to swallow. The phonetic convenience of Dillon’s **is* explains Cowgill’s and Schrijver’s deployment of implausible *ad hoc* auslaut developments within the enclitic chain to reduce their own particles to **es*. A form like **beret-es-e(n)* etc. combining an apocopated particle and verb would be preferable to **bereti-s-e(n)* as a source of OIr. *beirithi*, but would have to become **beret-is-e(n)* via *es* > *is*. This is ruled out because apocope of **esti* (or **essi*) or **eti* > **est* (or **ess*) or **et* must have preceded its attachment to apocopated **beret* < **bereti* etc., by which time necessarily pre-apocope *esV* > *isV* would have ceased to operate. As Schrijver (1997: 150) admits, ‘the assumed phonological development of the particle is tricky’.

The very idea of enclitic **esti* founders on the OIr. copula’s frequently initial position. Its proclisis to a stressed predicate (e.g. Wb. 1^a2 *is día-som*, 8^d26 *ammi mogae* etc.) is parallel to the likes of proclitic preposition + stressed noun (ODVC 65) and can involve attachment to a ‘conjunct particle’ (GOI 28), as in neg. *ní fír* ‘it isn’t true’ < **nīs ‘wīron* (‘ = stress on the following syllable) with *ī* demonstrating **ne* + *esti* > **nēsti* (in PIE according to Cowgill 1975: 66) before PC *ē* > *ī*. Fused NV^{cop} underwent a normal PIC shift to initial position before proclisis to its predicate in **nīs ‘wīron*. In 3sg. augm. pret. *nírbo* < **nī-ro-βowe*, the copula was originally no more enclitic than the preverb/augment *ro* (EIV 92–3 and 127–60), both being part of a complex NroV^{cop} made proclitic to a stressed substantival predicate. Otherwise proclisis of a negative to a finite verb plus preverb(s) was the norm, whence a formal split between copula (e.g. OIr. *nírbo*) and substantive verb (e.g. OIr. *ní:ra-bae* ‘has not been’ < **nī ‘ro-βowe*). A preform **esti-st* (or **essi-s(s)*) combining unapocopated 3sg. pres. cop. **esti* (or **essi*) with already apocopated enclitic 3sg. cop. **(e)st* (or **(e)ss*) is frankly preposterous.

Since they too are tainted by phonological irregularity (precocious apocope of *-i* and quasi-auslaut *-ss* or *-t* > *-s* > *-h* within an enclitic chain), **s(s)* < **(e)st* < **esti* or **s* < **(e)t* < **eti* are no real improvement on Boling's **(e)d*. Since 3sg. abs. *marbais* 'killed' (< **marwass-ess/-et* < **marwast*) necessitates placing the particle's addition to the verbal complex before *-ss* > *-s* (otherwise OIr. **marb(a)e* < **marwaheh* < **marwas-es*), one would expect not OIr. *beirthi* 'bears him', *f-a:ceird* 'puts him' but **beirthis*, **fo-s:ceird* < **bereti-(e)ss-en*, **wo-(e)ss-en:kerdet*. Such outcomes are evaded by positing *ad hoc* and, in view of OIr. *is* < **issi* < **esti*, highly questionable simplification of the particle to **es*. This burdens an element whose sole *raison d'être* is to account for apparent irregularities in the verbal complex with yet another irregularity of its own. Kim (2002) tries to do without precocious apocope of **essi* by invoking arbitrary early elisions (cf. Schrijver's *cot*: < **kon-t-e(n)* < **kon-et-en*; §5 below) as well as pretonic **(e)ssi* > **(e)si* affecting the particle but not the copula (ODVC 82–3 and 231). This is no better than the supposed immunity of Boling's **ed* to the loss of *-d* that affected the identical pronoun.

After completing its lenition-blocking mission, the particle is required to disappear without further trace – often under what can only be described as suspicious circumstances: a final *-i* must always be apocopated, an initial vowel regularly removed by aphaeresis, and the consonantal residue converted to a single *s* destined for loss (via lenition-blocking *h*) intervocally or in postvocalic auslaut. Invariable aphaeresis is essential because the tangible results of elisions etc. elsewhere are conspicuous by their absence: e.g. *fo:ceird* 'puts' but *fa:cheird* 'puts it' < **w(o)-e χerde* < (+ particle) **wo-h-e kerdeh* < **wo-(e)s(s)-e(d) kerdet*.

As a result of 'fiendishly complicated'²¹ (Griffith 2020: 239) engineering by its adherents, in Irish (and, most likely, British too; §5 below) 'the particle **eti* is itself totally lost. The only clue to its original existence is the presence of additional morphological material on the verb in the absolute endings [but see §§2–3 above] ... and the lack of otherwise expected lenition ... Given this lack of direct evidence, any additional evidence for the presence of the Cowgill particle would be quite welcome' (Griffith 2020: 240). This is sought in uncommon pretonic *ceta/cita* 'first' (Wb. *cetu* once; see 242 for 13 exx. in glosses with refs.). Although 'the standard assumption underlying the particle theory is that the **e* was elided after any vowel', Griffith (2020: 246) posits 'no elision of the **e* of **eti* after **u*' and so: **kentu-eti* > **kentuēti* > **kēdoūeh* > **kēdoū* > **kēdoi* > **kēde* > *ceta*. Pretonic *ocu* in 'fairly rare' *ocu:ben* (2020: 246 for 6 exx. in ML., including prot. *-ocman-*) is derived similarly to *ce/ita*, despite puzzlement (247) about their *-u* and *-a*. This will only work before PIC aphaeresis of **eti* (or rather **et*; n. 21 above), since the form added would otherwise have been **-t* or still later **-h* incapable of preserving the final vowel of **onku't*, **ogu'h* or **kentu't*,

²¹For example, Griffith's (2020: 240) *do'cing* < **to-(e)ti-kingeti* with an as yet unapocopated particle in the verbal complex would necessitate a good deal of 'whack-a-mole' elsewhere (cf. the above remarks on Kim's proposal). If, say, quasi-auslaut **(e)ti-tu-* > **-t-tu-* > OIr. *-t* 'you (sg.)' had coincided with actual auslaut **-i* > *-ø*, the result would have presumably been **-kingeti-(e)ti* > **-kinget-t* > OIr. **cingit*. So that must be ruled out.

**kedu'h* (*RelChron.* 107 on non-lengthening of unstressed *e/ɪ* before lost *n*). However, their use as preverbs looks like an Irish innovation, given *ce/ita*'s invariable proclisis (e.g. *fris-cita:comrici* 'whom you first encounter'; *Thes.* ii, 23.38) and consequent lack of prototonic **cét-*. Mole-whacking would also be needed, since Griffith's proposal entails main-clause **nuwet(i)* > **now'* > **noy* > **na* instead of OIr. *nu/no* and presumably also 1sg. **berūwet(i)* > **berūweh* > **beruwe* > **beruy* > **birui* > OIr. **bir(a)i* (cf. OIr. *as:luí, -élai* 'absconds') or > **beruy* > **beroi* (cf. Griffith 2020: 246, n. 13) > OIr. **ber(a)e* rather than *biru*.²² Obviously, *ce/ita* 'first' is too problematical to provide badly needed support for a particle.

The very probable PrimIr. origin of uncommon *ceta/cita* 'first' and *ocu* makes PIC **et(i)* very improbable as the reason for their final vowels. The similar looking preverb *ce/ita* found solely in composition with the substantive verb as *ce/ita:bí* 'perceives' etc. and attested under the stress as expected *cét-* (in its verbal noun *ceítbuid* 'perception' Wb 24^b4) is also uncommon (Wb. 1×, Ml. 7×, Sg. 1×, all but three in rel. clauses; Griffith 2020: 247). However, the compound must go back to PIC **kanta-bi-* on account of MW *canfod* 'perceive' (Griffith 2020: 241). In this case, a contrast between main-clause **cet:* < **keda* < **kanta* and rel. *ceta:* < **keda-ya* < **kanta-yo* (< *-yo) could well have been levelled in the latter's favour (García-Castillero 2014: 87–9). If the motive was the avoidance of /db/ with juxtaposed voiced stops, the same explanation would apply to **cet:* 'first' < **ke/idu* vs rel. **ceto* < **ke/idu-ya*, followed by **ceto* > *ceta*.²³ There is no need for a particle.

5. THE PRESENT INDICATIVE PARADIGM OF THE COPULA, ESPECIALLY WITH NEGATIVE *NE

Schrijver puts neg. 3sg. pres. ind. MW *nyt*, OIr. *ní* '(it) is not') centre-stage (1994: 186) in claiming direct reflexes of his particle as -*t-* [d] in British: 'The British forms most likely reflect **ne-eti esti* > **nīti essi* > **nīt ess* (early *i*-apocope) > **nīdess* (fusion) > *nyd* (post-apocope). Here, the MW -*t* reflects the connector **eti* and the copula ... The syntagm is comparable with OIr. *nad* 'who is not' < **ne-de esti* ... It follows that OIr. *ní* "is not" reflects a similar syntagm, **ne-eti esti*, which became **nīt ess* > (early *i*-apocope) > pr.Ir. **nīs es* > **nīh eh* > **nīheh* (fusion) > **ní h-*'. This does not follow. Like OIr. *ní* 'is not' < **nīh* < **nīst(i)* (by

²²Since the only plausible mechanism for preserving *e* from contraction with preceding *ū* would be insertion of a glide *w*, Koch's (2022: 60–1) proposed derivation of OIr. 1sg. *biru* < **berū-e* (by contraction, > **berū* > **biur*) is hardly viable as it would entail **berūwe* liable to the same development as **berūwe(h)* with a reflex of **et(i)*.

²³Since pretonic *ro*, *to/do* and *fo* (with original *o* clear from prototonic forms) regularly appear (under the influence of *nu?*) as *ru*, *tu/du* and *fu* in early OIr., it seems quite likely that usual *ro*, *do*, *fo* and *no* in Wb. onwards are due to *u* > *o* in proclitics (cf. *RelChron.* 135) and that proclitic *o* had become *a* prior to this, as in nom./acc. neut. article 'the' or antecedent 'that (which)' *a* < **on* < **som*. It is also possible that merger of -*o* with -*a* in non-initial syllables (*RelChron.* 139) occurred particularly early in proclitics or even that *ce/ito* 'first' was confused with *ce/ita* in *ce/ita:bí*. Non-rel. **oc* < **ogu* < **onku* and rel. **oco* < **ogo-ya* < **onku-yo* could have undergone the same type of levelling as *ceta*, in which case the -*u* of *ocu* may be due to a rounding environment for an unstressed vowel between a guttural and a labial (cf. McCone 2015: 127–8).

PC $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$; *RelChron.* 59) < **nēsti*, **ne eti* > **nīti* presupposes **nēti* and PC $\bar{e} > \bar{i}$. If so, enclitic **eti* should have been a feature of PC main clauses, despite a complete lack of Celtiberian and (*pace* Schrijver 1997: 177–9) Gaulish evidence.

The negative pres. ind. of the OIr. copula contains a straightforward correspondence to *nyt* in MW 1/2/3 sg. *nyt wyf/wyt/yw*, pl. *nyt ym/ywch/ynt*, namely *níd-/nīd-/nīd̃/* < **nīθ-V* < **nīt-V*:- 1sg. 1 *nida* (Wb. 18^c1; *nita* 20^c25), 1pl. *nidan* (14^c41, 14^d37; *nitan* 18^b9, *nitam* 15^b21 ‘prima manus’), 2sg. *cenita* (Ml. 84^c3; cf. *a nu-nda* 38^c27), 2pl. *nidad* (Wb. 8^c7, *nidad* 14^a8, 21^b14; *nitad* 9^d11); 3pl. *nitat* (4^a8, + 16 more exx., *nítat* 9^b17 and 12^b18; *LexWb* 587). The origin of 1/2sg. *-a* is obscure but their *-d/t-* is undoubted. The 3pl. is *nitat* (rarely *nítat*) in Wb. but *nit* in a couple of slightly later OIr. exx.²⁴ Either *nit* was doubled to *nit-at* pre-Wb. after 2pl. *níd-ad* or inherited *nitat* was sometimes truncated to *nit* matching 3pl. *it* ‘are’. Regular Wb. *nitat* shows that sporadic *nítat* (e.g. Ml. 115^b1) is analogical to 1/2pl. *níd-* and not < **nīθ-id* < **nīt-int*. 1/2sg./pl. *nit*-beside *níd-* is clearly from the 3pl. and may have triggered shortening of *níd-* to *nīd-*, at least sometimes, sporadic 3pl. *nítat* showing the reverse.

The following PC paradigm of the pres. ind. of the verb ‘to be’ (cf. McCone 1995: 123) may be reconstructed (> denoting direct and → at least partially analogical outcomes): sg. 1 **es-mi* > **e-mmi* (OIr. *am*, Gaul. *i(m)mi*; Lambert 1994: 62), 2 **e-si* (OIr. *a/i-t*), 3 **es-ti* → **is-ti* (OIr. *is*, MW *ys*), pl. 1 **s-mesi* → **es-mesi* > **e-mmesi* (OIr. *ammi*; conj. EOIr. *-am*, OIr. *-an*, MW *ym*), 2 **stesi* → **e-tesi* (OIr. *adi(b)*, conj. *-ad*), 3 **s-enti* → **e-nti* > **inti* (*RelChron.* 55–6; OIr. *it*, MW *ynt*). The sg. full- vs pl. zero-grade root seen in Vedic (sg. 1 *ás-mi*, 2 *ási*, 3 *ás-ti*, pl. 1 *s-más*, 2 *s-thá*, 3 *s-ánti*) tends to be levelled elsewhere: e.g. Attic (unless noted otherwise) Greek sg. 1 *εἰμί* < **es-mi*, 2 *εἶ* < **esi*, 3 *ἐστί* < **es-ti*, pl. 1 *εἰμέν* (Ionic; Attic *ἐσμέν* analogical to the 2pl.) < **es-men*, 2 *ἐστέ* < **es-te*, 3 *εἰσι* (Doric *ἐντι*), Myc. *eesi* /*eensi*/ < **es-enti* (Chantraine 1961: 205). Celtic was similar, but 2sg. **e-si* generated 2pl. **e-tesi*, PC *-sm-* > *-mm-* (*RelChron.* 45–6) produced 1sg./pl. **e-mmi*/**e-mmesi*, and 1/2pl. **e-mmesi*/**e-tesi* may well have triggered 3pl. **s-enti* → **e-nti*,²⁵ leaving **es-* only in the commonest and so most resilient form, where 3sg. **i/issi* (> OIr. *is*, O/MW *is/ys*) could be due to PC **nīnti* : **inti* = **nīsti* : x (x = **isti*). The PC 2sg. may then have been remodelled through **nīsti* : **isti*²⁶ = **nīsi* : x (x = **isi*), *i-* later spreading in Gaulish to yield 1sg. *i-mmi* (2×) at least.

The PIC neg. forms were thus sg. 1 **nīt-emm(i)*, 2 **nīt-is(i)*, 3 **nīs(s)* (< **nīst(i)*), pl. 1 **nīt-emm(i)*, 2 **nīt-etis(i)*, 3 **nint(i)* (< **nīnti*; *RelChron.* 55 and 63) and/or **nint-int*. The relationship between PIC 2pl. **etisi(-)* and **nītetis* (> OIr. *adi(b)* and *nidad*) could have generated from 3pl. neg. **nint* a PIC neg.

²⁴Ml. 128^d1, *Thes.* ii 292.18 (a poem in the Ml. codex), and perhaps *Félire Óengusso* (ed. Stokes 1905, and dated to c. 800 AD but extant only in much later mss.; *GOI* 7) Mar. 1 and Sept. 8. The last two are metrically guaranteed as monosyllables in the original composition and could alternatively be 2sg., in which case they seem to have been modelled on affirmative 2sg. *it* (§2 above; cf. *GOI* 485).

²⁵3pl. cop. OIr. *it*, MW *ynt* would then not have arisen by PIC loss of *s-* in proclitics as claimed in *RelChron.* 98.

²⁶Which probably replaced **isti* sooner or later, as *i* was otherwise only found before a nasal (*RelChron.* 55–6). If not, 2sg. **isi* would presumably have developed in the same way as **isi*.

**nint-int* matching **inti* (> OIr. *it*, MW *ynt* ‘(they) are’). That it did is indicated by neg. *nyns* (< **nint*) used before vowel-initial forms of the verbs ‘to be’ and, by extension, ‘to go’ in Middle Cornish (Lewis 1946: 49): e.g. *nynsoff* ‘am not’, *nynsyw* ‘is not’, and *nynsyns* ‘are not’ < **nint-int*. 3pl. **nint-* seems to have triggered **nīt-* to **nit-* (> MW *nyd*, MBret. *ned*) in British or even PIC. In the latter case, OIr. *níd-* beside *nid-* would be due to 3sg. *ní* < **nīh* < **nīst(i)*. Reflexes of **nīt-* and **nint-* survived in OIr. (and MBret. *ned* and *nend*; Hemon 1975: 281), but **nit-* prevailed in Welsh and **nint-* in Cornish.

OIr. *níd-ad* etc. may hide a regular reflex of *(*e*)*t(i)* in plain sight but Schrijver (1997: 132–4) looks away to *cot-*, positing 3sg. m./n. infix (class B) < **kod-e(n)* < **kon-t-e(n)* < **kon-et-en* through ‘*ad hoc* ... early syncope’ (135) in proclitics only before ‘auslaut’ *-*et-* > *-*es-* essential to his derivation of other OIr. forms. Since the vowel of other persons remains unexplained, the **de* ‘and, but’ just replaced by **et(i)* ‘and’ is now added to it, optionally in 3sg. m./n. **kon-(e)t(-de)-e(n)* but regularly in 3sg. f./3pl. **kon-(e)t-de-sin/-sus* > **kodē(-h)in/(-h)uh* > *co-ta*. 1sg./pl. *cotom/n* are due to an anaptyxis of **kodm/n* at odds with OIr. *maidm* ‘breaking’ etc., and 2sg./pl. to influence from class C: e.g. 2sg. *co-tot* for **co-t* (< **kod-tu* < **kon-(e)t-tu*) on the analogy of *condot* < **kon-de-tu*. A single substitution of analogical *cot(-)* for **cond(-)* < **kon-de(-)* is surely preferable to this jumble (ODVC 229–31).

Schrijver (cf. KPV 96) discounts MW *nyt* = OIr. *níd-/nid-* by established sound laws in favour of MW *nyt* = OIr. *ní* by an essentially *ad hoc* PrimIr. -*t(-)* > -*s(-)* needed to make **et(i)* work in Irish. An OIr. trace of -*t* is then conjured from *cot(-)* by *ad hoc* pre-apocope proclitic syncope, addition of **de* ‘and’ to *(*e*)*t(i)* ‘and’, anaptyxis and analogy. There is a reason for this: if MW *nyt/d* /*níd/* and OIr. *níd-/nid-* /*nīð/* contain reflexes of **eti*, its *-*t-* underwent normal intervocalic development in Irish, thereby disproving a quasi-auslaut change -*t-* > -*s-* necessary for **et(i)* to work there. That said, MW *nyt* etc. probably never contained **eti* anyway.

After (a) unstressed **es* > **is*, (b) *st* > *ss*, (c) general loss of -*i* and (d) -*ss* > -*s* (in that order, but b/c or c/b), the PIC forms would be (+/- neg.) sg. 1 **nīm/*emmi(-)*, 2 **nīs/*isi(-)*, 3 **nīs/*issi(-)*, pl. 1 **nīmmis/*emmisi(-)*, 2 **nītis/*etisi(-)*, 3 **nint/*inti(-)* (*RelChron.* 55–6). If not already created by analogy, 2sg. **isi(-)* would have resulted from **esi(-)* by (a), as long as the copula was already proclitic. Identity of 2sg. and 3sg. **nīs* could have been resolved by shifting 2pl. **nītis* to the 2sg. as neg. *nīt + is* matching indep. 2sg. **isi* and creating a new 2pl. neg. **nīt-etis* corresponding to indep. **etisi*. It would be natural for this transparent alternation and convenient hiatus-filling neg. **nīt* to spread to the 1st person: 2sg. **isi* : **nīt-is* = **emmi* : x (x = **nīt-em(m)*), 2pl. **etisi* : **nīt-etis* = **emmisi* : x (x = **nīt-emmis*). Addition of 3pl. **int* to **nint* rather than **nīt* resulted in **nint-int*, regularly shortened to **nint-int* (*RelChron.* 63) and then responsible for **nīt* → *nit* in British or perhaps PIC. This process was withstood only by PIC 3sg. **nīs* > OIr. *ní* ‘is not’, but completed in British by **nit-is* (> MW *nyt* ‘is not’).

This scenario undermines the case for British /-*d(-)*/ < alleged enclitic

*-et(i)²⁷ by denying it any role in the creation of MW *nyt(-)*, the convenient hiatus-filling -t of which spread from the copula to other verbs as a prevocalic alternant of neg. *ny* and also generated -t in some other environments (ODVC 232–45, incl. criticism of KPV 96–114). Allowing for the obscurity of 1/2sg. -a and the late addition of pronominal affixes -t, -b and -n, the PIC forms posited above yield most of the OIr. pres. ind. paradigm of the copula quite regularly: sg. 1 *am* (< **emmi*), 2sg. *i-t* < **isi* (or perhaps *a-t* by analogy or < **esi*;²⁸ §2 above), 3 *is* (< **issi*), pl. 1 *ammi(-n)* (< **emmisi*), 2 *adi(-b)* (< **etisi*), 3 *it* (< **int*); neg. sg. 1 *nída*, 2 *ní-da*, 3 *ní* (< **nīs*), pl. 1 *nídam/n* (< **nītemmis*), 2 **nídad* (< **nītetis*), 3 *nitat* (< **nint-int*).

6. INDEPENDENT PROTOTONIC FORMS OF THE *TADBAT* TYPE

Normal PIC > OIr. phonological rules can at least be applied to **esti*, **eti* etc. in real proclitic/pretonic auslaut before a consonant-initial tonic portion, as in deut. *fo:ceird* ‘puts’ < **wo-h* ‘kerdeh’ < **wo-(e)st(i)* ‘kerdet(i), but the same cannot be said of a vowel-initial counterpart.

Although ±h/- is not reliably indicated by use or non-use of *h-* in OIr. orthography (GOI 19–20), there is good evidence for retention of -h < *-s(s) etc. between a proclitic and a following stressed vowel right down to Modern Irish: e.g. OIr. *ní hed* ‘it isn’t’ (cop. *nī h-V* < **nīs* < **nīss* < **nīst(i)*), *a ainm* ‘her/his name’ (*a h-V/a V* < **esy-ās/o*), *cu/co (h-V)* ‘until’ (< **k^wus(s)* < **k^wut-s*; McCone 1993) = ModIr. *ní hea(dh)*, *a hainm* ‘her name’/ *a ainm* ‘his name’, *go (hoíche)* ‘until (night)’. OIr. cpd. verbs with lexical *to*, *ro* or *fo* followed by a stressed vowel should regularly have had independent deuterotonic forms in main clauses, if they had contained a particle: e.g. *fo:ácab*²⁹ /fo ‘hāgəβ/ ‘left’ < **wo-(e)s* ‘ad-gabas; *do:adbat* /do ‘haðβəd/ ‘shows’ < **to-(e)s* ‘ad-wēd-et;³⁰ *ro:ic* ‘comes’ /ro ‘hig’ / (< **ro-(e)s* ‘ink-et). However, these expectations are belied by a collection (McCone 1979: 4–6) of the relevant independent forms in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses (c. middle and end of the 8th cent. AD respectively): in main clauses, where *(e)s would be predicted, prototonic forms account for c. 63% of actives³¹ (e.g. prot. *tadbat-som* ‘shows’ 26^c1 etc.) but only c. 20% of passives (e.g. deut. *do:adbadar* ‘is shown’ 7^a13) in Wb., and there is a steep decline to about 10% of each in Ml.; in leniting relative clauses, where lack of *(e)s is non-controversial, prototonic forms constitute act./pass. Wb. 87.5%/80% and Ml. 54%/28.5%. More numerous deut. forms in the 3sg./pl. passive may well be due to pressure from always deut. independent 1st/2nd-person forms with subject infix (McCone 1979: 8): e.g. *do:ucad* ‘has been brought’ like *do-m/-b:ucad* ‘I/you (pl.) have been brought’, but non-use of such infixes in len. rel. clauses left 80% prot. forms in Wb.

²⁷See chapter 5 ‘*eti and pseudo-eti’ of ODVC (225–45) for a fuller treatment and further details.

²⁸In which case *i-t* and *i-dib* would presumably owe their vocalism to 3sg./pl. *is/it*.

²⁹See EIV 154 on its analogical *á* from augmented **-ā-ro-* < **-að-ro-*.

³⁰See McCone (1981: 35–41) on **-t’t* < **-d/tet* in this and similar cases.

³¹Combining the totals for *to* (21 prot. vs 15 deut.) and lexical (as opposed to augment) *ro* (8 vs 2). Full references are given in the article cited.

The only relevant forms in the tiny 7th-cent. corpus (*GOI* 6–7) are all deut. actives (McCone 1979: 5): *tú:ercómlásat* ‘they have put together/collected’, *tu:aisilbiu* ‘I set forth’, rel. *tu:esmot* ‘who shed’ (blood).³² The obvious inference was that prot. *tesmet* etc. simply resulted from elision of a rounded back vowel (*u/o*) in hiatus contact with a stressed vowel (i.e. *tu/ru/fu*’V_– > *t’/r’/f’*V_–) by the beginning of the 8th century (McCone 1979: 5 and 7–8). ‘Wb. would thus seem to be not far removed from a stage when only prototonic forms were found’ (*ODVC* 89). Language that ‘seems on the whole to represent the Irish of the early eighth century’ (*Thes.* ii, xv) makes the *Additamenta* closer still, and their 100% score of (all main-clause) prototonic forms³³ confirms c. 700 AD as the elision’s date: act. *fác(c)ab* (*Thes.* ii, 238.15, 241.17, 242.19) or *facab* (240.14) ‘(he) left’, *facib* ‘leaves’ (240.15) and *tucad* (242.15) ‘it has been brought’. Since *tu:erchomlasat* etc. do not yet show *tu* > *du* and elision of, say, *du:adbat* ‘shows’ would have yielded **dadbat* not *tadbat*, it must have predated *tu* > *du* (McCone 1981: 41–4). This is upheld by invariable *du* for *tu* in 15 attestations such as *du:lluid* ‘came’ (5×) and *du:bbert* ‘conferred, gave’ (3×)³⁴ in the *Additamenta*. Wb. has pretonic *du/do* as well as prot. *tadbat* etc. but already displays a shift from independent prot. to normal deut. forms like *do:adbat* (see below).

Independent *tadbat* etc. cannot have contained a regular reflex /h/ of *(e)s after pretonic *tu*, *ru* or *fu*, since this would have impeded their elision or contraction, and it behoves adherents of a particle to find a credible way round this otherwise fatal obstacle.

Kortlandt’s (1982) phonological approach was predicated on denial that ‘lenited *s* first became the aspirate *h*, which has been preserved down to the present day at the beginning of fully stressed syllables’ (*GOI* 84), as in *ní hea(dh)*, *a hainm*, *go hoíche* above. Having placed loss of intervocalic *h* second in a sequence of fifteen sound-changes up to and including PrimIr. loss of final syllables (1979: 39–47), Kortlandt linked the claim ‘that [post-apocope] intervocalic **h* is always due to restoration’ (1982: 7) with a footnote that ‘this is why the reasoning of McCone (1979: 5–10 [on *tadbat* etc.]) is mistaken’. At Kortlandt’s stage 2, then, *-h* (< *-s*) was lost everywhere between vowels, including across word boundaries: e.g. (**to*-(e)s are-beret(i) >) **tu h*-are-βereh > **tu* ‘are-βereh with no **-h* < *(e)s to impede elision to OIr. *tairbir*. So far so good, but numerous reflexes of post-apocope intervocalic *h* then burden analogy with an awful lot of restoration work.

³²Wb. 7^a7 *prima manus* (apparently with an idiosyncratic use of ‘ to mark unstressed vowels), Pal. 68 2^a (*Thes.* i, 3; ‘the Irish may be at least as old as that of the chief glossator in Wb., possibly older’, *Thes.* i, xiv) and Cambrai Homily (*Thes.* ii 247, l. 19) respectively.

³³*Thes.* ii 239.3 *du:écastar* ‘it will be seen/considered’ is not an exception as the first preverb is here is *di/de* (OIr. *do:éci*, prot. *-déci* with *d*, not *t*- as in *do:meil*, *-tomil* ‘eats, consumes’ etc. with *to*), and so not liable to elision in proclisis. Pretonic *tu* > *du* was an obvious prerequisite for replacement of pretonic *di/de* by *du/do* (*GOI* 505), as here in hiatus before a vowel but not yet before a consonant, to judge from *di:rrógel* ‘acquired’ and *di:géni* ‘made’ (239.15 and 20). However, Wb. 3^a7 *ho desid* ‘when it had (settled,) been established’ is independent prototonic, perhaps under the influence of *to*-compounds after replacement of proclitic *di* by *do*.

³⁴*Thes.* II *du:bber* (239.4), *du:tét* (240.13), *du:lluid* (240.14 and 16, 241.5, 242.3 and 7), *du:llotar* (240.17 and 24), *du:chooid* (241.11, rel.), *du:bbert* (241.15&16, 242.18), *du:foid* (242.12), *du-t:fidedar* (242.13, rel.).

After loss of final syllables, the article's *-d* was devoiced to *-t* before a noun beginning with lenited *s-* (GOI 294): e.g. nom. sg. f. *int serc* (Wb. 22^b11) 'the love' /int 'erc/ < **ind herk* < **sindā serkā*; gen. sg. m. *int srotho* (ML 93^b11) 'of the stream' /int 'roθo/ < **ind hroθō* < **sindī srutōs*; dat. sg. (m.) *dint sruth* (ML 2^b2) 'from the stream' /dint 'ruth/ < **dī(hi)nd hruθ* < **dī sindū srutū*. Thurneysen contrasted post-syncope devoicing by *h* 'at the beginning of the second element of a compound' (e.g. *fochith/fochaid* [*fo* + *saigid* 'seeking'] 'tribulation' < **wo-h(a)yiθ*; *fothae* 'basis' [*fo* + *suide* 'seat'] < **wo-h(u)ð'e*) with 'no such effect on non-compound words; thus the dat. pl. of **teg**, **tech** 'house' is **tigib** < **tegesobis*, never **tichib*' (GOI 84). Thus *-h-* was lost within a lexical word plus inflections (hence *tigib* etc.) or a proclitic chain (*dind* etc.) but retained between a proclitic and a stressed word (*int serc* etc.) or on word boundaries within lexical compounds, whether nouns (*fochaid* etc.) or verbs: e.g. *do:intai* or *tintai* 'returns, translates' < **tu-ind(e)-hoy*, deut. *im:soi* 'turns' but prot. *-impai* < **imb(i)-hoy* (RelChron. 119, 128, 130). A parallel is seen in some northern varieties of Italian, where *s* is voiced intervocalically to [z] in cases like *casa* [kaza] 'house' but not over boundaries like those in *buonasera* 'good afternoon', *la sera* 'the evening' (proclitic article + noun), *lo so* 'I know (it)' or a verbal compound such as *risegnare* (*ri* 're-' + *segnare* 'mark'), all with *s* = [s] (Budassi and Roma 2018: 330).

Kortlandt (1982: 77) regards only the likes of *tigib* as regular and numerous exceptions as due 'to the gradual substitution of **h* for zero as the alternant of initial **s-* after words which ended in a vowel. The chief model for this ... was the alternation of unlenited **s-* with lenited **h-* in words which originally began in **sl-*, **sr-*, **sn-*, **sm-*, **sw-*, **sp-*'. The last three should be excluded,³⁵ but the basic idea is that, say, **ind erk* 'the love' (< **indā (h)erkā*) and **e erk* 'his love' (< **ehya (h)erkā* < **esyo serkā*) became **ind herk* and **e herk* (> OIr. *int serc*, *a s/serc* = ModIr. *a shearc*) on the model of the type **ind hliý'e* and **e hliý'e* 'the/his way' (< **sindā/esyo sligyā*; OIr. *int/a s/slige* = ModIr. *an tslí/a shlí*). Remodellings like **fo-ayīθ* (of **sayīθ*) to **fo-hayīθ* are analogical to post-syncope devoicing in, say, **dī-hl(on)dīh* < **dī-slondīt(i)* (Kortlandt 1982: 77 and 79) underlying OIr. prot. *-dīlt(a)i* (ModIr. *diúlt-*, OIr. deut. *do:sluindi* 'denies'; cf. GOI 84 and RelChron. 130).

It is not clear why *s-/h-* before *r*, *l* or *n* should have displaced *s-/ø-* before a vowel but not a consonant like *m*: e.g. *faoi cheann* but *faoi smacht*. Kortlandt (1982: 76) maintains that *-h* < *-s* < *-ss* (< *-st*, *-ts*, *-χs* etc.) was retained before vowels and 'strengthened the morphophonemic relationship between unlenited **s* and lenited **h*'. If so, the likes of (**eχs* > **ess* > **es* >) **e huýt* 'out of a/(the) bosom' (OIr. *a (h)ucht*) vs **e kaθer* 'out of a fortress/city' (< **eh k-*; OIr. *a cath(a)ir*) generated **e han'm* 'her name' instead of **e an'm* (**e* < **esyās*; henceforth vs **e an'm* 'his name' with **e* < **esyo*) matching **e kaθer* 'her

³⁵Lenition did not affect *sm-*: e.g. ModIr. *faoi smacht* 'under control' and the contrast between *in smachta* 'of the rule' and *int srotho* above. Both **sp-* and **sw-* boil down to the latter (Kortlandt 1982: 74; RelChron. 44–5), and **sw-/hw-* is only relevant if **hw-* had not already been simplified to *f-*.

fortress/city (< **e h k-*; OIr. *a cathair* vs *a chathair* ‘his fortress/city’ < **e χ-* < **e k-*).

This account is patently uneconomical, calling for (1) *-Vs V-/V sV- > (2) -Vh V-/V hV- > (3) -V V-*, and then for (4) post-apocope *-h V-* or *hV-* through wholesale analogical restoration of *h* and not as direct outcomes of (2). That alone calls (3) into question, but the *coup de grace* comes from the form of the article before the nom. sg. of vowel-initial masc. nouns: e.g. *int athir* ‘the father’ (Wb. 4^b13 etc., *LexWb* 542–3; ModIr. *an t-athair*) < **int (h)aθ’ir* < **ind haθ’ir* < **inda haθir* < **indah aθir* < *(s)*indos atir*, whereas Kortlandt requires **indah aθir* > **inda aθir* > *ind aθir*, at which point ‘the antevocalic *h* of *int* “the” < **ind-h* ... was taken from the position before a consonant’ (1982: 77).

The trouble is that there is no trace of *int* < **ind-h* before any m. nom. sg. noun beginning with a consonant, including *f* (< *w*), *r*, *l*, and *n* (*LexWb* 542): e.g. *in bethu* (Wb. 31^a9), *in gním* (12^a6), *in coimdiu* (8^a6, + 7 more exx.), *in macc* (6^d6, + 3 more), *in sonirt* (10^c3), *in fer* (9d18, + 5 more), *in rect* (1^d4 + 13^d27), *in rinnd* (13^d25), *in linn* (4^d7, + 2 more), *in lie* (4^d16), *in nóibad* (25^b2). Since the likes of *int srotho*, *dont sruth* above show that the resonants *r*, *l* or *n* were quite compatible with *int*, regular OIr. *in* (never *int*) before them in Wb. is conclusive. Kortlandt (1982: 79) admits ‘that word-final **h* seems to have caused ordinary gemination of an initial resonant and to have been lost before the apocope’ but not that this disproves his claim that prevocalic *int* < **ind-h* was analogical to preconsonantal **ind-h*. The fact is that there is no evidence whatever for post-apocope survival of *-h* except before vowels. There is, moreover, post-syncope devoicing of preposition bases with final *-CV* historically (e.g. *im* < **imbi* < **ambi*) by acc. 3sg. f. **-he* (< **-siyan*; McCone 1993: 172–3) and 3pl. **-hu* (< **-sūs*): e.g. *imp-e/-u* ‘around her/them’ < **imb(i)-h’é/-hu*, *cucc-e/-u* ‘towards her/them’ (ModIr. *chui*, *chucu*) < **kug(u)-h’é/-hu* (McCone 1993: 173–5), *int-e/-iu* ‘into her/them’ < **ind’(e)-h’é/-hu* vs *imm-* (< *imb-*), *cucc-* (ModIr. *chu(i)g-*) and *ind-* in the rest of the paradigms (*GOI* 272–6), where the personal affixes did not begin with *s*. The devoiced variants demonstrate survival of intervocalic *h* on word boundaries at least until syncope, but there was no relevant *h* + *C* form as a source for the analogical **imb-h-*, **kug-h-*, **ind-h-* needed by Kortlandt. His universal intervocalic *s* > *h* > *ø* is quite untenable as a means of deleting *-h* (< *(*e*)*s*) to expose a form like **to(-h)=are-βereh* (< **bereθ* < **beret(i)*) to the elision (or contraction) responsible for OIr. *tairbir* and so on.

The treatment of PrimIr. final syllables implies the following sequence (McCone 1982: 24–5): (i)(a) *VsV > VhV*, and (b) *-Vχ/θ/s* (inc. *-s* < *-ss* < *-χs/-st/-ts* etc.) > *-Vh*; (ii) *-V̄ > -V̇* (but *-V̄C*, inc. *-V̄h*, unchanged); (iii) *-Vh V- > -VhV-* (but *-Vh C-* unchanged); (iv) *-h > -ø*; (v) *-V̇ > -ø* (but retention of *-V̄ < -V̄h* by (iv)); (vi) *-V̄ > -V̇* (since (v) had removed a phonemic contrast *-V̄/-V̇*). Hence, where *h- < s-* was word-initial, (i)(a) **indā hliyeā* > (ii) **inda hliye(y)a* > (v) **ind hliye* > **int hliye* > **int liye* (= OIr. f. *int slige* ‘the way’). Where, however, *-h < s* (inc. *-s* < *-ss* etc.) was word-final, (i)(b) **indah eθnah* > (iii) **inda heθnah* > (iv) **inda heθna* > (v) **ind heθn* > **int heθn* > **int ēn* (= OIr. *int én* ‘the bird’) but (i) **indah reχtuh/karēh* (< **karēs* < **karan(t)s*) > (iv) **inda reχtu/karē* >

(v) **ind Rext/karē* > (vi) *in Rext/kare* (= OIr. *in rec(h)t/car(a)e* ‘the law/friend’). Unlike Kortlandt’s, this scheme generates regular Wb. *int* before a vowel or lenited *s*- versus invariable *in* before unlenited consonants.

Cowgill (1985: 111 and 118) briefly floated (a) spread of the prot. *tadbat*-type from relative to main clauses or (b) absence of a main-clause particle from certain verbs for as yet unspecified reasons. Since there was no /h/ < *(e)s to block elision in relative clauses (e.g. rel. *tesmet* ‘who pour out’ < 7th-cent. *tu:esmot* < **to-yo* ‘*ex(s)-semont(i)*’), the result should have been consistent OIr. oppositions of the type *tadbat* ‘who shows’ vs *do:adbat* ‘shows’ /*do* ‘*haðβæd*/ correlating neatly with *fo:cheird* ‘who puts’ (< **wo-yo* ‘*kerdet(i)*’) vs *fo:ceird* ‘puts’ (< **wo-s* ‘*kerd-et(i)*’), a useful distinction most unlikely to have been deliberately blurred. So (a) is unworkable and (b) an ‘unmotivated sporadic deletion’ of the type rightly castigated by Cowgill above (§4).

Schrijver (1997: 91–9) invokes disparate syntactic/semantic factors at a perforce early stage when *(e)t(i) had a definable function and so rel *-yo was still a syllable impeding elision/contraction of a preverb’s vowel. That necessitates an extra relative marker able to produce at least some prototonic forms. The choice is acc. sg. n. *(e)(d) ‘it’, which is then eliminated completely by loss of -d like PIC *e(d) ‘it’ and aphaeresis like Boling’s *(e)d to yield required *to-e V > *to V > *t V. Rel. *-yo was supposedly used with a subject but n. *(e)(d) and m./f. *(e)n³⁶ with an object antecedent (cf. Sims-Williams 1984: 159–60): e.g. *fo:cheird* ‘who puts’ < **wo-yo=kerdet*, *fo:cheird* ‘which (n.) (s)he puts’ < **wo(-e)=kerdet* ‘and *do:mbeir* ‘whom/which (m.) (s)he brings’ < **to(-e)n=beret*. However, its main-clause anaphoric origin (‘the story, I hear it’ > ‘the story which I hear’) make obj. *e(n) a dubious reason for missing *(e)s in rel. *fo:cheird* < **wo(-e) kerdet* ‘puts (it)’ vs *fa:cheird* ‘puts it’ < **w(o-e)=kerdet* < **wo(-h)-e=kerdet* < **wo(-e)s-e(d)=kerdet(i)* (Schrijver 1997: 110–11).

Schrijver’s hypothesis is contradicted by statistics (McCone 1980: 15–16) showing that lenition was commoner than nasalisation with an m./f. sg. obj. antecedent in Wb., a situation more or less reversed in Ml. So these need adjusting (Schrijver 1997: 92–9) by excluding clefts as ambiguous, if analysed as copula (sometimes omitted) + predicate + relative clause with covert antecedent: e.g. *hóre is mórad daggnímo do:gní* (Wb. 6^a8) ‘because what he does is magnification of a good deed’ rather than ‘because it is magnification of a good deed that he does’. To this is added a subtle and untestable semantic difference between a nas. and a len. rel. in such cases. The relationship of a rel. clause with a clefted constituent may not be the same as with a non-clefted antecedent (e.g. *cech irnigde do:ngneid i tuil dée* (Wb. 5^c20) ‘every prayer that you may make in God’s will’), but they may well have obeyed the same basic rules of relative concord in Old Irish, as they do in Modern English, French or Irish. *Pace* Schrijver (1997: 108), this is indicated by their joint participation in the increase in rel. nasalisation between Wb. and Ml. Even with rejigged data,

³⁶One might have expected separate sg. f. and pl. forms like **sin* and (m. pl.) **sūs*, but these are ignored, presumably because the likes of rel. **to-sin* would be hard to reduce to the required **to*^{NAS} in view of OIr. *d-a:mbeir* allegedly < **to-s-en* with a particle.

the nas./len. ratio with m./f. sg. antecedent in Wb. rises from 9/11 to 6/2 but not to 8/0.³⁷

Subj. rel. *-yo vs obj. rel. n. *-(e) (m./f. *-(e)n) should have yielded a consistent OIr. distinction between deut. *do:adbat* with a subj. and prot. *tadbat* with an obj. antecedent (if n.; *do:n-adbat*, if m./f.). However, Wb. shows no significant difference between active forms with subject (1 deut., 3 prot.) and object (4 prot., all n. sg.) antecedent.³⁸ Since Wb. inconveniently has mostly prot. forms with subj. antecedent, Schrijver (1997: 116) turns to the more (but still only c. 80%) favourable statistics in Ml., ‘where there is more material than in Wb.’ The passive is harder still, because its invariably subj. antecedent should have conditioned rel. *-yo and deut. forms throughout but the prot./deut. ratio is 3/1 in Wb. and 2/3 in Ml. Prot. forms with neut. (Wb. 3×, Ml. 2×) and deut. with mostly masc. (Wb. 1×, Ml. 2×; prot. Ml. 1×) antecedent prompt the extraordinary proposal (Schrijver 1997: 118–21) that, in the passive, a masc. subj. antecedent correlated with *-yo and a neut. one with *-(e)d in an otherwise unknown role as subj. not obj. These manoeuvres are unnecessary if rel. *tadbat* etc. are simply due to elision and deut. *do:adbat* etc. to a later normalising tendency (see below).

The direct challenge of *tadbat* etc. in OIr. main clauses calls for three unconnected *ad hoc* explanations (Schrijver 1997: 122–9) boiling down to ‘unmotivated sporadic deletion’. ‘One might argue’ that invariably prot. forms of *do:ic* and *do:uc-* in Wb. retained, ‘presumably as a fossil’ (Schrijver 1997: 125), a reflex of omission of **es* < **et(i)* (‘after that’ >) ‘and’ because it was redundant after a completed action. This would not cover a telic after a non-telic verb (e.g. *he ran and (then) arrived on time*), the redundancy would apply to any following verb (e.g. *he arrived and (after that) laughed*), and anyway would hardly cause a connective’s omission: cf. an English sequence of three telic verbs such as *he fell down and (after that) got up and (after that) finished the race*. This proposal accounts for only 10 of the Wb. total of 26 considered (or 18 out of 36 by including 8 prot. and 2 deut. non-rel. active forms of *ro:ic* in Wb.; McCone 1979: 7). The 90% main-clause prot. score of *t-áinic* ‘came’ etc. (5×), *t-uic* ‘(has) brought’ etc. (5×) and *r-ic* ‘reaches’ etc. can just be due to a well-known tendency of common verbs to preserve anomalous forms (cf. García-Castillero below).

Since they (like *ric*) show both deut. and prot. forms, the other verbs concerned are not amenable to the lexical criterion applied to *tuc* etc. and ‘a different approach is called for’ (Schrijver 1997: 125). For the next group

³⁷There is little to be said for Schrijver’s (1997: 98–9) attempts to explain the two ‘exceptions’ away: Wb. 12^a7 as a cleft (and so excluded according to his lights) despite the obvious correspondence between *for imbed inna precepte as:bir-siu* and Lat. *super tuam benedictionem*, and 22^c2 with an overt m. sg. pronominal antecedent *intí* strangely taken as quasi-covert.

³⁸Subj. 3^b8, 12^c31, 27^d23 (prot.), 31^b21 (deut.); obj. (all prot.) 4^b4, 13^c26, 24^b25, 26^d23. Schrijver makes 27^d23 *tairthet cach fer imm alaile* obj. not subj., presumably on the basis of a note ‘perhaps = *to-air-thet* “that which every man pursues”’ (*Thes.* ii, 679 a) with an otherwise unattested verb. Surely, however, it is the 3pl. of a well-attested compound of *reth-id* ‘runs’, namely *do:air-ret* ‘comes upon, assails’. That entails sg. *cach fer* as obj., Lat. *quaestiones* ‘questions’ as subj. antecedent and ‘which assail every man concerning another’ as a translation.

(10 prot., 15 deut.), ‘one might ... tentatively propose’ (Schrijver 1997: 127) a key role for preceding *.i.* ‘i.e.’ (Lat. *id est*) with alleged Irish equivalents *nochis/sechis* and *edón* conditioning prot. (no /-h/ < *es) and deut. (/ -h/ < *es) respectively, since the first two included a copula already containing the particle (*is* supposedly < *essi-s) but *edón* did not. ‘Sometimes, notably in Ml., it [*.i.*] is followed by a complete sentence prefaced by **sech is** or **noch is**, the Irish equivalent of *id est* ...; in such cases *.i.* is nothing more than a graphic symbol’ (GOI 25). Attestations of *sechis* ‘that is’ in Wb. (10^b12, 12^a8, 14^b9, 20^d8, 25^c7) are directly preceded by *.i.*, while the copula after *noch* ‘yet, but’ is inflected for tense/mood and person in Wb. and introduces a predicate, whether cleft (2^b6 *is*, 9^c33 *is*, 10^b9 *ba*, 19^c6 *is*) or not (5^a18 *ém am*, 15^b2 *is*, 18^c10 *ba*, 19^c4 *ba*). An *.i.* directly precedes *noch is/ba* at the beginning of a gloss (9^c33, 19^c4 and 6), and (*h*)*edón* seems to occur in Wb. only as a clefted pronoun with the copula: e.g. *is hedón bias and* ‘it’s that that will be there’ (23^b38; cf. 9^c15, 10^b9, 23^c2, 30^d5). That said, *idón* is found twice in the *Additamenta* (*Thes.* ii, 241.8 and 16) with a basic meaning ‘namely, i.e.’, when Patrick asks Dubthach ‘for the makings of a bishop’ from his disciples, *idón fer socheniúil cen on cen ainim* ‘namely a man of good family without defect, without blemish’ and gives a container/shrine (*cumtach*) to Fiacc, *idon clocc 7 menstir 7 bachall 7 poolire* ‘namely a bell and a reliquary and a crozier and a writing tablet’.

Even if *idón*’s *i* here ‘is a Latinism’ (GOI 26), it hardly follows that *.i.* stood for OIr. *edón* and even *sechis* or *nochis* as well as Lat. *id est* in the 8th century. Not only is *nochis* not found as ‘that is’ in Wb. but regular prefixing of *.i.* to *sechis* indicates that either the two were not seen as equivalents or *.i.* was a mere graphic symbol and, as such, prefixed to almost all glosses in Wb as an element extraneous to the text itself. Either way, it is irrelevant to forms like *tadbat* ‘shows’. In the case of five examples (4 prot., 1 deut.) followed by *tra* ‘then, so, indeed’, it seems ‘at least conceivable that *tra* and *es were in complementary distribution’ (Schrijver 1997: 127).

Having tentatively given three quite different reasons covering all but one of 26 main-clause independent prototonic forms in Wb., Schrijver (1997: 128) ends on a defiant note: ‘Irrespective of whether one does or does not accept the explanations suggested, the link between contraction and telic verbs and the mere fact that the contracted forms occur in so few syntactic contexts surely indicates that contraction was originally governed by strict syntactic rules rather than by a merely phonetic tendency. This conclusion offers clear support to the particle hypothesis.’ Since *tu-/ru-fu-V* verbs are by definition compounds and these are frequently telic (EIV 112–16), the relative prominence of *ro:ic* ‘reaches’, *do:ic* and *do:ucci* in the sample need be due to no more than their status as particularly common verbs of the relevant shape. A preceding *.i.*, far from being a ‘strict syntactic rule’, is of no significance whatever for the simple reason that opening *.i.* is the overwhelming norm in Wb. glosses of any shape or form: for instance, Wb. 4^d8 *.i. tairchechuin* ‘he prophesied’ (deut. *do:air-chain* ‘prophesies’) opens with *.i.* but so do all but one of the other 32 OIr. glosses in 4^d. As for *tra*, it is common enough for its occurrence with a few independent prototonic forms to be unremarkable.

Schrijver's scattergun semantic/syntactic approach to *tadbat* etc. seems wide of the mark, and García-Castillero (2015: 93–4) accepts 'in contrast to Cowgill and Schrijver's proposals' that 'hiatus in the [main-clause] declarative and leniting relative clause forms of CV·VC(-) lexical compounds was inherited in OIr. from previous linguistic stages' (2015: 96), despite a rather odd caveat.³⁹ García-Castillero (2015: 76) adds chronologically composite Sg.⁴⁰ to Wb. and Mb. (statistics for which essentially agree with McCone 1979: 4–6), makes light (2015: 90) of a chronological dimension to striking statistical differences noted above between Wb. and Ml., and much (2015: 90) of non-elision after proclitic *no* and augment *ro* in len. rel. clauses. His tables (2015: 92–4) have the merit of indicating the statistical frequency of individual lexical compounds, showing more prot. forms with commoner and more deut. ones with less common verbs. Since the former were synchronically anomalous and anomalies tend to be more resistant to normalisation in commonly used forms, this is hardly surprising (cf. *t-áinic*, *t-uic* and *r-ic* above) and quite compatible with a general recent elision.

While conceding a role to elision (e.g. 2015: 100), García-Castillero places greater emphasis on morphological factors, arguing (2015: 99–100) that 'for OIr. CV·VC(-) lexical compounds, which were structurally unable to express lenition, the use of prototony as a marker of relative clauses may be a good way to distinguish that clause type from the declarative form'. Two central processes envisaged are the creation of 'semi-simplex' *r-icc*, *t-icc* under the influence of *téit* 'goes' (2015: 100) and the extrapolation of active *tadbat* 'which shows' from *hi:tadbat* 'in which (he) shows' etc. on the model of passive *pridchider* 'which is preached' vs *i:pridchider* 'in which is preached' (2015: 98–9). The 'semi-simplex' idea is quite a stretch, as is the correlation of act. *hi:tadbat* and pass. *i:pridchider* as quasi-relatives: prepositional relative (*h*)*i* is a conjunct particle (GOI 28) and, notwithstanding homonymy with pass. rel. *pridchider*, *-pridchider* is synchronically conj. like act. *hi:pridcha* 'in which he preaches' vs formally distinct rel. *pridchas* 'who/which he preaches'.

The lack of distinction between, say, len. rel. and main-clause EOIr. /tu 'aðβet/ was doubtless ripe for remedy, but by straightforward introduc-

³⁹To say that OIr. lexical compounds such as *ro·icc* or *do·icc* had no intervocalic /h/ in their declarative form does not necessarily contradict the idea of a declarative clause marker such as *-h- in prehistoric times ... a particle which explains the lack of lenition in the declarative clause forms of CV(C)·CV(-) verbs ... I suggest that the *-h- was eliminated from the CV·VC(-) lexical compounds according to those CV(C)·CV(-) verbs in which the diachronically regular phonological opposition lenis vs fortis had been grammaticalised as the marker of the opposition relative vs declarative clause respectively' (García-Castillero 2015: 91, n. 12). This opaque suggestion can hardly be addressed without further specifics, but it is very hard to see how the grammaticalisation of relative lenis vs main-clause fortis in 'CV- could lead to the eradication of a corresponding distinction between main-clause 'hV- and rel. 'V-.

⁴⁰Some glosses are shared with other Priscian mss. (*Thes.* ii, xvii) and evidently come from an older common source. According to *Thes.* ii, xxiii, 'the codex was probably written about the middle of the ninth century. The date of the Irish glosses has been much disputed; sometimes they have been considered earlier, sometimes later than Ml. ... The explanation of the fluctuation of opinion is that the collection of glosses is not homogeneous, but comes from various sources and is of a varying antiquity'.

tion of main-clause *hV*- rather than García-Castillero's fanciful alternatives, and the hiatus was also ripe for resolution. As it happens, the latter came first through a general elision responsible for the /t'adβet/ underlying OIr. main-clause and len. rel. *tadbat* /tadβəd/ (*RelChron.* 132–3, 135–6). Only then did unambiguous main-clause *h*- start to spread into lexical compounds of the *tadbat*-type. García-Castillero complicates matters unnecessarily by putting the cart before the horse but his argument is explicitly (2015: 89, n. 9) divorced from the case for or against 'Cowgill's (1975) Wackernagel particle **es* > **(e)h*' and implicitly undermines **es* by accepting inherited hiatus in OIr. main as well as relative clauses.

Thurneysen's evolving views on non-lenition and /h-/ after the likes of OIr. *no*, *ro* and pretonic preverbs have been referenced and lucidly expounded by Sims-Williams (1984: 141–2). The crux is his 'hypothesis that the **-s* seen in the reconstructed negative particle **nīs* spread by analogy not only to other particles ending in vowels, such as the "perfective" (etc.) **(p)ro* and untranslatable **nu*, but also the preverbs of compound verbs like the **to* of *dobbeir*' (Sims-Williams 1984: 141). Sims-Williams then (1984: 143) took account of *tadbat*-type elision, concluding (144) that 'in environments in which the negative particle took the form **nīs* rather than **ne*, other syntactically comparable elements (*not* preverbs) with vocalic auslaut adopted **-s* by analogy. This has the advantage of explaining the /h/ after *ro* and *no* ... and so providing an obvious starting point for any analogical spread of /h/ to position after preverbs like *ro*, *do* and *fo* ... In general, the fact that *ro* functioned both as a particle and as a preverb will have played an important part'.

Initial main-clause *no* (GOI 348) and *ro* followed directly by a vowel-initial tonic portion were far from common in Old Irish: *no* without an attached infix was confined to the imperfect, conditional and past subjunctive (GOI 348), and proclitic augment *ro* was only possible with an otherwise independent simple verb (EIV 128–30) as it could 'never take precedence over the first lexical preverb of a compound' (EIV 135): e.g. *no:ainfeda* 'you (sg.) would have remained', *ro:ort* 'slew' (Ml. 48^c8). The proposed analogy would be easier to motivate after PrimIr. reductions of final syllables sketched above had phonemicised initial mutations and correlated initial len. C- and V- with unlen. C- and *hV*-:⁴¹ e.g. **nī 'g^wey^won'* : **nī 'hort* = **ro 'g^wey^won'* : x (x = **ro* 'hort in place of **ro* 'ort) > OIr. *nī:geguin*, *nī:(h)ort* 'did not slay', *ro:geguin*, *ro:(h)ort* 'has slain'.

Despite the paucity of early examples, 'it is surely significant that forms like *ro-ucc* "has brought" [Wb. 2×: 9^b6 *ro:uiccius* and 27^a7 *ro:uic*; none of *r'u(i)c(-)*] are hardly ever elided to ***r'ucc*, whereas the preverb *ro* in *ro-icc* 'reaches' is often elided, giving *r'icc* (McCone 1979: 7 [6 prot., 2 deut.,]; but note *ructha* Ml. 102^d7, *rucad* Sg. 174^a1, which are perhaps influenced by *t'uctha*, *t'ucad* ...) (Sims-Williams 1984: 143–4). Since *r(o)-uc(-)* '(makes to reach,) bears (to)' is an old causative of *r(o)-ic(-)* 'reaches' (McCone 1999: 355–60) that had gravitated

⁴¹See §8 below on the PIC gemination of consonants after initial **nī(s)*, **nu*, **ro*, **to*, **ambi* etc. that led directly to OIr. main-clause non-lenition after their OIr. outcomes *nī*, *no*, *ro*, *do*, *im(m)*: etc.

to *beirid* as its suppletive augmented form (EIV 115–16), the resistance of its *ro*: to elision is indeed noteworthy and the likes of prot. *ructha* may be survivals of *ro*'s erstwhile lexical status. Non-elision of *no* and *ro* before a stressed vowel is, of course, also a feature of leniting relative clauses, which certainly lacked /h-/: e.g. *no:adamrugur* 'which I admire' (Wb. 16^c3), *ru:horth* 'which slew' (ML 63^b12). Pace García-Castillero above, this can easily be due to pressure from unelided *no* and augment *ro* in main clauses (owing to a following /h-/) and in the nas. rel. type in *tain ro:n-anis-siu* 'when you have remained' (Wb. 29^d9).

Sims-Williams rightly notes the OIr. augment *ro*'s potential to influence pretonic lexical preverbs (including *ro*). Being basically a grammaticalised preverb (EIV 134–44) beginning to move in the direction of a conjunct particle (EIV 149–61 and 187–9), it displayed normal deut./prot. alternations as the augment of simple verbs: e.g. *ro:uic* vs *ní:r-u(i)c* or *ro:an* vs *ní:r-an*. In the likely event that as a proclitic it already prefixed /h-/ to a vowel in main clauses and so differentiated deut. main-clause /ro 'hug^(c)/ formally from len. rel. /ro 'ug^(c)/ and prot. /-rug^(c)/, it provided an obvious pattern to 'disambiguate' the elided type with prot. (-)*tadbat*, (-)*ric(c)* etc. in all three contexts. A proportion prot. /-rug^(c)/ : deut. /ro 'hug^(c)/ = prot. /-rig'/ deut. x (x = /ro 'hig'/) will have generated new main-clause deut. forms like *ro:ic(c)* /ro 'hig'/ 'reaches' and *do:adbat* 'shows' /do 'haðβəd/, thereby introducing a useful distinction between these and corresponding len. rel. *ricc*, *tadbat* etc. A further proportion would have introduced a normal contrast between deut. forms in both (e.g. OIr. *fo:ceird* 'puts' vs *fo:cheird* 'who puts'): main /ro 'hug^(c)/ : len. rel. /ro 'ug^(c)/ = main /ro 'hig'/ : len. rel. x (x = /ro 'ig'/), whence deut. relatives like OIr. *ro:ic(c)* /ro 'ig'/ 'who reaches', *do:adbat* 'who shows' /do 'aðβəd/. This two-stage process is reflected in statistics above showing that deut. forms were a substantial minority in main but rather uncommon in len. rel. clauses in Wb.

The main point for present purposes is that Kortlandt and Schrijver both fail in their attempts (one (morpho)phonological, the other semantic/syntactic, and both extremely uneconomical) to remove an elision-blocking *(e)s or its later reflex *h from the preforms of OIr. main-clause independent prototonic verbs like *r-ic*, *t-ic*, *f-ácaib*, *t-adbat*. That leaves only one solution still standing: this polyproblematical particle never existed in the first place.

7. ENCLITIC PRONOUNS AND INITIAL VERBS IN GREEK AND INSULAR CELTIC

According to Vendryes (1911–12) as summarised by Dillon (1943: 252), 'most Irish verbs are compounds, and a pronominal object is infixed as enclitic after the first preverb. Since by Wackernagel's Law enclitics tend towards the second position, and since in Irish these enclitic pronouns were attached to the preverbs, the compound verbs came regularly to stand at the head of the sentence, and this position then became regular for simple verbs as well' (cf. Sims-Williams 1984: 167–8). Borgstrøm emphasised, albeit as part of an untenable hypothesis (§1, n. 4 above), that 'the system of suffixed and infixed pronouns is the special condition by which the Indo-European system of thematic and athematic terminations was transformed into the Old Irish

system of absolute and conjunct terminations' (1933: 61–2) at a stage 'before the final separation of the Gaelic and Britannic languages' (1933: 64). Dillon (1943: 254) invoked an untenable 3sg. m. subject pronoun **is* generalised in main clauses (§4 above): 'if most of the primary [= absolute] endings originally contained enclitic pronouns, they would tend, by Wackernagel's Law, to force the simple verb to the head of its clause, and we need not assume with Vendryes that initial position began with compound verbs containing infixed pronouns.'

Whatever drawbacks their various overall theories have, all three identify enclitic pronouns governed by Wackernagel's Law as the main triggers of a regular clause-initial verbal complex and/or an absolute conjugation peculiar to initial simple verbs. The present hypothesis similarly sees the apocope-blocking effect of enclitics in 'Wackernagel' position as the key factor, and it is now time to consider the mechanics of the development of a PIC initial verbal complex with peculiarities affecting compound as well as simple verbs (§1 above).

Sims-Williams (1984: 184) posits not only the rise of 'VSO under the influence of constructions in which object pronouns and certain particles attached to the verb tended to tie it to initial position in the sentence' but also 'the proliferation of proleptic object pronouns attached to the verb', although the latter are quite rare in Old Irish (Lucht 1996) or British (GMW 56–7). Extensive prolepsis (Sims-Williams 1984: 175–6) would have made initial 'unemphatic' abs./deut. forms supporting enclitic object pronouns etc. particularly frequent and initial 'emphatic' conj./prot. forms (now only possible in the absence of enclitics) marginal and defective. Nevertheless, far from disappearing as might be expected (see below), the latter 'lasted down to the eve of the historical period of Irish' (1984: 170). Instead of a typical role reinforcing a noun object's definiteness (1984: 176; cf. ODVC 125), prolepsis came primarily 'to differentiate unemphatic from emphatic verbs in initial position' along with 'a tendency to generalize the n. Pronoun **e*' (1984: 177 and 178). Since deut./abs. + **e* were doubly characterised vis à vis 'emphatic' prot./conj. lacking **e*, **e*/+len. was deleted (leaving *ø*/-len.) as a redundant feature from compound verbs and 3sg./pl. simple verbs, but not from 1sg **biru-e* or 2pl. abs. **berete-e* (on account of a supposedly 'important distinction' between them and conj. **biru* and **berete*) and, 'in solidarity', probably not from 2sg. or 1pl. either (1984: 178–9). Generalising 3sg. proleptic **e(d)* (in effect, a phonetically regular version of Boling's **ed*; §1 above) in spite of and then deleting it because of substantial redundancy only adds dubious derivations of the 1sg. and 2pl. abs.⁴² to the results of the basic 'actual enclitic' hypothesis.

Gravitation of clitic possessives to their head noun (e.g. OIr. *do chenél* 'your people', Turkish *baba-m* 'my father', Akkadian *bēl-ni/-šunu* 'our/your lord') is matched by widespread cliticisation of object pronouns on the finite verb governing them: e.g. Akkadian *ana mārī-ka TADDIŠ-šū-ma itti-ka IMHURŪ-šu* 'YOU GAVE **it** (m.) to your sons and THEY ACCEPTED **it** from you' (Huehnergard

⁴²Contracted **ber-ū* and **bere-tē* (< **-ū-e* and **-te-e*) > **-biur*, **-beirid*, and uncontracted 1sg. **beruw-e* > **-berae* or the like (§4 above). 2pl. **-te-e* is incompatible with OIr. cop. *-di* < **-thi* and **-tes(i)-e* adds nothing to **-tesi* (§2 above).

2011: 170) or Basque *gaur IKUSI na-u* '(s)he (-ø) has SEEN me today', *gaur EMAN di-zki-o* '(s)he (-ø) has (di-) GIVEN them to him/her today'. In Basque, as in many other non-IE languages (see Eska 2010: 39–43 for examples), pronominal elements of this type are retained as a feature of verbal concord correlating with overt objects: e.g. *Jonek medikuari EMAN di-zki-o liburuak* 'John has GIVEN the books to the doctor'. Dixon (1994: 95) notes that such 'cross-referencing systems are thus basically pronominal (with the affixes having developed from free-form pronouns, in some earlier stage of the language)'. Evidently, cliticisation of pronominal objects on a finite verb or verbal complex, with or without evolution into regular concord markers, is a cross-linguistic commonplace.

The tendency of IE languages, particularly earlier attested ones, to buck this trend can be explained by a probable PIE combination of basic verb-final SOV word-order with automatic 'Wackernagel' attachment of enclitics to a clause's accented initial constituent. While enclitic sentence connectives like PIE **-k^we* may naturally gravitate to their clause's opening, that is hardly true of enclitic direct and indirect object pronouns separated, often quite widely, from their governing verb by mechanical post-initial placement.

One possible remedy, apparently applied in Germanic and Italic,⁴³ was to abandon enclitic forms in favour of independent counterparts behaving more like direct and indirect noun objects. Directly observed developments in Greek are more relevant to IC, given that 'structural facts indicate that the basic word order in Standard Modern Greek is VSO' (Skopeteas 2016: 687). In colloquial Greek from early Christian Egypt, 'clitic pronouns normally appear immediately after the verbs that govern them, except where there is an initial scope-bearing element (e.g. mood-marking conjunctions, interrogatives, negatives, foci) ... This pattern of word order and clitic distribution continues into (vernacular) Medieval Greek and survives in certain modern dialects, though standard Modern Greek has generalised the preverbal clitic position' (Horrocks 2014: 173): e.g. *αἴγραψά σοι (égrapsá sy)* 'I wrote to **you**' (Horrocks 2014: 178; 2nd cent. AD; vs standard modern *su égrapsa*) or *ὅπου ἠπάντηκά σου ... καὶ εἶρηκά σου (ópu ipántiká su ... ke íriká su)* 'when I met **you** and said **to you**' (Horrocks 2014: 183; late 4th cent. AD).

Both the basic verb-final SOV word-order posited for PIE by Delbrück, chiefly but not exclusively on the strength of Old Indic prose, and Wackernagel's Law received dramatic confirmation from a later addition to the IE language family: Hittite, its earliest attested member, with almost invariably sentence-/clause-final finite verbs and a chain of enclitic sentence connectives, pronouns and other particles conforming strictly to Wackernagel's Law (e.g. Rieken 2005: 118–19). Delbrück (1900: 74) deduced from the contrast between initial verbs in Old Irish and non-initial verbs in the exiguous Gaulish material available at the time that the latter had also predominated in Proto-Celtic and 'the constant initial placement of the verb developed first in Insular Celtic'. Further support for his view on this and basically verb-final PIE came several

⁴³See Meiser (1998: 156–61) on the main Latin forms and Ringe (2006: 288–91) on those reconstructed for Proto-Germanic.

decades later from eleven lines of continuous text on the 'first' Botorrita bronze (e.g. Jordán Cólera 2004: 327–45): 'Whatever about the precise interpretation ... there is general agreement about its firmly SOV character and marked preference for clause-final verbs ... In short, this piece of Celtiberian prose conforms quite faithfully to and thus corroborates Delbrück's Proto-Indo-European model ... [I]t follows that the intervening Proto-Celtic too was fundamentally SOV and verb-final and that the verb-initial patterns normal in Old Irish do indeed represent a major shift within Celtic itself' (McCone 1997: 380).

However, 'beside this [unmarked verb-final SOV] traditional word order there is an occasional [marked] one: the more important a word seems to the speaker, the more decisively it gravitates to the beginning of the sentence ... It seems indubitable to me that this basic occasional rule was also present in the parent language' and 'the subject can change its position through the preposing of other sentence constituents calling for strong emphasis' (Delbrück 1888: 16): e.g. XSOV, OS(X)V or VSO(X) with marked X, O or V respectively. Wackernagel's Law and a fronting rule for some sort of emphasis, most likely to mark a topic, were accepted even by proponents of largely free PIE word-order such as Meillet (1937: 365–7): 'No word had a definite and constant place in the Indo-European phrase. Most of the Indo-European languages have tended more or less to fix the order of words and Sanskrit prose, for example, offers almost a fixed order. But this order varies from one language to another ... The verb normally occurs at the end of the phrase in early Sanskrit prose and normally at the beginning in Old Irish; but it can occupy any position in Greek ... It is Greek that best preserves the Indo-European usage of putting the most important word first ... Immediately after the first word of the phrase appear firstly the accented or unaccented particles and indefinites, then the enclitic personal pronouns.'

Meid (1997: 398) recognised three main word-order patterns in Celtic, namely 'SOV Celtiberian', 'SVO Gaulish' and 'VSO Insular Celtic', and claimed (1997: 405) 'that Gaulish word-order is flexible ... As far as the verb is concerned, final, medial and initial position are attested. Final position is the relic of the older rule, medial position seems to have become the normal position ...; initial position ... is the expression of a particular emphasis'. Similarly (McCone 1997: 385), 'Proto-Celtic would seem to have inherited patterns with an SOV core ascribed by Delbrück to Proto-Indo-European without significant change. This system was apparently preserved more or less intact in Celtiberian but may eventually have given way in Gaulish to a dominant SVO order subject to interference from a fronting rule for topic inherited via Proto-Celtic from Proto-Indo-European. In Insular Celtic, by contrast, topicalisation of constituents by shifting them to initial position within the clause had to be abandoned as hitherto marked VSO patterns became normal. Thereafter a system of copular clefting arose and optional postverbal amplifications of SOV patterns [McCone 1997: 369–70] gave way to likewise optional pendens constructions preposed to VSO patterns.'

The role played by enclitic object pronouns (E^o; E^c = enclitic connective) in the aforementioned Greek shift towards VSO has been recognised by Horrocks

(2014: 108–9):

‘Originally these typically collocated with sentence connectives in second position in a sentence (cf. Wackernagel (1892) ...):

(18) ἐν^[1] δέ^[Ec] οἱ^[Eo] ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ^[2] ... ἡ γυνή^[S] αὕτη τίκει^[V]
... (Herodotus 6.63.2) ... “and^[Ec] in^[1] less time^[2] this woman^[S]
bears^[V] for him^[Eo] ...”

The frequently wide separation of such pronouns from their natural governors led, however, to a tendency for them to appear instead immediately after their relevant head in a syntactic phrase:

(19) πυρετοὶ^[S] δέ^[Ec] παρηκολούθουν^[PV] μοι^[Eo] συνεχεῖς^[adj]
(Demosthenes 54.11) ... “and^[Ec] continued^[adj] fevers^[S] hounded^[PV]
me^[Eo]”

But as we move into the Hellenistic period, the tension between these two options began to be resolved by placing the verb initially before clitic pronouns in second position, thus combining the traditional distribution of the latter, as in (18), with the semantically transparent head-complement order seen in (19). The result was increasingly standard V(erb)-clitic-S(ubject)-O(bject) order, with VSO then becoming routine even in the absence of a motivating clitic ...

This distribution was typically disrupted only under certain circumstances, i.e. when some clausal element, including a subject, was preposed as an emphatic/contrastive focus, or when some sentential “operator” (e.g. expressing negation, interrogation, or modality over the clause as a whole) occupied the initial slot. In these cases, we find instead the order F(ocus)/Op(erator)-clitic-V, i.e. with V as near to initial position as possible, but still adjacent to its dependent pronoun; all other constituents follow.

Verb-final thus ceased to be a “natural” order in popular Greek ... Furthermore, the dual distribution of clitics (i.e. V-cl in most cases, cl-V in the presence of initial F/Op) continued into Medieval Greek, and even into some modern dialects (e.g. Cypriot). In standard Modern Greek, however, the order clitic-verb has now been generalized except in the case of imperatives and gerunds.

As an example of both types together, consider the following sentence from an early Ptolemaic will (P. Elph. 2. ii. 10–11, 284 BC):

(20) ἐὰν^[Op/C] δέ^[Ec] τι^[Eo] ἐξαπορώνται^[PV] ... Διονύσιος^[S] ἢ
Καλλίστα^[S] ζῶντες^[pp] τρεφέτωσαν^[V] αὐτοὺς^[Eo] οἱ υἱεῖς^[S]
πάντες^[adj] ... “[and^[Ec]] if^[Op/C] Dionysios^[S] or Kallista^[S] should
be in need^[PV] [of anything^[Eo]] during their lifetimes^[pp], their
sons^[S] collectively^[adj] shall support^[V] them^[Eo].”

The two basic ways of juxtaposing a clitic pronoun and the non-initial verb governing it were attaching the pronoun to the verb as in Horrocks's example 19 (cf. Akkadian and Basque above) or placing the verb in initial or near-initial position contiguous with the pronoun as in his example 20. As his 19 shows, in an IE context the former solution entailed disruption of the clause's enclitic chain by leaving a connective such as Gk. *de* 'and' in its natural post-initial position. That ultimately favoured the second approach in Greek, leaving the chain intact as in 20, and the same may reasonably be assumed for Insular Celtic, given the reflexes of P/N **-de-/k^we-* *me* in cases like OIr. *do-dom:áinic* and *na-cham:tháinic* '(and it >) which has (not) befallen me' (*Echtrae Chonnlaí* §6, ed. McCone 2000: 121).

Basically verb-final SOV word-order with optional location of grammatically dispensable 'amplifications' after the verb (Gonda 1959) seems to have been inherited from PIE into PC. A tendency towards medial verbs and SVO was probably innovatory in Gaulish, but it is immaterial for present purposes whether Celtiberian-style SOV (with some post-verbal 'amplification'; McCone 1997: 379) or something like Greek-style flexibility prevailed in early PIC. In the absence of serious evidence for VSO as the basic PIE or PC word-order pattern, any constituent (such as V) liable to 'occasional' fronting to initial position as topic must have had a contrasting 'traditional' position as non-topic further back in the clause or sentence. Both types are covered by the formula #.(E)(...V(...)# with an initial slot reserved for sentence connectives like **nu* or **eti*, a S(ubject) or some other topic. For a finite verb, this setup entailed 'traditional' #.(E)(...)**bereti*(...)# vs 'occasional' #**bereti*(E).(E)...# with V as topic.

Enclitic object pronouns (E^o) could only be attached simultaneously to a finite verb and an enclitic sentence connective [E^c] like **k^we* or **de* by shifting V to initial position. The result would be PIC #.(...)**bereti*(...)# versus #**bereti*(-de)-*me*.(...)#. The latter pattern's mechanically conditioned (+E^o) clause-initial verb was bound seriously to impair the scope and viability of fronting for topic, leading to loss of anyway infrequent 'occasional' #V(...)# or #**bereti*(...)#. Apocope of *-i after this stage would have resulted in #.(...)**beret*(...)# versus #**bereti*(-de)-*me*.(...)#. Generalisation of an initial verb, as in later Greek, will then have led to loss of #.(...)**beret*(...)# and regular PIC #**bereti*(-de)(-me).(E)...#, if the unnecessary complication of a switch from #**bereti*-E.(E)... to #**beret*(...)# was avoided by preferring already initial **bereti* over non-initial **beret*. This motivated mechanism, rather imprecisely dubbed 'enclitic deletion' or the like⁴⁴ for short, straightforwardly generates PIC

⁴⁴The inaugural version (McCone 1979) referred to 'infix deletion' (16) and 'deletion of the suffixed -E' (30) with reference to initial compound and simple verbs respectively. Sims-Williams (1984: 146) opined that 'McCone's basic idea of infix- and suffix-deletion is both brilliant and plausible', but 'deletion' can be misunderstood if taken too literally. Koch (2022: 33), for instance (cf. Budassi and Roma 2018: 327), claims that 'enclitic-deletion explanations ... can be counted a subtype of particle explanations ..., in which the rule is formulated that the obligatory enclitic is phonologically nil'. Paradoxically, Koch's own 'vacant Wackernagel's position' (1987: 162; cf. ODVC 70) is just another name for the 'enclitic deletion' rejected by him (1987: 175–6). Whatever it is called, the mechanism envisaged by McCone (1979: 16 and 30; ODVC 70), Sims-Williams (1984: 146) and Koch (1987: 162), namely creating initial forms without enclitic from already

initial absolute endings from the initial or non-initial PC primary endings reconstructed above (§§1–3).

In Isaac's (2007: 50) opinion (basically of *ODVC* 106–10), a solution along these lines is 'elegant and simple. But there is a problem ... There is nothing in the theory to explain why ... **bereti*-E should have been taken as a model for initial verbal forms without an enclitic ... Why was there any *need* to get the same shape (**bereti*) when there was *no* enclitic? It is perfectly usual for languages to operate with special forms for special purposes (marked forms) and in **bereti*-E we have a special form for a special purpose: adding an enclitic. Why should this special form be taken into positions where no special form was required (the regular use of the verb at the start of the sentence), thereby giving rise to the whole complicated system of absolute and conjunct flexion?'. Formal complications resulting from later PrimIr. sound changes are neither here nor there, and little more was involved at the stage in question than initial and pre-enclitic **-i* vs non-initial *-ø*. Given that the present hypothesis makes the only initial type at the time **bereti*-E vs apocopated **beret* in any other position, the verbal inflection of type **bereti*-E could just as easily be considered specifically initial as pre-enclitic. An *a priori* fifty-fifty toss-up for a general initial form between the only two alternatives, **bereti* and **beret*, was actually biased towards the former because it already occurred in initial position and had a final vowel to keep consonants apart, as in **bereti-me/-tu/-nnos/-swes*. All that was needed was conversion of **bereti* etc. from the initial form supporting enclitics to the initial form capable of supporting enclitics. It is not a question of necessity but of probability and convenience, and there is no problem.

The negatives, interrogatives and various conjunctions placed before the verb in Old Irish as 'conjunct particles' (*GOI* 28) have much in common with what Horrocks above terms 'an initial scope-bearing element (e.g. mood-marking conjunctions, interrogatives, negatives ...)' or 'some sentential "operator" (e.g. expressing negation, interrogation, or modality over the clause as a whole) occup[ying] the initial slot' in Greek. In both Old Irish and Greek, the basically clause-initial elements in question (C) are the default supporters of enclitics, whence #V(E)(...)# but #C(E)V(...)#. They may well have contributed to the shift to VSO order in both by, in effect, serving as a magnet for the finite verb: cf. Vedic *na^N vā^{Ec} u^{Ec} yoṣad^V Rudrā^{abl} asuryā^S* 'let not divine dominion depart from Rudra' (*RV* 2, 33, 9), Ancient Greek οὐ^N γάρ^{Ec} πώ^E σφιν^{Eo} ἀκούετο^V λαός^S ἄυτῆς^{Ogen} 'for (his) host had not yet heard their (lit. 'them') cry' (*Iliad* 4, 331) or Basque *liburua^O Joni^{dat} eman^V diot^{aux}* 'I have^{aux} (it = ø, to him = o)

existing initial forms regularly followed by enclitic(s), was not deletion of enclitic(s) as such but simply using the same inflectional form of the verb itself in initial position, whether accompanied by one or more Wackernagel enclitics or not. This, surely, is quite different from positing the permanent fusion of an enclitic element such as a particle or pronoun(s) with verbal endings. 'Enclitic deletion', 'null enclitic' or even 'vacant Wackernagel's position' may be usefully applied as synchronic or even convenient labels to verbal forms without as opposed to corresponding ones with attached enclitic(s), but it must be borne in mind that such tags do not accurately reflect the diachronic process involved.

given^V the book to John' but *ez^N diot^{aux} liburua^O Joni^{dat} eman^V* 'I have not given the book to John'.

An important further factor was that in PIE, as in Vedic or Homeric Greek poetry and early Old Indic prose, 'the preposition [preverb] usually stands immediately before the verb, but one or more words often come between them ... In these cases the preposition [preverb] occupies the position that the verb itself would occupy if it were simple. Hence the usage *jīvati sá* [VS] is paralleled by the usage *prá sá mīyate* [PSV] TS 2, 2, 2, [and] beside the usages like *páraivá bhavati* [PeváV] cited above there is *bhávaty evá* [Vevá]' (Delbrück 1888: 45). In other words, a preverb in so-called 'tmesis' did duty for a topicalised verbal expression as a whole in 'occasional' sentence-initial position, and the verb itself (± 2nd preverb) stayed put (Delbrück 1888: 46–7): e.g. Old Indic 'traditional' *yūyaṃ^S hi^E devīr^{voc} ṛtayúgbhir áśvaiḥ^{inst} pari^P pra^P yāthá^V* 'you, then, o goddesses, come on forwards with properly yoked horses' (RV 4, 51, 5) but 'occasional' *abhi^P savyéna^{inst} prá^P mṛśá^V* 'get stuck in with the left [hand]' (RV 8, 81, 6). Apart from stray survivals of minimal PEV, initial preverbs had become fused with the rest of the verb in Ancient Greek prose and most attested IE languages with the result that compound verbs were treated like simple verbs (e.g. P(P)VE just like VE).

By contrast, in Old Irish prose as well as poetry the normal pattern was #PE(P)V(...)# (e.g. *do-s:(m)beir* or *do-s:(n-)air-bir* 'brings/inclines them') alongside #CEP(P)V(...)# (e.g. *ní-s:tab(a)ir* or *ní-s:t-air-bir* 'does not bring/incline them') or #VE(...)# (e.g. *beirthiu-s* bears them'). This implies PIC #(E)(...)P(P)V(...)# and, with V as topic, #(E)(...)(P)V(...)# as compound counterparts of #(E)(...)V(...)# and 'occasional' #V(E)(...)# respectively: e.g. #(E)(...)*to-(are)-bereti(...)# and #*(E)(...)(are)-bereti(...)# tending increasingly to become contiguous #*(to(E)=(are)-bereti(...)# as also sometimes in Vedic and Homer.⁴⁵ In this case, regular attachment of E^o to the verb governing it while maintaining its link with naturally post-initial E^c would have resulted in compound #*(to(-de)-me)=(are)-bereti(...)# and #(...)*to-(are)-bereti(...)# corresponding to simple #*(bereti(-de)-me(...)) and #(...)*bereti(...)# above. Moreover, like #*(bereti(...)# as topic in the face of automatic #VE(...)#, topicalised #*(to-(are)-bereti(...)# could hardly have survived the undermining of a pragmatic role for initial verbs by automatic #PE(P)V(...)#.

In Old Irish, a word's stress regularly fell on its first syllable, excluding a pretonic preverb plus enclitics in the case of independent deuterotonic forms of compound verbs such as *do(-s):beir* or *do(-s):air-bir* above. This stress-pattern seems likely to have been inherited more or less directly from PIC.⁴⁶ As far as the verb(al complex) was concerned, 'the Insular Celtic rule

⁴⁵E.g. *ā^P vivāseyaṃ^V Rudráśya sumnám^O* 'I would wish to win Rudra's favour' (RV 2, 33 6) and *ἐκ^P δ^E ἄγαγε^V κλισίης Βρισηίδα^O καλλιπάρηον* 'and he led fair-cheeked Briseis out from the hut' (Il. 1, 346).

⁴⁶As noted in §1 above, Cowgill regarded apocope of -i (and hence the abs./conj. opposition for which it was a prerequisite) as a PIC innovation, a position explicitly followed by McCone 1979: 28–30. Various arguments for PIC (which, of course, excludes a Gallo-Brittonic node) have since been advanced by McCone (1992, esp. 34–9; *RelChron.* 67–104; *ODVC* 277–85), Schrijver

of demarcative initial stress' applied 'to the semantic core of the verb (V plus any P) except where an enclitic intervened' (ODVC 281), in which case the parts before and after it received demarcative stress: e.g. bi-tonic initial (always +E) $\#^{*}to(-de)-me=(are-)beret(i)(...)\#$ vs uni-tonic non-initial (always -E) $\#(...)^{*}to-(are-)beret(i)(...)\#$. A Romance parallel is seen (ODVC 210) in the single stress from an early stage on periphrastic futures like *cantar(e-h)ábeo* 'I (have to/) shall sing' (Fr. *je chanterai*, Sp. *cantaré*) but retention of two stresses on either side of a clitic pronoun in Old Spanish, Old Provençal and Portuguese (Lausberg 1972: 230–231): e.g. Port. *comprará* '(s)he will buy' but *comprá-lo-á* '(s)he will buy it'). A similar situation may well underlie a couple of archaic Latin liturgical survivals of minimal PEV tmesis recorded by Festus (206L, 17), notably *ob vos sacro* and *sub vos placo* for classical *vos obsecro* or *obsecro vos* 'I beseech you (pl.)' and *vos supplico* or *supplico vos* 'I supplicate you (pl.)'. The weakening of *a > e/i* (Meiser 1998: 66–71) seen in *obsecro* and *supplico* is absent from the forms with an insert. This suggests that, when the reduction of internal unstressed vowels occurred (before a new system replaced regular initial stress in the 4th cent. BC; §1, n. 8 above), a single initial stress characterised $\#^{*}obsacro/\#^{*}supplaco$ and their internal vowels were duly weakened, whereas weakening did not affect $\#^{(*)}ob-vos-'sacro$ or $\#^{(*)}sub-vos-'placo$ because at the time their post-clitic syllable was stressed (cf. OIr. deut. *fo-b:ceird* 'puts you (pl.) etc.) and quite possibly their pre-clitic syllable too (cf. the bi-tonic > deuterotonic PIC pattern posited above).

Two further factors support this scenario: the likely double-stressed origins of other OIr. sequences of proclitic + stressed constituent (e.g. prep./possessive + noun, cop. + pred.), and a PIE rule requiring an element beginning a sentence/clause to be accented (cf. initial *ná, prá, pára, bhávati, abhí* in the Vedic examples above). The result combined with apocope of $\#-i$ would be $\#^{*}to(-de)-me=(are-)beret(...)\#$ with minimal PE(P)V tmesis and two stressed (') syllables versus contiguous non-initial $\#(...)^{*}to-(are-)beret(...)\#$ with a normal single initial stress. As in the case of simple verbs above, the initial form with enclitic was made the base for new initial forms without enclitic. It was argued above that gratuitous formal alternations such as $\#^{*}beret(...)\#$ versus $\#^{*}bereti-E(...)\#$ were avoided by generalising simple $\#^{*}bereti(-E)(...)\#$ in absolute initial position. Shifting uni-tonic $\#(...)^{*}to-(are-)beret(...)\#$ etc. to initial position would have opposed uni-tonic $\#^{*}to-(are-)beret(...)\#$ to bi-tonic $\#^{*}to-E=(are-)beret(...)\#$, an unnecessary complication avoided by general-

(1995: 463–5) and Schumacher (KPV 84–8). Schrijver (1995: 17–19) has argued for PIC word-initial stress: 'It is generally acknowledged that at some stage in PBr. a strong stress accent fell on the penultimate syllable, which as a result of PBr. apocope became the final syllable ... At a subsequent date the stress shifted to the penultimate syllable (if there was one) ... This is essentially the position we meet in MW, MCo. and MB [17] ... It may be concluded that there is sufficient evidence for Thurneysen's idea that prior to the period of LPBr. penultimate accentuation there was a time when the predecessor of British had initial stress. This strongly suggests that the system of initial stress that we find in Irish goes back at least to PInsCl. times [19–20]'. PIC unstressed prevocalic PC *es >* is also implies initial stress at that stage and, after all, 'the change in British to an accental pattern defined in relation to the end of the word would be no more surprising than a similar shift away from earlier word-initial stress in Latin (Palmer, 1954, 211–3)' (ODVC 100).

ising the already existing initial pattern as **to(-E)='(are-)beret.(...)#* etc. Deuterotonic **to(-E)='(are-)beret.(...)#* etc. arose from this by proclisis, probably also in PIC (cf. Schrijver 1995: 17–18). If a ‘conjunct particle’ was present, **nī(s)(-E)='to(-are)-beret.(...)#* etc. became **nī(s)(±E)='to(-are)-beret.(...)#* etc. by proclisis with a pattern like **to(-E)='(are-)beret.(...)#*, although the stress on its (first) preverb made the compound verb itself ‘prototonic’ (**-to(-are)-beret* > OIr. prot. *-ta(ir)bir*).

Whatever about the Ancient Egyptian analogues claimed by Isaac (2001: 156–168) and questioned in *ODVC* (126–9), there is something to be said for his idea of *-i* and deuterotony as accessory morphological markers of emphatic simple and compound verbs in initial position (*ODVC* 129–131). If **-i* had been lost at a PIC stage when initial demarcative stress had been introduced but sentence-initial position was still available to mark the topic, a simple verb would have opposed **beret...#* or **bereti-E...#* to unmarked *#.E(..)*beret(...)#* and a compound **to-beret...#* or **to-E='beret...#* to *#.E(..)'to-beret(...)#*. Since the initial forms with attached enclitic were formally distinct, their differentiating feature (**-i* or, if compound, bi-tonic stress) could have been spread to initial forms without *-E*, whence **bereti...#* and **to-E='beret...#* with morphological reinforcement of their positional marking as topic. Although statistically infrequent, **bereti(-E)...#* and **to(-E)='beret...#* will have been the only initial forms at this stage and hence likely to be generalised when initial position became the norm for the verbal complex. This scenario is a possible alternative to the more likely one above supported by Greek parallels.

The foregoing provides a framework for tackling peculiarities (§1 above) connected with the first preverb of initial (bi-tonic >) deuterotonic compound verbs. A bundle of circumstantial agreements between Old Irish and, however vestigially on occasion, Old and/or Middle Welsh (*ODVC* 12–16) were hardly due to coincidental parallel developments in the separate prehistories of Irish and British. It follows that abs./conj. inflections and the relevant features of compound verbs arose at an ancestral stage shared by both Irish and British, i.e. PIC at latest.

This litmus test of credibility presents no particular obstacle to any version of the particle hypothesis except Kortlandt’s (1979) idiosyncratic blend of **es* with alleged major differences (§1, nn. 3–4 above) between them. and athem. primary endings. Even if it were not beset by many other problems (*ODVC* 84–5 and 132–5), his thesis is quite untenable for the simple reason that the complex set of developments mostly ascribed by his relative chronology to a prehistoric Irish stage could not possibly have occurred similarly but separately in prehistoric Irish and British (*ODVC* 135–6). Otherwise, the PIC prerequisite has proved more challenging for proposals making no use of a particle. McCone (1979) envisaged a two-stage process triggered in PIC by the presence of one or more enclitics and then extended to patterns without an enclitic in the separate prehistories of Irish and British, but this was later modified to an entirely PIC process (*ODVC* 166–70). Sims-Williams (1984: 147) firmly excluded a PIC dimension, contending that ‘the Brythonic and Irish systems may be independent results of various shared structural features ...

and various shared syntactical tendencies which are far from peculiarly Insular Celtic – tendencies, for instance, towards the univerbation of compound verbs and towards VSO word-order'. However, the processes envisaged (and sketched above) seem far too circumstantial for parallel coincidence(s) to be plausible (ODVC 123–5), even in the case of VSO order: since this is a good deal less common cross-linguistically than the main alternatives (SVO, SOV) at c. 10% of the total (Carnie and Guilfoyle 2000: 3), the odds of regular VSO arising independently in Irish and British are about 100–1 against.

8. THE PRETERITE PASSIVE AND IRREGULARITIES ASSOCIATED WITH PRETONIC PREVERBS

Since a particle **es* has no significant impact on OIr. active absolute inflections (§§2–3 above) and is formally incompatible with all OIr. deponent and related passive absolute endings (§9 below), the case for it boils down to originally vowel-final pretonic preverbs' non-lenition of a following tonic portion or enclitic pronoun (§1 above): e.g. *fo(-s):cren* 'purchases (them)' < **wo(-sūs)=k^wrinat(i)*; *ar(us):coat* 'injures (them)' < **are(-sūs)=kom-wēdet(i)* (§6, n. 30 above). This contrasts with lenition by a vowel-final enclitic pronoun or relative marker, the same preverb when non-pretonic, or a corresponding preposition: e.g. *fo:chren* 'who purchases' < **wo-yo=k^wrinat(i)*, *aru:t:choat* 'hinders you (sg.)' < **are-tu=kom-wēdet(i)*; (neg. +) prot. *ní:fo-chrann*, *ní:air-chót* 'does not purchase/hinder' < **wo-k^wrinat(i)*, **are-kom-wēdet(i)*; *fo chloich* 'under a stone' < **wo klokī*, *ar chiunn* 'ahead (of)' < **are k^wennū*. A PIC origin follows from non-lenition of pronominal object affixes (GMW 55–6) as well as vestiges of an abs./conj. opposition (GMW 118–19) and non-lenition of the rest of the verb by an initial verb-final preverb (GMW 61–2) in Old and Middle Welsh.

Supporters of a particle claim that its 'Wackernagel' position in PIC main clauses, notably #C(**es*)(E):(P)(P)V(...) and #P^{*}*es*(E):(P)V(...)#, accounts for such discrepancies: e.g. *fo(-s):cren* and *ar(us):coat* regularly < **wo(-e)s(-sūs)=k^wrinat(i)* and **are(-e)s(-sūs)=kom-wēdet(i)*. Even unapocopated PIC **esti* or (± *-t* > *-s*) **eti* would do the job in auslaut before an initial stressed syllable beginning with a consonant: e.g. (**wo(-e)ti* > **wo-t* >) **wo-θ=k^wrinaθ* > **wo-h=k^wrinah* > **wo=k^wrena* > OIr. *fo:cren*; (**are(-e)sti* > **are-ssi* or **are-st* >) **are-ss=kom-wēdet* > **are-s=ko(m)-wēdet* > **are-h=kowēt't* > **ar(e)=ko(w)et* > OIr. *ar:coat*. Here, then, a hypothetical particle outperforms an 'actual enclitic'. However, the reverse applies when the directly following stressed syllable begins with a vowel: initial *tu:ac-cair* (**to+ad+gar-*) to OIr. *taccair* 'pleads' etc. in main as in leniting relative clauses is simply due to hiatus-cancelling elision in the absence of a particle, but a particle should have produced /to 'hagar'/ etc. with elision-blocking *-h* < **(e)s/θ* (< **est(i)/*et(i)*) and then regular OIr. *do:accair* /do 'hagər'/ etc. in main clauses. So there is a fifty-fifty standoff. If it is to work with a following enclitic pronoun, **esti* or **eti* must be counter-intuitively supposed (§4 above) to form a phonological unit with a preceding verb/preverb but a word-boundary (#) with a following enclitic causing 'auslaut' *-ss/-t-* > *-s-* > *-h-*: e.g. *f-a:chren* 'purchases it (n.)' < **w(o)-e=χ^wren(a)*

< *wo-h[#]-e=χ^wrinah < *wo-s[#]-e=k^wrinat < *wo-(e)ss/t(i)[#]-e=k^wrinat(i), not *fo-s/-d:chren < *wo-s/θ-e=χ^wrinaθ < *wo-(e)ss/t(i)e(d)=k^wrinat(i) with normal inlaut developments (cf. §5 above). Given this and its helplessness before a following vowel (§6 above), a particle only seems admissible as a lenition-blocker if there is absolutely no viable alternative.

A single set of PIE mediopassive endings made any distinction between passive and middle function syntactic not morphological: passive and deponent inflection are, for instance, formally identical throughout in Latin. Although secondarily differentiated passive and middle/deponent forms are found elsewhere in the odd tense (e.g. the Ancient Greek future and aorist or the Vedic pres. ind. and 3sg. aorist), Insular Celtic uniquely introduced a pervasive contrast in the 1/2sg./pl. between separate verbal endings in the deponent and 3sg. verb plus relevant enclitic pronoun in the passive: e.g. OIr. dep. *midíur* 'I judge' or *ní:midemmar* 'we do not judge' but pass. *no-m:mitter* 'I am judged', *ní-n:mitter* 'we are not judged', MW (virtually no remaining deponent) *γ-m:gatter* 'I am left', *hand-yth-uagwyd* 'you have been reared' (GMW 56). The obvious starting point was the preterite passive (Cowgill 1983: 104–6), an erstwhile verbal adjective (cf. Celtib. *ne litom* below) originally inflected for number, case and gender but not person. The shift to a finite verb entailed pruning to just two forms with -s, namely m. sg. and f. pl., and using 1st/2nd-person affixes: e.g. (*ag-* 'drive'), nom. m./f./n. sg. *aχ-tos/-tā/-ton, pl. *aχ-toi/-tās/-tā 'driven' and so on reduced to PIC 3sg./pl. *ro aχ-tos/-tās and 1/2sg./pl. *ro-me/-tu/-nnos/-swes=aχ-tos > OIr. *ro:acht(a)* 'has/(have) been driven' and *ro-m/-t/-n/-b:acht* 'I/you (sg.)/we/you (pl.) have been driven'.

Cowgill's suggestion of 3sg. pass. pret. *britos es(t) > OIr. *brethae* (abs.) 'was borne' vs *nī's(t) *britos* > OIr. *ní:breth* 'was not borne' was independent of his slightly later idea of *est(i) 'so it is' as an asseverative particle (§4 above). The copula was not a 'Wackernagel' enclitic in PIC (§4 above) and its normal proclisis to a stressed predicate implies *esti *britos* rather than *britos *est*. However, *nīs(t) *britos* would follow from early fusion of *ne-est (§4) and the normal position of the negative and other 'conjunct particles' (EIV 1).

Nevertheless, initial *britos *est* etc. could have resulted, if a periphrasis similar to Lat. *fact-us/-a/-um est* 'was made' had been effectively 'unverbated' before PIC generalisation of VSO order (V = verbal complex) and so was shifted as a unit. Inflection of the passive participle for number and gender and of the copula for number and person would then be expected, as in Lat. *fact-us/-a sum/es* 'I/you was/were made', *fact-i/-ae sumus/estis* 'we/you were made', *fact-i/-ae/-a sunt* 'they were made'. A 3rd-person pres. ind. cop. could easily be omitted, as in Celtiberian ...*ne litom*, *nekue...litom* '(is) not allowed' (Bot. I, ll. 1–2, Jordán Cólera 2004: 327), giving a choice between, say, PIC neg. m. sg. *ne or *nīs *britos*, f. pl. *ne or *nint *britās* (cf. GOI 153). However, 'to mark person and number with 1st and 2nd person patients we might have expected reflexes of the copula, as in Latin *amātus sum*, *amātī sumus*, Polish *był-em*, *byli-śmy*, or Persian *kærd-æm*, *kærd-im*. This suggests an antecedent state where person and number were expressed by nominative pronouns, on the model of Russian *ja byl*, *my byli* ... and the copula, if present at all, played

a quite subordinate role ... If so, Old Irish shows two innovations in the 1st and 2nd person preterite passive: the pronouns have acquired enclitic oblique shapes, and the verb has ceased to mark plural number. Instead of *šrosni-messa* from Insular Celtic **ro-s snīs messās* we have *ron-mess* as if from **ro-s nos messon* (Cowgill 1983: 105; -s < particle **es* < **esti*). Cowgill (1983: 105–6) suggests that the use of enclitics may have been enabled by a lack of formal distinction between nom. and acc. forms of pronouns. This may well have been true of P(I)C independent 1sg. **mī*, 2sg. **tū*, 1pl. **snī*, 2pl. **swī* (§2 above on Gaulish subj. *mī*, *suī* and obj. *snī*), but the enclitic forms were invariably objects until the rise of this PIC passive construction. So OIr. *ro-n:mess* ‘we have been judged’ < **ro-nnos messos* and not **ro:mess-(s)ni* < **ro messos snī*⁴⁷ (without a particle) is still puzzling.

If a copula was regularly used in the PIC pret. pass. 1/2sg./pl., there would have been no role for pronouns, whether independent or clitic, as markers of person and number. Even so, enclitic pronouns could have been introduced by a PIC process not unlike the generation of OIr. pres. ind. cop. forms like 2sg. *a/i-t* from 1sg. *a-m* (§2 above). If 1sg. **nīmm aχtos* (< **nīmm(i)* < **nīsmi*) was understood as elided **nī-mm(e)* similar to, say, **ro-m(e) aχt* ‘has driven me’ (cf. prevocalic elision of Gk. *me* ‘me’ to *m*), then **nī-mme* could have replaced **nīmm* before a consonant by a proportion (neg. 3sg. pret. act. + 1sg. pron.) **ne-m aχt* : **ne-me birt* = **nī-mm aχtos* : x (x = **nī-mme britos*) (neg. 1sg. pret. pass). Such a development before PIC creation of 1/2sg. **nīt-emm/-is* etc. (§5 above) would have facilitated substitution of unambiguous 2sg. **nī-ttu* for **nīs* (< **nīs(i)*; 3sg. **nīs* < **nīss(i)*) and then 1pl. **nī-nnos* for **nīmmis*, 2pl. **nī-swes*⁴⁸ for **nītis* (§5 above) by a proportion (neg. pret. act. 3sg. + pron.) **ne-me birt* : **ne-tu/-nnos/-swes birt* = **nī-mme britos* : 2sg./1pl./2pl. x (x = **nī-ttu/-nnos/-swes britos*) (pret. pass. 1sg.).

If the 3sg. alone had resisted cop. + pred. order, the result will have been 1/2sg. **emmi/*isi britos*, 3pl. **inti britās* etc. but 3sg. **britos is(s)* (§5 above on PC **isti* for **esti*). Once established with the negative, the convenient affixing pattern outside the 3rd person could spread to non-neg. sentence-initial connectives or conjunctions. It seems that one of these, **nu*, was sufficiently neutral semantically to become the means of attaching the forms used with **nī(s)* if there was no other prefix: e.g. 1/2sg./pl. **nu-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes britos*⁴⁹ > OIr. *no-m/-t/-n/-b:breth* ‘I was/you were borne’ versus 3sg. **britos-is* > **britoh-ih* > **breθo(h)ih* > **breθē(h)* > OIr. *breth(a)e* ‘was borne’. Crucially, **is* here is not a particle but a normal copula form on its way to becoming

⁴⁷The pronoun’s position here is based on the virtual certainty that at least some earlier independent subject/object pronouns are continued by OIr. pronominal adjuncts or *notae augentes* (GOI 252–3; ODVC 214–24).

⁴⁸With non-gemination of *s*- because of the following *w*. Most likely, this was because, whereas the 1sg./2sg./1pl. syllable boundary was **nī-m.me/-t.tu/-n.nos*, 2pl. **nī-ss.wes* would have had a tautosyllabic geminate. Even if such a form was created, it would have been liable to syllable-final simplification (as assumed by Boling 1972: 87 and Kortlandt 1979: 36 in relation to **-s-swes* containing a particle) matching postvocalic word-final *-ss* > *-s*.

⁴⁹With the same **britos* in 1/2pl. as with the trigger **nī-mme*, not least because 3pl. **nint britās* will have had a specifically 3pl. ending *-nt* unlike impersonal **nī-* (3sg. **nī-ss*).

an 'absolute' inflectional element like *-i. The origin of **britos* etc. as a verbal adjective implies compound **to-brit-os/-ā/-on* etc. (with normal substantival initial stress) and 1sg. **emmi/*nīmm tobritos* etc. but 3sg. **tobritos-is/*nīs tobritos*. Loss of inflection for gender and case by **(to)britos* (3pl. **(to)britās*) etc. presumably paved the way for verb-like behaviour through creation of a bi-tonic initial form to support enclitics: **ne-me 'to-birt* : **to-me 'birt* = pass. **nī-mme 'to-britos* : x (x = *'to-mme 'britos*) corresponding to OIr. act. *nī-m:thabart* '(s)he did not bring me', *do-m:bert* '(s)he brought me' and pass. *nī-m:thabrad* 'I was not brought', *do-m:breth* 'I was brought'.

In the absence of OIr. examples (GOI 440), all that can safely be said about the 3pl. abs. is that it had a final vowel like conj. *-bretha* < **britās* (e.g. ML 58^d6 *ar fo:roiblachta* 'for they have been anticipated' gl. *quia ... sunt praeventi*). If they were identical,⁵⁰ the abs. may have become **britās* > **breθāh* > OIr. *bretha* (?) through disuse of a probably optional preposed (3pl.) copula now confined to this one point in the paradigm.

The scenario just outlined accounts for non-inflection of the verb itself for number in the 1/2pl., for the total lack of OIr. 1sg. abs. **brethum* etc. with suffixation and, above all, for the otherwise problematical PIC pressing of enclitic object pronouns into service as passive subject markers. Its potential to differentiate 1/2sg./pl. passive from corresponding active forms of deponent verbs (§9 below) was a powerful motive for spreading this system from its preterite base to all other tenses and moods of the passive. Once established at the expense of inherited **ne*⁵¹ in main clauses throughout the passive (except its imperative), more highly characterised **nīs(E)* was set to displace **ne(E)* with non-imperative active (incl. deponent) verbs in main clauses (cf. Latin *nōn* for *ne* except for the stray compounded survivals *ne-queo* 'I cannot' and *nolo* 'I do not wish' < **ne-velō*). One consequence of such a development would be new combinations of **nīs* with a 3rd-person pronoun such as 3pl. **sūs*, which (shortened in proclisis to **suh*) underlies OIr. *nī-s:beir* 'does not bear them' etc. < **nīssus=beret*. Derivation of the likes of OIr. *nī:cheil* 'does not conceal it (n.)' or *nī:mbeir* 'does not bear him/it(m.)' from PIC **nīs-e/-en* (> **nī(h)-e/(n)*) with the same outcome as old -s requires an anyway probable PIC postvocalic -ss > -s in auslaut before a similar simplification of -ss- in intervocalic inlaut (e.g. OIr. *is*, MW *ys* 'is' < **isi* < IC **issi-*). PC **nīd/m* < **nēd/m* < **ne+ed/m* is ruled out by the enclitic pronouns' forms **id* and **im* at that stage (cf. Schrijver 1997: 51–63; §1 above on OInd. *id*, Gaul. *buēt(i)+id*; Ernout 1953: 83 on OLat. *im/em*). These seem more likely to have combined with **ne* as PC **neid/m* > **nēd/m* > PIC n. **nē*, m. **nēn*, but could easily have been remodelled to **nī* and **nīn*, once neg. **nīs*, **nī-mme* and so on had been established. Whether originally based upon **nī-* (**nī-ssūs* like **nī-mme/-ttu/-nnos*) or **nīs* (**nīs-sūs* like arguable 3sg. m./n. **nīs-e(n)*), neg. + 3pl. pron. was almost bound to be analysed as **nī-ssūs*

⁵⁰3pl. abs. *-(a)i* tentatively suggested by GOI 440 is quite uncertain, being based on a couple of examples from texts written or copied after the late OIr./early MidIr. merger of final short vowels as schwa (*RelChron.* 142–3).

⁵¹Inherited from PIE (e.g. OInd. *na* < **ne*) via PC (e.g. Celtib. *ne litom*) and still underlying OIr. rel. neg. *nad*: < **ne-de*, *nacha*: < **ne-k^we-huh* < **ne-k^we-sūs*.

beginning with two consonants like all of the other consonant-initial forms (e.g. 1pl. *-nnos*, 2pl. **-swes*). Whether *< *-sin* or **-s(iy)an*⁵² *< PC *sīm* or **siyām*, the f. sg. seen in OIr. *ní-s:(m)beir* ‘bears her/it (f.)’ will have acquired PIC **ss-* like 3pl. **-ssūs*.

The PIC forms in column I below yield OIr. *ní-m/-t:chleth* ‘I was/you (sg.) were not concealed’, *ní:cleth* ‘was not concealed’, *ní-n/-b:cleth* ‘we/you (pl.) were not concealed’, *ní:cletha* ‘were not concealed’. Those in II are direct precursors of OIr. *ní-m/-t:chelar* ‘I am/you (sg.) are not concealed/praised’, *ní:celar* ‘is not concealed’, *ní-n/-b:celar* ‘we/you (pl.) are not concealed’, *ní:mol(a)tar* ‘are not praised’ etc. Likewise the actives (and deponents) in III: e.g. *ní-m/-t:cheil* ‘does not conceal me’, *ní:ceil* ‘does not conceal’, *ní:cheil* ‘does not conceal it (n.)’, *ní-n/-b:molathar* ‘does not praise us/you (pl.)’, *ní-s:ceil* ‘does not conceal them’.

I	II	III
preterite passive	other passive	active/deponent (3sg. + obj. pron.)
1sg. <i>*nī-mme=klitos</i>	<i>*nī-mme=kelor/=molātor</i>	<i>*nī-mme=kelet/=molātor</i>
2sg. <i>*nī-ttu=klitos</i>	<i>*nī-ttu=kelor/=molātor</i>	<i>*nī-ttu=kelet/=molātor</i>
3sg. <i>*nīs=klitos</i>	<i>*nīs=kelor/=molātor</i> (+n.(m.) pron.)	<i>*nīs=kelet/=molātor</i>
1pl. <i>*nī-nnos=klitos</i>	<i>*nī-nnos=kelor/=molātor</i>	<i>*nī-nnos=kelet/=molātor</i>
2pl. <i>*nī-swes=klitos</i>	<i>*nī-swes=kelor/=molātor</i>	<i>*nī-swes=kelet/=molātor</i>
3pl. <i>*nīs=klitās</i> ⁵³	<i>*nīs=kelontor/=molantor</i>	<i>*nī-ssūs=kelet/=molātor</i>

It has been argued above that 1/2sg./pl. infixed pronouns with a geminated (**mme* etc.) or at least double (**swes*) initial consonant had spread as subjects throughout the preterite passive system from their point of origin with negative **nīs*: e.g. not only PIC **nī-mme/-nnos=molātos* (> OIr. *ní-m/-n:molad* ‘I was/we were not praised’) but also **nu-mme/-nnos=britos* (> OIr. *no-m/-n:breth* ‘I was/we were borne’), augm. **ro-mme/-nnos=molātos* (> OIr. *ro-m/-n:molad* ‘I/we have been praised’) and cpd. **to-mme/-nnos=britos* (> OIr. *do-m/-n:breth* ‘I was/we were brought’). Their further spread to the other tenses and moods of the passive was likewise not confined the neg. type in column II: e.g. not

⁵²General previous agreement that **-siyan* (or less obvious **-seyan*) is the only morphologically plausible preform capable of yielding 3g. f. *-e < *-he < *se* with prepositions (McCone 1993: 172–3) has been helpfully documented and discussed by a dissenting Schrijver (1997: 36–8), but his alternative **-so-san* is unconvincing. An older **-sin < *-sim* could have remained in use as the enclitic form with verbs. This accounts for non-pal. infixed *-s* thanks to EOIr. depalatalisation of consonants in proclitics, but the invariably non-pal. *-s* of the plentifully attested (Breatnach 1977: 82–3) 3sg. f. suffixed pronoun would then have to be due to analogy. However, both would result regularly *< *-san < *-s(y)an < *-siyan* by a Primlr. reduction of unlenited **-siya > *-sya > *-sa > -s* after an unstressed syllable posited (McCone 1995: 130–2) to account for OIr. 3sg. rel. forms such as cop. pres. as ‘who/which is’ *< *esa < *is(y)a < *issi-ya < *issi-yo* (> MW *yssyd*) *< *esti-yo* or s-pret. *marbas* ‘who/which killed, whom/which (s)he/it killed’ *< *marwas(y)a < *marwass(y)o* (← **marwast + *-yo*).

⁵³In place of original *nint*, once this had been left unsupported by affirmative **britās* for **inti britās*.

only neg. **nī-mme/-nnos*=*molātor*/=*toberor* but also **nu-mme/-nnos*:*molātor* (> OIr. *no-m/-n*:*moltar* ‘I am/we are praised’), **to-mme/-nnos*=*beror* (> OIr. *do-m/-n*:*ber(a)r* ‘I am/we are brought’) and so on.

Adoption of neg. **nīs* (±geminated pronouns) in III differed from I and II insofar as active (incl. deponent) verbs already used ungeminated (except **-nnos* < **-snos*) enclitic pronouns as objects: e.g. neg. **nī-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes/-ssūs*=*beret* (> OIr. *nī-m/-t/-n/-b/-s*:*beir* ‘does not bear me/you/us/you/them’) but **to-me/-tu/-nnos/-swes/-sūs*=*beret* (OIr. *do-m/-t/-n/-b/-s*:*beir* ‘brings me etc.’) and **bereti-me/-tu/-nnos/-swes/-sūs* (OIr. *beirthiu-m* ‘bears me etc.’).

Gemination is central to Koch’s ‘prosodic’ explanation (§1 above), which posits doubling of the initial consonant of enclitics (including supposedly atonic non-initial main-clause verbs) by a preceding short stressed final vowel. Alleged accentuation of a pre-enclitic syllable (§1 above) extends this effect to all postvocalic enclitics (Koch 1987: 149–52; 2022: 44–7): e.g. **ambí-s.sūs-beret(i)* > OIr. *imm-us:beir* ‘plays them’, **beretí-s.sūs* > OIr. *beirthiu-s* ‘carries them’, **arí-k.kanet(i)* > OIr. *ar:cain* ‘recites’.⁵⁴ Gemination is due to a tendency of languages with a stress accent to avoid this on short final vowels by either de-stressing them⁵⁵ or making their short/light syllable long/heavy in one of two ways: by lengthening either its vowel (as in the likes of OIr. *sé* ‘six’ < **s(w)e* < **sweh* < **swes(s)* < **sweχs* > MW *chwech*; GOI 32) or, less frequently, the following consonant. In Tuscan Italian, for instance, ‘the juncture of a short stressed vowel + consonant results in gemination: e.g., *caffè nero* [kaffé nné:ro], *resterà con me* [resterá kkom mé], *sto benino* [stó bbení:no], *carità divina* [karità ddiví:na]; see M. Chapallaz, *The Pronunciation of Italian* (London 1979) 133ff.’ (Koch 1987: 147).

An accentual approach would have some attraction, if the distribution of OIr. conj. (-*beir* etc.) or prot. (PV -*tab(a)ir* etc.) and abs. (*beirid*) or deut. (PV *do:beir* etc.) corresponded reasonably neatly to that of Vedic main-clause $\check{V}(\dots)$ or $\dots V$ (e.g. *yāti devāh* ‘the god goes’ RV 1, 35, 3 or *sá id devēsu gachati* ‘that goes to the gods’ 1, 1, 4), including $\check{P}(\dots)V$ (e.g. *Agnīh ... á gamat* ‘let Agni come’ 1, 1, 5; *á devō yāti* ‘the god comes’ 1, 35, 3), and subordinate-clause $(\dots)\check{V}(\dots)$ (*yá u tát cíketat* ‘who may understand this’ 1, 35, 6), including $P\check{V}$ or $\check{P}(\dots)\check{V}$ (e.g. *yáh párthivāni vimamé rájāṃsi* ‘who has measured out the terrestrial regions’ 1, 154, 1 or *ví yé bhrájante* ‘who shine forth’ RV 1, 85, 4). It doesn’t, and Koch (1987: 172) pleads the absurdity of expecting an IE language like OIr. with a fixed initial stress accent to preserve direct traces of the free tonal accent inferred for PIE. Quite so, but that makes Vedic accentuation irrelevant to OIr. and so ‘close’ vs (with P separable from V by E etc.) ‘loose’ compounding are substituted as a pretext for correlating OIr. P’V and ‘PV with Vedic/PIE $\check{P}V$ and $P\check{V}$ respectively: ‘OIr. [initial] **do-beir** ... and IE [main] *pró bhereti* are

⁵⁴The adaptation of Koch’s (1987: 162) preforms here to an IC look does not affect the basic point.

⁵⁵This would be tempting as an explanation of the PIC proclisis responsible for deuterotonic verb forms, conjunct particles, proclitic copula, prepositions, article, possessives (e.g. OIr. *a* ‘his’ < **ehya* < **esyo*), were it not for a shortage of the vowel-final monosyllables liable to be affected on an initial-stress model of PIC.

loosely compounded; [non-initial] **tabair** ... and [subordinate] *probhéreti* are closely compounded' (Koch 1987: 172). As the above examples show, a preverb is as readily separated from its verb in Vedic subordinate as in main clauses, the only difference being that it then bears an accent. It seems absurd to call subordinate *PV* here fully compounded in a way that *Ǿ(...)**V* was not and lump subordinate *Ǿ(...)**V* with the latter. The basic Vedic (and PIE?) rule was, surely, that *Ǿ* underwent proclisis in direct contact with *V*.

Even if this objection is ignored, Koch's contrived correlation would yield an OIr. opposition between deut. *do:beir* etc. in main and prot. *tabair* in subordinate clauses and so it must be assumed that eventually a questionable distinction between 'loosely and closely compounded versions of compound verbs ... could come to be used exactly like abs. and cjt. forms of simple verbs' (Koch 1987: 174). This scenario is scuppered by Koch's later restriction of apocope of **-i* to unstressed forms, which would yield (with simple and compound verbs alike) non-initial conj. inflection in main but invariable abs. inflection in subordinate clauses as well as initially. Consequently, now 'it is unlikely that Celtic continued a subordinate clause structure like that seen in Vedic' (Koch 2022: 35; cf. his n. 31). This seriously undermines the relevance of Vedic/PIE to OIr. accentuation, but Koch (2022: 54–6) posits a Pre- or Proto-Celtic phase with initially stressed **eḡs bereti* etc. (now a direct outcome of PIE main-clause *ǾV*) improbably converted to the deuterotonic pattern underlying OIr. *as:beir* 'says' etc. at a much later PrimIr. date on the model of patterns like prep. + noun **eḡs bardobis* (OIr. *a bardaib* 'out of bards') dubiously assumed to have had a proclitic from the Pre- or Proto-Celtic stage envisaged. Old verbal enclisis and/or early proclisis in such groups as preposition/possessive + noun are essential for Koch's gemination rule. This is arbitrarily restricted to following enclitics on account of its non-application to cases like *fo chenn* '(down to the head of,) towards, regarding' (not **fo cenn* < **'wo 'kk^wennom*, because a noun is stressed but a verb isn't), but early proclisis would do just as well: e.g. **wo 'k^wennom* > *fo chenn* vs **'wo 'kk^wrinat(i)* > *fo:cren* 'purchases'. Koch could dispense with either P(I)C enclisis of verbs or proclisis of prepositions etc. but not with both. However, he chooses to retain both verbal enclisis and precocious proclisis of prepositions etc., presumably as belt and braces.

Although Koch's two 'prosodic' solutions (1987 and 2022) rest upon improbabilities or worse, his idea of post-tonic gemination seems worth considering in combination with PIC word-initial stress patterns (n. 46 above and *RelChron.* 100).

The comparable Italian gemination is a widespread feature of speech and by no means confined to enclitics (cf. *caffè nero* [kaffè nné:ro] above), but it is only recognised by standard orthography in expressions written as a single word (Maiden and Robustelli 2013: 10–13): e.g. *vabbene* 'OK', *davvero* 'truly, indeed', or a small group of monosyllabic imperatives plus clitic pronouns such as *dillo* 'say (*di*) it (*lo*)', *fammelo* 'do (*fa*) it (*lo*) for me (*me*)',⁵⁶ *stammi*

⁵⁶In this case and *dillo*, the gemination could presumably be a reflex of the final consonants of Latin *dic* 'say!' and *fac* 'do!' but that would not apply to *sta* etc.

bene ‘stay (*sta*) well (for me, *mi*)’, *vattene* ‘go (*va*) ([reflexive] you, *te*) away (*ne*)’ (2013: 98), but otherwise *città persa* [tʃit’ta p’persa] ‘lost city’, *sarà bello* [sa’ra b’bello] ‘it will be nice’, *chi sei?* [ki s’sei] ‘who are you?’, *va bene* [va b’bene] ‘it’s going well’, *è vero* [ɛ v’vero] ‘it’s true’ etc. (2013: 10–11).

Such doubling might be expected chiefly in languages with phonemic gemination, and geminate consonants are certainly common enough in Italian (*caffè*, *città*, *bello* above, *acqua* ‘water’, *hanno* ‘they have’, *tutti* ‘all’ etc.). They were also a feature of PIC (McCone 2015: 110–111) and their survival past that stage, at least intervocalically after a stressed vowel, is indicated by different Irish and British outcomes in cases like PIC **bigg-o-/-ā* (> PrimIr. **beg-a-/-ā* > OIr. *bec(c)* /beg/, ModIr. *beag* ‘small’, but > Brit. **bikk-o-/-ā* > MW *bych-/bech-* ‘small’)⁵⁷ or **nidd-o-* (> PrimIr. **neda-* > OIr. *net* /ned/, ModIr. *nead* ‘nest’, but > Brit. **nitto-* > MW *nyth* ‘nest’). In a PIC system with word-initial stress and bi-tonic ‘CE’(P)(P)V or ‘PE’(P)V, an Italian-style rule would only have geminated consonants after stressed monosyllables with a short vowel such as **nu*, **ro*, **to*, or **wo*: e.g. **to-me/-tu/-sūs*=‘beret above > **to-mme/-ttu/-ssūs*=‘beret (> OIr. *do-m/-s:beir* ‘brings me/you (sg.)/them’) or act. augm. pret. **ro-me/-tu/-sūs*=‘gabas(s) > **ro-mme/-ttu/-ssūs*=‘gabas(s) > OIr. *ro-m/-t/-s:gab* ‘has seized me/you/them’) by regular sound change. Gemination does not apply in Italian ‘where a consonant is immediately followed by another consonant (e.g., *ho studiato* [ʰ stu’djato] ‘I’ve studied’ ...)’ (Maiden and Robustelli 2013: 11), and its syllable-closing function (e.g. **wo.me*, **ro.tu*, **to.sūs* > **wom.me*, **rot.tu*, **tos.sūs*) was likewise otiose in PIC 2pl. **tos.wes*.

Gemination would not have applied after the unstressed short final vowel of a disyllabic PIC preverb like **ambi*:⁵⁸ e.g. unchanged **ambi-me/-tu/-nnos/-swes/-sūs*=‘*dī-wiket* (OIr. *imm:dích* ‘protects’). With or without an Italian-style sound change, the formal identity of 1pl. **-nnos* and 2pl. **-swes* throughout could have triggered complete homogenisation between the likes of **nī-mme/-ttu/-ssūs*, **wo-(m)me/-(t)tu/-(s)sūs* and **ambi-me/-tu/-sūs* easily enough. Their biconsonantal initials would have favoured **ambi-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes/-ssūs*=‘*dī-wiket* (> OIr. *immu-m/-t/-n/-b/-s:dích* ‘protects me/you/us/you/them’), regardless of whether a form like **wo-sūs*=‘*k^wrinat* became **wo-ssūs*=‘*k^wrinat* (> OIr. *fo-s:cren* ‘purchases them’) by regular sound change or analogical influence from a neg. form like **nī-ssūs*=‘*k^wrinat* (> OIr. *nī-s:cren* ‘does not buy them’). Once generalised after vowel-final preverbs, the geminated set would be likely to spread from the commoner infixed to the less common suffixed pronouns: e.g. **bereti-mme/-ttu/-ssūs* (> OIr. *beirthiu-m/-t/-s* ‘bears me’) for **bereti-me/-tu/-sūs*.

There is no alternation in Old Irish between lenited and unlenited forms of individual pronouns within the suffixed or a given infixed class: unlenited 1sg. *-m(m)*, 2sg. *-t*, 1pl. *-n(n)* and lenited 2pl. *-b* are ubiquitous; unlenited 3sg.

⁵⁷MW *bychan*, f. *bechan* with an *i/e* alternation only explicable if *-an* had been added to the form after ultimate *ā*-affection in British (McCone 2015: 111–12).

⁵⁸The final *-i* of a PIC preverb like **ambi* or initial connective like **eti* ‘and’ (§4 above) will have been shielded in initial position from apocope by a following enclitic and then generalised in initial position just like abs. 3sg. **-ti(-E)* etc.

f. and 3pl. -s typify the suffixed and Class A infixed pronouns, but lenited reflexes are regular after a vowel-final enclitic connective in the 3sg. f. and 3pl. (**huh* < **sūs*) of Class B (used with consonant-final preverbs) and relative Class C: e.g. OIr. *for-da:cain* ‘teaches them’ < **wor-de-(h)uh*=‘*kaneh*’; *do-da:berat*, *na-cha:taibret* ‘who (do not) bring them’ < **to-ðe-(h)uh*=‘*berod*, **ne-χ^we-(h)uh*=‘*to-βerod*. Likewise, invariable British forms correspond to OIr. Class A: MW 1sg. -*m* (< **mme*), 2sg. -*th* (< **ttu*), 1pl. -*n* (< **nnos*), 2pl. -*ch* (< **hweh* < **swes*), 3sg./pl. -*s* (< 3pl. *-*ssūs*) or -*e/-y* (3sg. m. *-*en*) (GMW 55–6). A similar pattern is seen with the consonant-initial clitic pronominal forms attached to OIr. prepositions: almost always unlenited 1sg. -*m(m)*, invariably unlenited 2sg. -*t* and 1pl. -*n(n)*, but lenited 2pl. -*b*, (acc.) 3sg. f. -*e* and 3pl. -*u*⁵⁹ (GOI 272–6).

Gemination after a stressed short final vowel is called into question as a regular P(I)C sound law by OIr. *do-da:* and *na-cha:* above. Unlenited *-*de-* in Class B after a consonant-final preverb⁶⁰ is regular, but Class C **do-ta:beir* < **to-dde-sūs*=‘*beret* and *na-c(c)a:tab(a)ir* < **ne-kk^we-sūs*=‘*to-beret* would be the expected outcomes of the gemination rule. OIr. *dom* ‘to me’ (some 60 exx. in Wb., none with -*mm*; *LexWb.* 318, cf. GOI 272–6) may well be, and its Classical ModIr. outcome *damh* certainly is (McManus 1994: 435–7), the sole exception to use of unlenited -*m* as the 1sg. prepositional affix. This -*m(m)* must be due to analogy in the case of leniting prepositions like OIr. *imm(-um(m))* ‘around (me)’ (< **imbi(-mu)*) > ClModIr. *um(-am)*). The /-μ/ of OIr. *dom* /doμ/ cannot be analogical and so must directly continue **do-mu* (the vowel of the pronoun is immaterial here) by normal lenition. However, OIr. **dom(m)* /dom(m)/ < **do-mmu* < **do-mu* would have resulted from automatic gemination after a stressed short final vowel and a PIC sound law to that effect seems untenable in the light of this, *do-da* and *na-cha*. Nevertheless, the syllable-closing properties of gemination may have assisted its analogical spread to clitic pronouns after **to*, **ro*, **wo*, which then provided a platform for its extension to the likes of **ambi*, **are* with unstressed final vowels.

To recap, the IC 1/2sg./pl. passive system of 3sg. verb plus relevant infixed pronoun as subject evolved from taking clause-initial 1sg. neg. cop. **nīmm* (< **nīsmi*) used with verbal adjectives like **axtos* ‘led’ or **britos* ‘borne’ as **nī-mm(e)* with a geminated 1sg. clitic pronoun. This triggered corresponding 2sg./1pl./2pl forms, firstly neg. **nī-ttu/-nnos/-swes*=(*to-*)*britos* and then affirmat-

⁵⁹OIr. *tairse*, *tairsiu* ‘over her/them’ (GOI 273) < **tares-siyan/-sūs* (OIr. *tar* ‘over’ < **tares*, OInd. *tiraḥ* ‘across’; GOI 531: both < **tṛh₁es*) certainly preserves unlen. -*s*- historically but synchronic analysis as *tairs-e/-u* with the same exclusively 3rd-person element as 3sg. m./n. *tarais* (cf. *úad(-)* vs 1st/2nd-person *úa-*; GOI 274) seems more likely than anomalous *tair-se/-siu*. The -*s* of *tarais* itself must be analogical (to *fris*, *leis* according to GOI 351; otherwise OIr. **tar(a)e* < **tarēh* < **tare(h)-e(n)* < **tares-e(d)/-en*) and it may well be that earlier segmentation of 3sg. f. and 3pl. as **tares(s)-eya(n)/-ū(h)* triggered 3sg. m./n. **tares(s)-e(n)*. At any rate, *tairs-e/-iu* were doubtless taken to contain the same 3rd-person element as *tarais* (cf. *úad*, *úad-i*, *úad-ib* ‘from him/it, her them’ vs *úa-* elsewhere; GOI 274).

⁶⁰PIC consonant-final preverbs like **wor* or **eχs* are, of course, irrelevant here because clitic pronouns used with them, regardless of whether they were geminated or not (presumably the latter), would not have become lenited.

ive **nu-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes*='britos and **to-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes*='britos etc.. These distinctively passive forms were then understandably spread throughout the passive system: e.g. **nī*-, **nu*- or **to-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes=beror*. Originally copular neg. **nīs(s)* also spread to the active (incl. deponent) at the expense of less distinctive **ne* with the result that its pronominal forms could now be used as objects: e.g. **nī-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes=(to-)beret*. This shift called for the use of 3rd-person object forms with **nīs*, probably 3sg. n./m.) **nī(n)* for **nē(n)* (< PC **nēd(/m)* < **ne-id(/-im)*) and 3sg. f. **-ssi(ya)n*, 3pl. **-ssūs* with a prevocalic geminate like **-mme*, **-ttu* and **-nnos*: e.g. **nī-ssūs=(to-)beret*. Homogenisation of non-neg. clitic object **-me/-tu/-nnos/-swes/-sūs* etc. and the **-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes/-ssūs* used with **nīs* generalised the latter on account of already identical 1/2pl. forms with a biconsonantal initial in both: e.g. cpd. **to-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes/-ssūs=beret* (OIr. *no-* or *do-m/-t/-n/-b/-s:beir*), simple **bereti-mme/-ttu/-nnos/-swes/-ssūs* (OIr. *beirthiu-m/-s* etc). This sequence of motivated developments removes any need for a particle conceded even by advocates (§4 above) to be 'tricky' to 'fiendishly complicated' as a means of generating unlenited OIr. infixes and suffixed pronouns.

It is reasonable to assume that the PIC phase when a verb or preverb was placed at the head of its clause solely to support enclitic pronouns (§7 above) also saw the generalisation of postvocalic enclitic pronouns beginning with either: (a) a geminate stop (1sg. **-mme*, 2sg. **-ttu*, 1pl. **-nnos*); (b) double s (3sg. f. **-ssi(ya)n*, 3pl. **-ssūs*); (c) a consonant cluster (2pl. **-swes*); or (d) a vowel (3sg. n. **-e*, m. **-en*). From this would follow the patterns below for specifically initial (a)(i)–(d)(i) bi-tonic compound and (e)(i) absolute simple verbs.

+E		-E
(a)(i) # [*] <i>to-mme</i> ='beret(...)# (also <i>*to-ttu/-nnos</i>)	vs (ii)	#(...) [*] <i>to-beret</i> (...)#
(b)(i) # [*] <i>ambi-ssūs</i> ='dī-wiket(...)# (also <i>*ambi-ssi(ya)n</i>)	vs (ii)	#(...) [*] <i>ambi-dī-wiket</i> (...)#
(c)(i) # [*] <i>ambi-swes</i> ='dī-wiket(...)#	vs (ii)	#(...) [*] <i>ambi-dī-wiket</i> (...)#
(d)(i) # [*] <i>to-en=beret</i> (...)# (also <i>*to-e</i>)	vs (ii)	#(...) [*] <i>to-beret</i> (...)#
(e)(i) # [*] <i>bereti-mme/-ttu/-nnos-ssūs/-swes/-e(n)</i> (...)#	vs (ii)	#(...) [*] <i>beret</i> (...)#

The above scheme will have been in operation when the shift to VSO order was completed by the PIC creation of new initial compound and simple verbs without an attached enclitic pronoun in place of non-initial (a)–(e)(ii), unless their uni-tonic verbal forms directly followed an initial negative or some other 'conjunct particle' capable of attaching enclitic pronouns: e.g. unaffected #^{*}*nīs*='nī-mme='(to-)beret(...)#. #, #^{*}*nīs*='nī-mm(e)='ambi-dī-wiket(...). Minimal formal fuss was achieved (§7 above) by having initial simple verbs use absolute inflections without as well as with an enclitic (e.g. (e) #^{*}*bereti(-mme/-ssūs/-swes/-e(n))*(...)#) and similarly employing initial bi-tonic compound verb forms, whether or not an enclitic was present. That raised the question of the form to be taken, in the absence of a previously always

intervening enclitic, by the anlaut of the second part of the new bi-tonic initial forms. The obvious solution was simply to adopt existing syllable-closing patterns used with enclitics, e.g.: (a) *#to='mmelet...#* (cf. **to-mme=*) > OIr. *do:(m)meil* 'consumes', *#*ambi=ttēgont...#* (cf. **ambi-ttu=*) > OIr. *imm:tiāgat* '(they) go around', **are='nna(d)sket* (cf. **are-nnos=*) > OIr. *ar:naisc* 'betroths', *#*to='bberet...#* > OIr. *do:(b)beir* 'brings', *#*ambi=ddī-wiket...#* > OIr. *im(m):dich* 'protects', **wo='kkerdet* > OIr. *fo:ceird* 'puts'; (b) *#*ro=ssagit...#* (cf. **ro-ssūs=*) > OIr. *ro:saig* 'reaches', **ambi='ssowet...#* (cf. **ambi-ssūs=*) > OIr. *im(m):soi* 'turns round'; (c) *#*to='swannet...#* (cf. **to-swes=*) but OIr. *do:seinn* 'hunts', *#*to:'skarāt...#* > OIr. *do:scara* 'throws down'; (d) *#*to='in-kom-inket...#* (cf. **to-en=*) > OIr. *tecmaing* 'happens', *#*to='eχs-orget...#* > OIr. *tessuirc* 'rescues', *#*to='ad-wēd-et...#* > OIr. *tadbat* 'shows'.

This mechanism yields the attested initial unlenited consonant and *h*-less vowel of the tonic portion of almost all OIr. deuterotonic main-clause compounds. It not only matches a hypothetical particle in efficiency as an explanation of the failure of pretonic preverbs to lenite a consonant but also has a decisive advantage over it in relation to the vowel-initial tonic portion responsible c. 700 AD for elision of the pretonic vowel of OIr. *tadbat* 'shows' etc. (§6 above): being modelled on (d) **to-e(n)=* (> **t'-e-* > OIr. **d-a-*), verbs of this type were not encumbered by elision-impeding /h/ < hypothetical **(e)s* after the first preverb.

The consonant clusters in (c) call for further comment. A case like *do:scara* presents no problem because *sc* was never lenited. The regular development of **sw-* in **to='swannet* would have been to **to='hwanneθ* with the same lenition as in rel. **to-yo='hwanneθ*, but **sw-* could easily have been restored on the model of, say, **ro='sayiθ* (< **ro='ssagit* in (b)) versus rel. **ro-yo='hayiθ* (< **ro-yo='sagit*). A similar explanation could be applied to the likes of *#*wo='χ^wrinaθ...#* < *#*wo='k^wrinat...#* and *#*wo='θlinaθ...#* < **wo='tlinat#*. However, it seems preferable to take cases like OIr. *fo:cren* 'purchases' or *fo:tlén* 'removes' as the direct outcomes of **wo='k^wrinaθ* and **wo='tlinaθ* < **wo='kk^wrinat* and **wo='ttlinat* owing to peculiarities in the syllabification of clusters consisting of stop plus liquid. The 'muta cum liquida' rule of Latin and ancient Greek prosody dictates that syllables preceding such clusters may be heavy/long or light/short owing to their boundary's ambiguity between splitting (e.g. Gk. gen. sg. *pat.ros* 'father's') or preceding the cluster (e.g. *pa.tros*). The latter syllabification is the reason why the usual immunity of the first consonant of a cluster to gemination in Italian noted above does not apply 'if the second consonant is [r] or [l] ... (e.g., *è troppo* [ɛ t'ɾɒppo] 'it's too much', *è fluido* [ɛ ffluɪdo] 'it's fluid')' (Maiden and Robustelli 2013: 11). That being so, cases where the hypothesis just proposed calls for analogy to account for the initial of an OIr. tonic portion are a vanishingly small number of the total.

Main-clause non-lenition of the stressed predicate after proclitic OIr. copula forms such as *is* 'is' and *it* 'are' < PC **isti*, **inti* < **esti*, **(s)enti* (§5 above) was given some prominence by Cowgill (1975: 51–2) in his case for a particle. A clitic pronoun is used with the copula in Old Irish, albeit infrequently (GOI 269; §2 above): e.g. *iss-um écen* 'it is necessary for me' (Wb. 10^d24).

Confinement of *is* etc. to copular function by the introduction of suppletive **(ad-)tā-* (< **(s)tā-* ‘stand’) as the pres. ind. substantive verb is not found in British (see *GMW* 144 on rare MW (y) *taw*) and must be an Irish innovation (cf. Sp. *está* ‘is’ < Lat. *stat* ‘stands’ as a replacement of *es* ‘is’ < Lat. *est* ‘is’ in various functions; Kattán-Ibarra and Pountain 1997: 114–18). The implication that the OIr. possessive construction *táth-ut/- (a)i/-us/-unn* (*GOI* 271) ‘you (sg.) have’ etc. (lit. ‘there is to you, him, her/them, us’) once used *is* is confirmed by occasional examples in early Welsh poetry: e.g. *yssym eur ac aryant* ‘I have gold and silver’ (*GMW* 142) corresponding formally to OIr. *iss-um* and functionally to OIr. *táth-um* ‘I have’. At the PIC stage in the table above, the copula will have opposed (e)(i) possessive *#*issi-mme/-ssūs/-swes/-e(n)*^{Pred} (...)# to (ii) *#(..)*^{Pred*} *iss* (...)#. Replacement of (ii) with initial **issi* plus gemination taken over from the existing pattern with enclitics will then have resulted in *#*issi mmatis/kkarēs* ...# etc. (> OIr. *is maith* ... ‘is good’, *is car(a)e* ... ‘is a friend’, ModIr. *is maith* ..., *is cara* ...). Non-lenition by the copula in main clauses is completely predictable on the present hypothesis.

A particle has now proved to be dispensable as a reason for non-lenition of consonants by a vowel-final preverb or copula and completely helpless in the face of the lack of /h/ before a tonic portion beginning with a vowel. That leaves the minor matter of irregular retention of their final consonants by a handful of OIr. pretonic preverbs, notably *ad*-, *as*- and *fris*-. With the exception of *ad* (presumably > OIr. **a* by early PIC loss of *-d* noted in §4 above, in which case *ad* could well have been restored from forms with an attached enclitic like **ad-e(n)/-yo*), this issue would hardly have arisen until *-s* < *-ss* < **-ts/-χs* had become *-h* (> *-ø* before a consonant; §6 above). Whereas *-ts(-)* > *-ss(-)* almost certainly occurred in PIC, different Irish (*-s(s)-*) and British reflexes (*-ch-*) seen in, say, OIr. *se(i)ssed*, MW *chwechet* ‘sixth’ < PC **sweχs-eto-s* prove that assimilation of *χs* > *ss* was a PrimIr. development. Nevertheless, the same principle of homogenisation with corresponding forms with attached enclitic would convert PrimIr. non-leniting **a*, **e(h)* and **wri(h)* into **að*, **es* and **wris* (> OIr. *ad*-, *as*-, *fris*-) in normal alignment with leniting rel. **aðe* (< **að-eya* < **að-iyō*), **es* and **wres* (< **es-(y)a* and **wris-(y)a*; similarly *mos* ‘soon’ < **mos-(y)a*; n. 52 above): cf. non-len. main-clause **wo*, **imb’* (< **imbi*) vs len. rel. **wo* (< **wo-ya*), **imb’e* (< **imbe-ya* < **ambi-yō*). There is no need for a particle here or, for that matter, anywhere else in the system.

A previous explanation (*ODVC* 212–14) of main-clause non-lenition after vowel-final preverbs depended upon already partially phonemicised PIC lenition of voiced (as opposed to voiceless) stops, nasals/liquids and *s* (*RelChron.* 81–98). Although this remains quite possible, it is hardly certain (particularly as regards phonemicisation) and not a prerequisite for the above proposal based on a shift from PIC geminate vs non-geminate to Irish/British unlenited⁶¹ vs lenited consonants: e.g. PIC **wo=’kkerdet* > OIr. *fo:ceird* /fo=’ker’d/

⁶¹So-called ‘spirant mutation’ (MW *ph-*, *th-*, *ch-* for *p-*, *t-*, *c-/k-*) in the case of British voiceless stops. Although the present hypothesis is compatible with the traditional derivation of these directly from geminates, this is best viewed as a ‘second’ British lenition (*RelChron.* 92–6) of still unlenited voiceless stops.

‘puts’ but PIC **wo-yo=kerdet* > OIr. *fo:cheird* /fo=χer’ d’/ ‘who/which (s)he puts’. It is immaterial here whether some types of lenition occurred in PIC, or even PC, or lenition was a more or less uniform process in the separate prehistories of Irish and British (to which lenition of voiceless stops clearly belongs on account of different reflexes in each branch; *RelChron.* 81–4).

9. ACTUAL VERSUS HYPOTHETICAL ENCLITICS, AND VERBAL INFLECTION

The focus above has been upon the OIr. pres. ind. active of the idiosyncratic but common athematic copula and the basic ‘strong’ thematic class, S1 (*EIV* 25; = BI/III in *GOI* 353–7), but forms in other moods, tenses or present classes have been discussed elsewhere (McCone 1982: 9–28; *ODVC* 116–20). When it comes to deponent and suffixless preterite inflections, a particle ceases to be a mere irrelevance (§§2–3 above) and becomes a real encumbrance. Moreover, one of the two ‘market leaders’ (cf. Griffith 2020: 239–40) is mysteriously missing from the imperative and the other just as inexplicably found with the present subjunctive.

Boling’s (1972: 94) observation that ‘if our theory is to have any value, it must include the deponent as well as the active paradigm’ obviously also applies to particles and theories other than his. Deponent or passive forms have hitherto been ignored by proponents of an accentual or ‘prosodic’ approach (§1 above) and it is difficult to see why existing specifically initial stressed 3sg. **molātor* expected beside specifically pre-enclitic **molāti*-E (cf. Isaac’s point cited in §7 above) and unstressed non-initial **molātor* on this theory should have been remodelled to **molātir* (see below).⁶² As for enclitic particles (or subject pronouns), the addition of an element shaped *-eC(i)* fails to yield a single attested abs. from the corresponding conj. deponent forms with *-r* (i.e., all but originally active 2pl. conj. *-id*, abs. *-the*; *ODVC* 138). Whatever their origin (*ODVC* 139–141), 1sg. abs./conj. *-ur*, 2sg. *-ther* (*GOI* 365–6 for full paradigms) with non-pal. /-r/ should have been conj. only and had abs. equivalents like **-uir*, **-thir* with pal. /-r’/ if *-eC(i)* had been attached. They don’t. A striking trait of the other persons is OIr. abs. /-C’ər’/ with two palatal and conj. /-Cər’/ with two non-palatal consonants: e.g. 3sg. *midithir* ‘judges’ (Ml. 30^c8), *-labrathar* ‘speaks’ (Wb. 7^d2); 3pl. *labritir* (13^a5), *-labratar* (12^d28) ‘(they) speak’; 1pl. *messimmir*, *-messammar* (both 9^c10) ‘we shall judge’. Conj. 3sg./pl. *-thar/-tar* are < PIE mediopassive primary **-tor/*-ntor* and 1pl. *-(m)mar* < innovatory (Italo-Celtic?) **-mor* also seen Lat. *-mur*.⁶³ OIr. **-e/a-th(a)ir/-t(a)ir/-m(a)ir* with perfectly viable abs. /-Cər’/ would have resulted < 3sg./pl./1pl. **-tor/-ntor/-mor + -eC(i)* (*ODVC* 141).

The preform needed to generate OIr. 3sg. abs. *-(a)ithir* is not *-V*-tor-es* but *-V*-tir* (*ODVC* 141–3). As Cowgill (1983: 96) puts it, ‘it looks more as if, somehow, the absolute 3rd-person deponent forms were made ... by adding

⁶²Insofar as Koch’s first (1987) proposal ascribed a major role to ‘actual’ enclitics (§1 above), it could handle deponent endings in a similar manner to the one employed by the present hypothesis, but that option is not available to his second (2022) version (§1 above).

⁶³*ODVC* 136–9, following Cowgill (1983: 75–6 and 81).

/r/ to the non-deponent absolute endings'. Although *-tir cannot be generated by a hypothetical particle,⁶⁴ it can be accounted for by means of an actual enclitic, since this actually triggered a switch from deponent to normal active inflection in Old Irish: e.g. *fírian-ichthi* 'justifies him' < *-hayi-θi(y)-en (Wb. 2^b28; *fíriánig-ithir* < *-hayi-θir), *foilsig-thi* 'manifests it' < *-θi(y)-e (12^a7; *foilsigithir* < *-θir), *oenichthi-som* 'he unites himself' (32^d8; *óenigithir*). Since restrictions on the use of suffixed pronouns in normal OIr. prose (basically a 3rd-person pronoun, especially m./n. sg., with a 3sg. verb) were clearly quite recent, an earlier stage may be inferred at which any person/number of the pronoun could be combined with at least most persons of the verb: e.g. (Bretnach 1977: 84, 76, 79), OIr. 3sg. + 3pl. *bertaig-thus* 'brandishes them' < *-θi-ssus (*bertaigithir*), 3sg. + 1sg. *slánuig-thium* 'may he save me' < *-θi-mmu (*slánaigithir*), 3pl. + 3sg. *mol-tait* '(they) praise him' (for earlier *-tai; GOI 271) < *-a-nti(y)-en (*mol-aitir*). The origins of OIr. 2sg. dep. -ther are quite uncertain (ODVC 140–1) but a particle is certainly no help.

The opposition between middle and active voice had a semantic function in PIE and many verbs used both, as still in Old Indic or Ancient Greek.⁶⁵ However, the deponent/active contrast deriving from it in Latin, Old Irish or Modern Greek was functionally redundant because a given verb had either deponent or active inflection and never both. If this was already the case in PIC, *sek^wetor-me 'follows me' (OIr. -sechethar, Lat. *sequitur* etc. < PIE *sek^w-e-tor) or *sek^wetor-rūs 'follows them' (cf. cf. OIr. *forru* 'on(to) them', *etarru* 'between them' < *wor-sūs, *entor-sūs – cf. Celtib. *entor-kue*, *Bot.* 4, l.1; Jordán Cólera 2004: 346) could have been replaced by 3sg. *sek^weti-mme/-ssūs without semantic repercussions. Attachment of enclitic pronouns to verb-final vowels only would have had certain formal advantages, such as restoration of regular *ssūs while avoiding phonotactically odd *-rs-. In the case of consonant-final preverbs, a similarly convenient glide took the form of the generalised connective *de 'and, but' underlying OIr. Class B infixed pronouns (ODVC 212–13): e.g. OIr. *for-da:naisc* 'binds them' < *wor-de-sūs=na(d)sket(i) replacing *wor-rūs=. Extrapolation of new initial verbal forms from those with an enclitic pronoun (e.g. -mme; PrimIr. -mmu) would have resulted in dep. #*sek^weti(-mme)...# versus #X(-(m)me)(...)*sek^wetor(...)#. Once 3sg./pl. *sek^w-e-ti/-o-nti had arisen without *-mme etc. in absolute initial position only, they simply acquired -r from the statistically preponderant *-(n)tor used elsewhere and became *sek^wetir and *sek^wontir leading directly to the endings of OIr. abs. 3sg. *sechithir* and 3pl. *sechithir*.⁶⁶

Application of the same process to 1sg. *-ū(-E) would have generated initial *-ūr > OIr. abs. -ur identical to conj. -ur (probably < *-ūr < PIE *-o-h₂-or; Cowgill

⁶⁴The best that the particle hypothesis (or, for that matter, Sims-Williams 1984: 182–3) can do with regard to OIr. dep. abs. -(a)it(h)ir/-(a)im(m)ir is highly improbable late analogy (Cowgill 1983: 95–6; criticised by ODVC 142).

⁶⁵E.g. Ved. act. *yáj-ati*, mid. *yáj-ate* 'offers, sacrifices' for another, oneself respectively; Gk. act. *amún-ei* 'wards off', mid. *amún-etai* 'wards off from/defends oneself'.

⁶⁶PIE *sek^w-e/o- is certain but the absence of S1 deponents (with 3sg. -or passive) points to a transfer to the S2 *-ye/o- class in PIC or PrimIr.

1983: 75–6). The origin of OIr. 2sg. dep. abs./conj. *-ther* is obscure⁶⁷ (ODVC 140–1), with or without a particle. A PIC dep. 1pl. opposition between **-mosi-E* and **-mor* elsewhere should have resulted in initial **-mosir* vs non-initial **-mor*. In the likely event that the former became **-μer* identical with rel. **-μer*, abs./rel. *-mir/-mer* could well have been introduced on the analogy of act. *-mi/-me* (§3 above). Unlenited *-m(m)-* then spread to the conj., which also had final *-Vr* (whereas act. 1pl. conj. *-μ* lacked the extra syllable of abs. *-m'i*): e.g. OIr. 1pl. abs. *messimmir*, conj. *-messammar* above, and rel. *a cosmiligmmar* ‘when we compare’ (Sg. 211^a14).

It may seem odd that a new initial type **sek^weti* with the potential to trigger eradication of a redundant deponent inflection (EIV 74) was instead modified to **sek^wetir* as a halfway house between initial **sek^weti-E* and non-initial **sek^wetor*, but non-functional distinctions can be very resilient (cf. McCone 1982: 8). For instance, a redundant abs./conj. opposition remained intact in the EModIr. 3sg. despite some erosion elsewhere (McManus 1994: 396–7) and, although no longer a feature of ModIr., lives on in the present-day Scots Gaelic pattern *beiridh* ‘shall bear’ vs *cha bheir* ‘shall not bear’. Still more to the point, deponent verbs such as αἰσθάνομαι ‘I feel’ or φαίνομαι ‘I seem’ continuing the middle forms of Ancient Greek are ‘very numerous’ in Modern Greek (Holton et al. 2012: 140) after more than two and a half millennia. From this perspective, it seems less strange that *-r* should spread from significantly commoner non-initial forms (PIC sg. 1 **-ūr*, 3 **-tor*, pl. 1 **-mor*, 3 **-ntor* > OIr. conj. *-ur*, *-thar*, *-(m)mar*, *-tar*) to *r*-less initial counterparts, the result being sg. 1 **-ū-r*, 3 **-ti-r*, 1 **-mosi-r*, 3 *-nti-r* underlying OIr. abs. sg. 1 *-ur*, 3 *-thir*, pl. 1 *-(m)mir*, 3 *-tir*. Synchronically, initial **sek^wetir/*sek^weti-me* would merely amount to deletion of functionally dispensable *-C* before a clitic pronoun, as in Port. *comprar* ‘to buy’ but *comprá-la* ‘to buy it’ (f.) or Sp. *vamos* ‘let’s go’ but *vámonos* ‘let’s depart’ (*vamos* + reflexive clitic 1pl. *nos*).

OIr. 3sg./pl. abs. dep. and pass. tend to be identical if both have an unsynopated penult: e.g. dep./pass. pres. 3sg. *comalnaithir* ‘fulfils, is fulfilled’, 3pl. *miditir* ‘judge, are judged’, fut. 3sg. *suidigfidir* ‘will (be) establish(ed)’ (pres. dep. *suidigithir* but pass. *suidigthir*), pass. *pridchidir* ‘is preached’ (non-dep. *pridchid*) etc. This is unsurprising, insofar as divergent late PrimIr. syncope patterns often seem to have been exploited to differentiate them (EIV 80–5). The unsynopated dep. 3sg./pl. conj. always had non-pal. *-t(h)Vr* (e.g. *-sechethar*, *-suidigfedar*, *-midetar*), but post-syncope assimilation of quality could palatalise *-t(h)-* in the passive: e.g. abs. *gaibthir* < **-gaβ'iθ'ir* and conj. *(-)gaibther* ‘is seized’ < **-gaβ'iθor*) as a base for distinctive new passives like *(-)comaln(a)ither* ‘(which) is fulfilled’ (dep. *(-)comalnathar* ‘(who/which (s)he) fulfils’) that could then spread to non-dep. verbs: e.g. *(-)pridchider* ‘(which) is preached’ (*prichid* ‘preaches’). The lateness of such developments points to identity of 3rd-person dep. and pass. forms in PIC except for the pret. (§8 above) and 3sg. them. passive **-o-r* (EIV 81–2; e.g. OIr. 3sg. pres. ind. sg. *-berar* ‘is borne’, *s*-subj. *-messar*

⁶⁷If 2sg. **-si* extrapolated from initial **-si-E* was harmonised by endowment with *-t-* as well as *-r*, resultant **-tir* (> **-θir*) identical with the abs. 3sg. would have been liable to be replaced by the conj. form underlying OIr. *-ther*.

'may be judged' vs *-mestar* 'may judge'. A passive formally identical with a corresponding deponent would have shared the latter's development of an abs./conj. opposition, PIC initial dep. **molāti-r* 'praises' (> OIr. *molaithir*) becoming dep./pass. (OIr. *moltair* 'is praised' < **molāθir*) like non-initial dep./pass. **molātor* 'praises, is praised' (> OIr. dep. *-molathar*, pass. *-moltar*).

Distinctive passives such as OIr. 3sg. conj. pres, (-)berar and pret. *-breth* apparently inherited from PIC **beror* and **britos* do have abs. counterparts that can be derived directly by means of a particle: e.g. *berair* 'is borne' < **beror-es*, *brethae* 'was borne' < **britos-es*. The latter has already been dealt with (§8), and analogical **beror'* as the abs. counterpart of rel./conj. **beror* could have arisen from abs. *-r'* vs conj./rel. *-r* in most of the passive system at any stage between loss of final syllables c. 500 AD and the late 7th century.

The OIr. imperative lacks an abs./conj. opposition, using a single set of act., dep. and pass. endings as well as invariably prototonic compound forms⁶⁸ if there was no infixed pronoun requiring a deuterotonic one (GOI 372–5). Cowgill (1975: 68, n. 22) makes the valid point that, if the particle had been a sentence connective, 'its absence ... from commands would remain puzzling, since collocations of the type "go there and do it" ought to have been just as frequent as "he went there and (he) did it", and if the "and" of the latter could become an automatic component of every narrative clause, one would think that the "and" of the former could become equally automatic in commands'. Since a generalised connective like **et(i)* should occur with any tense or mood, its absence from the imperative is a serious problem.

Conversely, non-use of asseverative **est(i)* 'it is (so)' in (imperative) commands as opposed to (indicative) statements seems quite natural but its supporters are faced with the major and as yet unfronted difficulty (ODVC 79–80) of the abs./conj. opposition in all stems of the intrinsically non-factual OIr. present subjunctive (GOI 380–95). The semantic problem can be sidestepped by positing an unmotivated major expansion of the abs./conj. opposition's range (from pres./fut./pret. ind. to pres. subj.), but that would explode claims (e.g. Kortlandt 1979: 35; Cowgill 1985: 110–11, cited by ODVC 85–6) that **est(i)* eliminates the need to posit significant analogical spread of a redundant inflectional distinction. As Cowgill (1975: 44) puts it, 'it is possible, a priori, that once the absolute/conjunct contrast had come to pervade the whole system of the Irish verb, it could spread to one or two forms which lacked it; but the spread to an entire tense or voice, or creation of new forms just to get a distinction of absolute and conjunct are not credible'.

The often reduplicated OIr. suffixless preterite clearly derives from a PIE perfect typified by reduplication and peculiar personal endings (GOI 424–37) outside the prim./sec. system: PIE 1sg. **-h₂a* and 3sg. **-e* are directly continued in OIr. 1/3sg. *-gegon/(-)geguin* 'killed' < PC **g^weg^won-a/-e* etc. Endings were added directly to the stem in PIE, but in Celtic (as in classical Greek) irregularities through contact between a root-final consonant and an ending's initial

⁶⁸ Analogical to the single set of conjunct-looking endings and motivated by the desirability of formally distinguishing a 2sg. ipv. identical with, say, deut. 3sg. **tu=mel'* (> OIr. *do:meil* 'consumes') from the latter as prot. **tope^l* (> OIr. *tom(a)il* 'eat!') according to McCone (1979: 22).

consonant were avoided by spreading *-a-* as a liaison vowel from 1sg. to 2sg. (**-a-s* for **-ta* < PIE **-th₂ a*), 1pl. (**-a-mor* for PIE **-me/o*) and 2pl. (**-a-tes*⁶⁹ for **-te(s)*, PIE **-e*). IC 3sg. **lud-e* (< PC sec. **lud-e-d* = **-e-t* with [-d] for /-t/ as in Italic; ODVC 102) underlying OIr. *luid* ‘went’ probably paved the way for adoption of suffixless pret. inflection (OIr. 1/2sg. (-)*lod* < **lud-a/-as*, 1pl. (-)*lodmar* < **ludamor*) by this thematised root aorist (McCone 1986: 231). In the 3pl. a compromise seems to have added the inherited *r*-ending (probably *-ar* < PIE **-r*; Rix 1976: 256) to original and more typical 3pl. sec. **-o-nt* to give **lud-ontar* (> OIr. *lotar*, perhaps via **-ontor* modelled on the pass./dep. 3pl. conj.), which then spread from this common verb and became the general suffixless pret. ending (e.g. (-)*gegnatar* ‘(they) killed’ < **g^weg^won-onta/or*).

Since a main-clause particle could hardly have endowed the *s-* and *t-* but not the suffixless preterite with an abs./conj. opposition, its proponents are forced into two assumptions: (a) it was present but left no trace in singular forms such as abs./conj. 1/2sg. (-)*lod*, 3sg. (-)*luid* ‘went’) and (b) abs. plural forms with palatal *-r* (allegedly < **-r-es*; e.g. 3pl. *báir* ‘were’) predate those with non-palatal *-r*: e.g. abs./rel. *bátar* and conj. *-bátar* ‘were’ (GOI 433).

As usual, aphaeresis is resorted to in the vowel-final 1 and 3sg.: e.g. abs. **luda-(e)s* and **lude-(e)s* with the same outcomes as conj. **-luda* and **-lude*, namely (-)*lod* ‘I went’ and (-)*luid* ‘(s)he went’. Since 2sg. abs. **lud-as-es* would have yielded a disyllabic form, most likely **lod(a)e*⁷⁰, different from conj. *-lod* < **lud-as*, Boling (1972: 95–6) and Cowgill (1975: 64) posit 2sg. abs./conj. *lod/-lod* on the analogy of 1sg. *lod/-lod*. The complementary distribution of abs. and conj. made their formal identity in a given person unproblematical, but distinctive 1/2/3sg./pl. forms within each set were functionally important. That makes deliberate eradication of a distinction between 1sg. *lod* and 2sg. **lod(a)e* far less likely than introduction of **-lodae* into the conj. paradigm to distinguish 2g. from 1sg. *-lod*: cf. OIr. 2sg. abs./conj. (-)*reithi* ‘you run’ or (-)*benai* ‘you strike’ because 2sg. conj. **-reith* (< **reih* **-retis(i)* without raising, unlike 2sg. *bir* < **birih* < **beris(i)*; GOI 47) and **-ben* (< **benah* < **binas(i)*) were identical with 3sg. *-reith* ‘runs’ (< **-retet(i)*) and *-ben* ‘strikes’ (< **binat(i)*); similarly, 1sg. abs./conj. (-)*benaim* ‘I strike’ < abs. **binami* displacing conj. **-ben*⁷¹ < **-binam(i)*).

Subsequently, Cowgill (1985: 116) noted the lack of an obvious basis for replacing 2sg. **-ta* with **-as* in Celtic, unlike Greek, and wondered if it had somehow been remodelled to **-a* (1983: 80, n. 6) to give 2sg. abs. *lod* < **loda-(e)s* as in the 1sg. Regularisation of anomalous 2sg. forms of roots with a final dental could have resulted in **-a* (McCone 1986: 238 and ODVC 148–9): e.g.

⁶⁹Possibly **-(a)te* but secondary **-(a)tes* seems more likely, once the perfect had become a mere type of preterite as in Italic (cf. Lat. 2pl. *cecinitis* ‘you (have) sung’ etc. with **-tes*). See Rix (1976: 207, 222, 255–7) on Greek and McCone (1986: 233–8 and ODVC 148–55) for a more thorough discussion of the somewhat intricate path from PIE via PC and PIC to OIr.

⁷⁰Or **lud(a)e* if monophthogisation of untressed *-ae* > **-ē* preceded lowering, in which case **lod(a)e* would still be likely by analogy with **-lod-* elsewhere.

⁷¹Assuming that PC fronting of *-am* > *-æm* > *-en* (RelChron. 79) did not apply after PIC *-i* > *-ø*. If it did, presumably resultant 1sg. conj. **-bin* < **-binen* with anomalous pal. /-n’/ and *-i-* could hardly be remodelled to ambiguous **-ben* and so abs. *benaim* became conj. too.

2sg. **g^wātsa* (< **g^wād-ta*) → **g^wād-a* as in 3sg. **g^wād-e* etc. (> OIr. (-)gáid ‘besought’). Ambiguous 1/2sg. **-a* would hardly have replaced distinctive **g^weg^won-a/-ta* ‘I/you killed’ etc. but there would have been pressure from differentiated 1/2sg. **-a/-as* towards 1/2sg. **g^weg^won-a/-as* etc. (> OIr. 1/2sg. (-)gegon; cf. 1/2sg. (-)gád). Once 2pl. **g^wād-e* or **g^wātses*, **g^weg^won-e/-tes* etc. had been remodelled (perhaps with **lud-a-tes* for **lud-e-tes* as the trigger) to **g^wād-a-tes* and **g^weg^won-a-tes*, an alternation between 2pl. **-tes* and 2sg. **-s* elsewhere in the system could easily have generated 2sg. **-a-s* corresponding to 2pl. **-a-tes* (perhaps as early as PC and/or with the help of 2sg. **lud-a-s* for **lud-e-s*).

Cowgill (1975: 44, n. 2) thought it ‘a priori possible’ that the 3pl. pattern abs./conj. (-)lotar was old and abs./conj. lotir/-lotar analogical to deponent pres. 3pl. abs./conj. -itir/-etar. However, he then (Cowgill 1975: 64–5) opted for suffixless pret. 1/3pl. abs. -mir/-tir as ‘probably the older, from **-mor-es*, **-addar-es* (or the like)’ with a particle and -mar/-tar as ‘analogic to the lack of separate absolute forms in the singular; cf. Boling 1972: 95–96’ (also Schrijver 1997: 151–2). Thurneysen (GOI 435), by contrast, viewed original 1/3 pl. abs./conj. -mar/-tar as ‘probable’ and suggested more credibly that ‘the resemblance of the plural endings to those of the deponent flexion, which in the absolute distinguishes relative -mar, -tar from non-relative -mir, -tir, led to the occasional use of -mir, -tir in non-relative forms.’

Since abs. and rel. inflection was only compatible with an OIr. unaugmented preterite (effectively a narrative tense; EIV 93–8) and early manuscript sources (mostly glosses; GOI 4–9) contain precious little narrative, relevant OIr. suffixless pret. forms are rare. Nevertheless, the chronological priority of 3pl. abs. -tar emerges from some reliably OIr. narrative texts surviving in later manuscripts (ODVC 155–63): (i) 3pl. abs. lotar ‘they went’ was incontrovertibly the archetype’s form in the early-8th-cent. (McCone 2000: 43–4) *Immram Brain* §62 (ODVC 158); (ii) cop. batir ‘they were’ (Wb. 5^c14) is the only 3pl. abs. in the roughly mid-8th-cent. Würzburg Glosses (GOI 4), but its palatal -r’ must be analogical (cf. §2, n. 16) because of regular EOIr. proclitic depalatalisation (*RelChron.* 135 and ODVC 156–7); (iii) in the 9th-cent. OIr. Life of Brigit (Ó hAodha 1978) there are four orthographically unambiguous exx. of the 3pl. abs., namely disyllabic lotir (l. 87), cop. batir (l. 316), subst. vb. bátir (l. 376; ms. batir) and trisyllabic gádatar⁷² (l. 208; ms. gatatar) (ODVC 161); (iv) the earliest attestation of the trisyllabic palatal 3pl. abs. ending -(a)itir is táchaitir ‘they fled’ in the Tripartite Life of Patrick (Mulchrone 1939: l. 765) compiled 895–901 AD (GOI 8), but this ending must be analogical to deponent 3pl. abs. -(a)itir vs rel./conj. -atar above and cannot be the direct outcome of **-onta/or-es* (> OIr. **-at(a)ir*) with a particle.

These and other relevant forms indicate (ODVC 161–2): (i) originally undifferentiated abs./rel./conj. -(a)tar; (ii) optional (ML 90^d17 batir vs 31^a3 and 23^c16 batar) introduction of a formal abs./rel. distinction into the common copula’s

⁷²With retained vowel (unlike (-)lotar < **loðodor*) under the influence of the reduplicated type (-)gegnatar < **(-)g^wey^wonodor*.

disyllabic 3pl. by the mid-8th. cent.; (iii) creation of optional 3pl. abs. *-t(a)ir* distinct from rel. *-tar* in the common stressed disyllables *bát(a)ir* '(they) were' and *lot(a)ir* '(they) went' (vs rel. *bátar* 'who were', *lotar* 'who went') in the 9th cent., probably (as with the copula) on the model of the *s*-pret. 3sg. pal. vs non-pal. pattern abs. *gab-ais* 'took' vs rel. *gab-as* 'who took'; (iv) analogical introduction of a deponent-style opposition between 3pl. abs. *-(a)itir* and rel. *-atar* into trisyllabic suffixless pret. forms by the end of the 9th century, e.g. distinctively abs. *memdaitir* '(they) broke' vs abs./rel./conj. *(-)memdatar*. The suffixless preterite, then, almost certainly did not inherit an abs./conj. opposition, the obvious reason being absence of a particle.

Since PIE/PC primary endings are now generally recognised as the source of both, the range of IC conj. and abs. forms is crucial. PIE prim. endings characterised not only the pres. ind. but also a typically reduplicated *-se/o-* desiderative found in Indo-Iranian and, as a future, Old Irish (McCone 1986: 248–59; 1991: 137–82). The preserve of PIE sec. endings always lacking **-i* was the aorist and imperfect ind. as well as the optative mood. The PIE subjunctive was formed by adding *-e/o-* to a pres. or aor. stem, 'hyperthematic' **-ē/ō-* resulting from *-e+e/o+o-* if the base was also thematic. Even if it used both prim. and sec. endings as in Indo-Iranian (Rix 1976: 259), the former probably prevailed in PC on the very limited evidence of Gaulish and Celtiberian (McCone 1991: 119–20, and ODVC 109; KPV 751–6). The optative did not survive and an *s*-aor. subj. in **(a-)se/o-* was generalised in PIC (McCone 1986: 243–5; 1991: 59–64, 94, 110–11), with *-χ/t/s-se/o-* responsible for the *s*-subj. and **-H-se/o- > *-a-se/o- > *-a(h)e/o-* for the OIr. *-ā-* and Brit. *-h-* subjunctives (McCone 1986: 243–8; 1991: 55–113). PIC loss of *-d* (before *-i > -ø*;) would have favoured **-s-e-ti* etc. with prim. endings over weakly characterised 3sg. **-s-e* even if **-s-e-d* with a sec. ending had survived. Indeed, primary subj. endings may have been the norm in PIE as in Ancient Greek (nb. Homeric pres. subj. 3sg. *-ē-si*⁷³ = OInd. *-ā-ti* < PIE **-ē-ti*; Rix 1976: 260).

The PIE *s*-aorist indicative clearly took secondary endings and its 3sg. **-s-t* regularly underwent either *-V-s-t > -V-ss* or *-χ/r/l-s-t > -χ/r/l-t* in PIC: e.g. PIE **h₂anh₁-s-t*, **b^hēr-s-t* (OInd. *aniṣ-*, *bhārṣ-*) > PC **ana-s-t*, **bīr-s-t* > PIC **ana-ss*, **bir-t* > OIr. *-an* 'remained', *-bert* 'bore'. Taken as stem plus zero ending, 3sg. forms like **ana-ss-ø*, **bir-t-ø* became a platform for thematising the rest of the paradigm (Watkins 1962: 170–8) at a stage when there were no longer any thematic formations with secondary endings (e.g. suffixless pret. *(-)luid* 'went' < **lude* < them. root aor. **lud-e-d* by early PIC loss of *-d*). In consequence, this process was bound to introduce primary endings before PIC apocope of *-i* (Cowgill in §1 above) or an abs./conj. opposition after it (ODVC 107–8): e.g. (*s/-t*-pret. prim. them. 1sg.), MW *kereis* 'I loved' < **karass-ī* < **-ū*; OIr. *-carus* 'I loved' < **kar-ass-ū*, *-biurt* 'I bore' < **bir-t-ū*. The resultant PIC **(s)s-* formations had identical inflections (e.g. 1/2sg. *-(s)s-ū/-is(i)*, 3pl. **(s)s-ont(i)*) apart from normal thematic 3sg. subj. *-(s)s-et(i)* vs 3sg. pret. *-ss(-i)* with zero

⁷³Written *-ησι* like standard 3sg. *-η*. Forms with secondary endings in Arcado-Cypriot and Indo-Iranian (Rix 1976: 261) could well be due to influence from the optative.

ending and abs. *-i* from the rest of the paradigm. Since the *s*-subj. only and the *s*-pret. never characterised strong verbs with a final (*s*- or) dental/guttural stop, full homogenisation of their complementarily distributed paradigms in the separate prehistories of Irish and British is hardly surprising. In Irish, the *s*-subj. adopted a zero 3sg. from the *s*-pret. typical of productive weak verbs: e.g. OIr. subj. abs./conj. *téis/-té* ‘may go’ < **tēssi*/**-tēh* (< **-tēs(s)*) < **tēχ-si*/**-tēχ-s(i)* ← PIC **tēχ-s-eti*, **tēχ-s-et* on the model of, say, pret. *anais*, *-an* ‘remained’ < **anassi*, **-anah* < (**-anas(s)*) < PIC **ana-ss-i*, **-ana-ss(-)*. In British, by contrast, the pret. (*t*- as well as *s*-) adopted the normal them. 3sg. from the subj.: e.g. MW 3sg. pret. *keress-yt*, **caras* (cf. *cafās* ‘got’ etc.) ‘loved’ < **karass-iti*, **karass-it* (for **-e-ti*, **-e-t*); 3sg. subj. *gwnech* ‘may do’ for **gwrech* < **wreχ-s-it* (for **-et*) vs pret. *gwneithyt*, *gwnaeth* (influenced by *aeth* ‘went’) ‘did’ for **gwreiθ(-it)* < **wreχt-it(i)* (for **-et(i)* and PIC **wrex(-s)-t(i)*; cf. McCone 1986: 243–4). MW 3sg. *-as* < abs. **-a-ss-i* entails unlikely late borrowing (with analogical *i*-affection!) of *-yt* /*-id*/ from the pres. If MW *-(s)yt* continues abs. **-a-ss-iti* (for **-e-ti*), MW *-as* can hardly be other than old conj. **-a-ss-it* (for **-et*). The (short) *-i* needed before *-t(i)* for internal *i*-affection in abs. *keress-yt* ‘loved’, *kewssit* ‘got’ etc. but no final *i*-affection in *cafās* etc. can easily be an analogical replacement of the *-e-* of 3sg. **-e-t(i)* under pressure from 1sg. **-ī* (< PIC **-ū*), 2sg. **-ið*⁷⁴ < **-iyi* < **-ih(i)* < IC **-i-si(-)* (§2 above) < **-e-si*.

To sum up, PC primary endings characterised by *-i* in all but the thematic 1sg. **-ū* were inherited in the PIC pres. ind., pres. (originally *s*-aorist) subj. and desid./fut. active. This *-i* was lost by PIC apocope unless shielded by an enclitic object pronoun bound by Wackernagel’s Law to a clause-initial constituent: e.g. prim. 3sg. *bere-ti* ‘bears’ > *bere-t* but clause-initial **bereti-e* ‘bears it (n.)’ and then, by extension, initial abs. **bereti(±e)* vs non-initial conj. **beret*. Use of clause-initial **molāti-e* ‘praises it (n.)’ etc. but otherwise **molātor* ‘praises’ etc. provided PIC deponents with a nucleus of forms with **-ti-E*, from which clause-initial abs. **molāti-r* could develop as a bridge between initial **molāti-e* and non-initial **molātor*. This also entailed a new initial counterpart **marwātir* (> OIr. abs. *marbthair* ‘is killed’) etc. of formally identical passives like **marwātor* (> OIr. conj. *-marbthar* ‘is killed’). After early PIC loss of inherited secondary endings, all thematic formations had primary endings, making them or (at a later stage) their abs./conj. outcome an automatic part of the thematisation involved in the PIC creation of *s*- and *t*-preterites.

Abs./conj. inflection thus characterised the act./dep./pass. of the OIr. pres. ind, fut. ind. and pres. subj., the act./dep. *s*- and *t*-pret.,⁷⁵ and the pret. pass. Its attested range and forms can be generated by the ‘actual enclitic’ hypothesis without difficulties such as the unmotivated analogical spread⁷⁶ of functionally redundant distinctions between complementarily distributed abs. and conj.

⁷⁴MW *kereist* is clearly innovatory, presumably formed by adding *-t* to 1sg. *kereis*.

⁷⁵Allowing for the *t*-preterite’s obviously rather late adoption of 1/3pl. *-am(m)ar/-atar* from the suffixless preterite (GOI 423–4).

⁷⁶2pl. abs. *beirthe* avoided ambiguity with 3sg. *beirthe* + 3sg. m./n. suffix, 3sg. pass. *ber(a)ir* was created in opposition to rel. *berar* (not conj. *-berar*), and the **-i* attached to clause-initial 3sg. *s*-/*t*-pret **anass*/**birt* had an obvious purpose in separating consonants: e.g. **marwassūs* → *marwassī-ssūs* ‘killed them’, **birt-me/-tu/-swes* → **birti-mmu/-ttu/-swes*. Each of these and the

forms. Crucially, this explanation accounts straightforwardly for a single set of personal inflections inherited in other categories, notably the imperative and the suffixless preterite with reflexes of PIE *ipv.* and perfect endings lacking the primary **-i* needed to trigger an *abs./conj.* dichotomy in PIC.

A particle fares appreciably worse than this in relation to the verbal inflections that have figured so prominently in arguments for it, since there is no good reason for **es* or the like in the *s-* and *t-* but not the suffixless preterite or for the failure of a single OIr. *abs.* deponent ending to ensue from its addition to the corresponding *conj.* form. Connective **et(i)*'s absence from the imperative defies convincing explanation, and invoking an asseverative function to justify **est(i)*'s absence from the imperative without questioning its compatibility with the equally non-factual subjunctive is a classic case of wanting to have one's cake and eat it.

10. CONCLUSIONS

Since Cowgill's 1975 gamechanger, there has been near-general agreement (with the exception of Kortlandt 1979) that at least some Insular Celtic *conj.* endings directly continue PIE primary endings via early apocope of *-i*. Apart from a couple of accentually oriented hypotheses, there has also been consensus that *abs.* counterparts resulted from protection of the same primary endings from apocope by a following enclitic. The main dispute has been about whether this function was performed by a hypothetical near-invisible particle (or subject pronoun(s)) or by tangible enclitic connectives and object pronouns. Both approaches posit *pres. ind. 3sg. conj. -beir* 'bears' < **-bereti* versus *abs. be(i)rid* 'bears' </← **bereti*-E and so can be covered by notations pared down to that core: e.g. OIr. *pres. ind. act. 3sg./pl. abs. be(i)rid/ber(a)it* < **bereti-/beronti-*, *conj. -beir/-berat* < **-beret(i)/*-beront(i)*, *1sg. abs. biru* < **berū-*, *conj. -biur* < **-bir(u)* < **-berū*. Brackets signify an element lost in PIC (**-i*) or later (e.g. **-u* < **-ū*) unless shielded by an attached enclitic, while the mutually exclusive factors of preceding constituents and following enclitics are denoted by an initial and a final hyphen respectively, as in *conj. -beir* < **-beret(i)* versus *abs. be(i)rid* < **bereti-*. Notations like **-beret(i)/*-beront(i)* are quite compatible with an accentual approach, and their initial alternates (with a final hyphen indicating optional enclitic attachment) merely require accentuation according to preference (e.g. **béreti-/béronti-* or **beretí-/berontí-*).

OIr. active *abs.* and *conj.* endings derive as follows from PIE/PC primary endings (§§1–3), / separating distinct *athem./them.* forms and [] enclosing a usual thematic vowel.

aesthetically motivated *1sg. abs. type biru* (§2 above) is also covered by Cowgill's eminently reasonable concession above 'that once the absolute/conjunct contrast had come to pervade the whole system of the Irish verb, it could spread to one or two forms which lacked it'.

	PIE		PC	
	prim.	sec.	prim.	sec.
1sg.	*-mi/*-ō ⁷⁷	*-[o]m	*-mi/*-ū	*-[o]m
2sg.	*-[e]si	*-[e]s	*-[e]si	*-[e]s
3sg.	*-[e]ti	*-[e]t	*-[e]ti	*-t/-ed ⁷⁸
(cop. 1pl.			*e-mmesi	*e-mmes)
1pl.	*-[o]me/os ⁷⁹		*-[o]me/osi	*-[o]me/os
2pl.	*-[e]te		*-[e]tesi	*-[e]tes
3pl.	*-[o]nti	*-[o]nt	*-[o]nti	*-[o]nt

	PIC I	PIC II	
	(no sec.; -esV(-) > -isV(-))	(apocope of *-i)	
	prim.	abs.	conj.
1sg.	*-mi/-ū	*-mi/*[-ū(-)]/	*-m
2sg.	*-[i]si	*-[i]si-	*-[i]s
3sg.	*-[e]ti	*-[e]ti-	*-[e]t
(cop. 1pl.	*e-mmisi	*e-mmisi-	*e-mmisi)
1pl.	*-[o]mosi	*-[o]mosi-	*-[o]mos
2pl.	*-[e]tisi	*-[e]tisi-	*-[e]tis
3pl.	*-[o]nti	*-[o]nti-	*-[o]nt

The table below summarises §§1–3 by giving PIC I to OIr. derivations of the personal abs./conj. forms of a typical *-e/o-* them. pres. like OIr. *be(i)rid* ‘bears’ and of the 1pl. copula. It illustrates the straightforward derivation of attested OIr. abs. and conj. forms from PC primary endings that, respectively, were and were not shielded from PIC *-i > -ø by an actual (i.e. securely reconstructed) Wackernagel enclitic attached to the verb itself (as opposed to a preceding preverb, negative etc.) only if it was clause-initial and simple.

1sg. abs. <i>biru</i>	< *birū	< *birū-ya (rel)			< *berū-yo
conj. <i>-biur</i>	< *-biru	< *-birū			< *-berū
2sg. abs. <i>biri</i>	< *birī	< *beri(h)i	< *berisi	< *berisi(-E)	< *berisi-E
conj. <i>-bir</i>	< *-biri(h)	< *-berih		< *-beris	< *berisi
3sg. abs. <i>beirid</i>	< *bereθi		< *bereti	< *bereti(-E)	< *bereti-E
conj. <i>-beir</i>	< *-bere(h)	< *-bereθ		< *-beret	< *bereti
1pl. abs. <i>bermai</i>	< *bero-mī	(cop *e-mī	< *e-mi(h)i	< *e-mmisi(-E)	< *e-mmisi-E)
conj. <i>-beram</i>	< *beroμa(h)			< *-beromos	< *beromosi
2pl. abs. <i>beirthe</i>	< *bereθeya	< *bereθī-ya	< *bereθi(h)i-ya (rel)		< *beretisi-yo
conj. <i>-beirid</i>	< *bereθi(h)			< *-beretis	< *-beretisi
3pl. abs. <i>berait</i>	< *berodi		< *beronti	< *beronti(-E)	< *beronti-E
conj. <i>-berat</i>	< *berod			< *beront	< *beronti

⁷⁷ More likely *-oh₂(a) or the like with a laryngeal.

⁷⁸ Probably -t after -s- but -d after a vowel (§9 above).

⁷⁹ Possibly primary versus secondary *-me(m).

The above derivations obey regular historical phonological rules and are mostly direct, but in the 1 and 2pl. abs. this is only true of attested forms of the copula. Its analogical influence must be posited in the 1pl. abs., and the non-copular 2pl. abs. can hardly be other than an old relative. Both substitutions for the inherited abs. forms are well-motivated (§2 and §3) and, with or without main-clause **es* or the like, unavoidable. If 2pl. abs. *beir-the* must be a shifted relative, a similar derivation of OIr. 1sg. abs. *biru* is a feasible alternative to **birūh* < **berū-(e)s* or the like. A hypothetical particle, then, is superfluous to the PIC/OIr. absolute active endings.

Notwithstanding a lack of convincing attestations⁸⁰ in any known variety of Celtic, a credible case might be made for an invisible enclitic posited solely to account for peculiarities on either side of ‘Wackernagel position’ in the Insular Celtic verbal complex, provided that it was functionally and formally efficient. The greater the need for special morphological or phonological pleading to justify an ‘artificial additive’ of this type, the heavier the onus upon its advocate(s) to demonstrate its utter indispensability as a lenition-blocker in OIr. main clauses. Only then would a more apposite version (ch. 6 of the novel referred to in §4) of Sherlock Holmes’s adage apply: ‘when you have eliminated the impossible whatever remains, *however improbable*, must be the truth.’

None of the current candidates were Wackernagel enclitics in PIE or Celtic⁸¹ and their *ad hoc* conversion to that class has regularly presented problems. All have proved irrelevant at best (§§2–3) and detrimental at worst (§9) to the absolute endings as well as incompatible with the lack of an inherited abs./conj. opposition in the OIr. suffixless preterite (§9). Apart from an otherwise untenable enclitic subject pronoun **is*, no candidate can have the required effect upon a following enclitic pronoun without the help of highly implausible or (see Isaac 2000) unworkable quasi-auslaut boundaries absent between it and a preceding word (§4), not to mention other problematical *ad hoc* adjustments. A particle’s sole remaining claim to efficiency, namely as an impediment to the tonic portion’s lenition, must be set not only against these serious shortcomings but also against the utter helplessness of all variants (including **is*) in the face of elision of a pretonic preverb’s final vowel before a vowel-initial tonic portion in the likes of *tadbat* ‘shows’ < **tu:adbet* in OIr. main clauses (§6). Given its inability to solve this problem at all satisfactorily and the availability of at least one viable alternative explanation for the non-lenition of consonants (§8), it is the putative particle that must be eliminated as impossible. The only loss is (Insular) Celtic’s unenviable distinction as the one major IE subfamily in which an appreciable amount of otherwise unnecessary phonology and morphology has been devised to meet the ‘fiendishly complicated’ (§4) needs of a purely hypothetical and virtually untraceable morphosyntactic component.

⁸⁰Boling’s (1972) **ed* would be an exception on account of Gaulish *buetid* (§1) but is hardly a current candidate, having been generally rejected on compelling formal grounds (§1), while Schrijver’s attempts (1997: 177–80) to conjure up a couple of traces of enclitic **et(i)* in Gaulish are questionable, to say the least.

⁸¹Again, except for Boling’s **ed* (§1), but see the previous note.

The nub of current versions⁸² of an accentual or ‘prosodic’ approach to absolute and conjunct is that (i) the early apocope of **-i* fundamental to virtually all explanations since 1975 only affected unstressed forms and (ii) (Insular) Celtic basically inherited a PIE system (cf. the Vedic exx. in §8) opposing unaccented non-initial main-clause finite verbs to accented initial and subordinate ones. Hence P(I)C init. **béreti* vs non-init. **beret* < **bereti*, but (ii) would be more convincing if, say, OIr. subordinate **co:mbeirid* ‘so that he bears’ < **k^wun(..)bereti(..)#* corresponded to main-clause *beirid* ‘bears’ < **bereti(..)#* vs *ní:beir* ‘doesn’t bear’ < **nīs(..)beret(i)(..)#*. It doesn’t, of course, and OIr. *co:mbeir* is doubly problematical, being accented as if < **k^wun(..)bereti(..)#* but apocopated as if < **k^wun(..)beret(i)(..)#*. Compounds fare even worse, because the only Vedic-style main-clause pattern was *ṀV* and so the OIr. opposition of initial deut. *PV* (*do:beir* ‘brings’ etc.) to non-initial prot. *PV* (*ní:tab(a)ir* ‘doesn’t bring’) calls for improbable and ill-motivated analogy (§8). Another major disadvantage is the limit imposed on an otherwise general apocope of **-i* capable of directly generating not only OIr. conj. forms (§§1–3) but also the ‘shorter’ dat. sg. of consonant-stem nouns. Restricting **-i* to unstressed forms entails deriving the short type from inexplicably productive endless locatives (§1). Further problems (§1 and §8) include the inapplicability of $\pm$ stress to dep./pass. abs./conj. (§9). Accentual hypotheses, like particles, simply don’t work.

Advocates of an added particle, accentual differentiation or a triggering ‘actual’ enclitic⁸³ broadly agree in deriving PIC conjunct and absolute from PIE/PC primary endings by, respectively, subjection to and specifically conditioned protection from early apocope of **-i*. The third approach envisages generalisation of VSO order in PIC by extrapolating initial **k^wrinati* etc. (post-apocope and so regularly > OIr. abs. *cren(a)id* etc.) from **k^wrinati-sūs* ‘buys them’ etc. with an ‘actual enclitic’. Initial position for verbs had come to be monopolised by *V*-i-E* combining a clitic object pronoun’s natural gravitation towards the verb governing it with retention of inherited ‘Wackernagel’ concatenation with naturally clause-second enclitic connectives: e.g. **wo-de-sūs=k^wrinat(i)* ‘and purchases them’ > OIr. *fo-da:cren* ‘who purchases them’. A similar process is directly observed in Greek, where it also promoted unmarked initial verbs without enclitic(s) and basic VSO order (§7). This scenario, which effectively vindicates the long-recognised formal affinities of plain primary **-i* with OIr. abs. forms while avoiding pre-Cowgill functional difficulties, is appreciably more successful than rivals at producing the actually attested range of OIr. abs. forms (§§1–3 and §9).

There is no obvious obstacle to projecting the demarcative OIr. initial

⁸² Assuming that Koch (2022) supersedes Koch (1987) in cases of (mostly tacit) disagreement. Both are discussed in §1 and §8.

⁸³ Object pronouns and sentence connectives, notably OIr. *-ch-* < **k^we* ‘and’, *-d(-)* < **de* ‘and, but’, and relative **-yo*. The last of these resembles a hypothetical particle in being deduced from changes to the endings of simple verbs (e.g. OIr. *bert(a)e* ‘who bear’ < **beronti-yo*) and mutation after a pretonic preverb: (e.g. OIr. *fo:chren* ‘who purchases’ < **wo-yo=k^wrinat(i)*) but is at least directly attested in Gaulish *dugiointio* (ODVC 247–8).

word-stress back at least as far as PIC (cf. §7, inc. n. 46, and similar developments in Celtic's Italic and Germanic neighbours; Meiser 1998: 53 and Ringe 2006: 105). This would have affected all lexical (i.e. compound as well as simple) finite verb forms, whether enclitic or not: e.g. **k^wrinati(-sūs)*, **wo-k^wrinat(i)* (> OIr. prot. *-fochrann*). Presumably, clause-initial preverbal particles such as the negative continued to bear an accent: e.g. **nīs='wo-k^wrinat(i)* (> OIr. *ní:fochrann*). A similar bi-tonic structure (e.g. **wo-sūs='k^wrinat(i)* > OIr. deut. *fo-s:cren*) may be posited for compound verbs plus enclitic(s) in the light of oppositions between uni-tonic patterns without and bi-tonic ones with a clitic infix in Portuguese (*comprará* vs *comprá-lo-á* '(s)he will buy (it)') and probably, albeit no more than vestigially, Latin (*supplico* vs *sub vos placo* 'I supplicate (you)'; §7). Since they were conditioned by a Wackernagel enclitic, such bi-tonic PIC compound forms will have been exclusively and uniquely clause-initial like simple **k^wrinati-sūs* in the previous paragraph. They will then, like **k^wrinati-sūs*, have been an obvious source for initial forms without infix as part of the PIC shift to regular VSO order: e.g. **wo(-sūs)='k^wrinat(i)* > OIr. deut. *fo(-s):cren* (cf. **k^wrinati(-sūs)* above). The attested deuterotonic stress pattern **wo(-sūs)='k^wrinat(i)* then arose as part of a broader PIC proclisis also affecting the first element of syntactically close groups such as copula + predicate, preposition or possessive + noun, preverbal particle + verb (e.g. **nīs=('wo-)k^wrinat(i)*).

That leaves the failure of vowel-final 'P (> proclitic P) at the head of a main clause to lenite a following I(nfixed pronoun) or (if no I) 'P or (if no I or 'P) 'V, bearing in mind that a particle only works at all efficiently with consonant-initial 'P or 'V and has so far signally failed to account for the lack of *h-* before vowel-initial 'P or 'V. An explanation was proposed (§8) for the puzzling use of I as the 1/2sg./pl. passive subject (I^S) in OIr., British and hence PIC, although it had hitherto consisted solely of enclitic object pronouns (I^O) and a form of the verb 'to be' would normally be expected to express person with a verbal adjective like **aγtos* 'driven' turned passive preterite, as Cowgill pointed out (§8; cf. Lat. *actus sum/est* 'I/he was driven'). This started from accompanying personal forms of **e(s)-* 'to be' and neg. 1sg. **nīmm* (< PC **nīmmi* < **nēsmi*) as a trigger for their replacement first by similar 1sg. I^{O>S} **-mm(e)* (**-mm* 'V-, **-mme* 'C-), then 2sg. **-tt(u)* and 1/2pl. **-nnos/*-swes*.

The system of **nī(s)* + mostly geminated 1/2sg./pl. I^S that arose thereby in the neg. pass. pret. was liable to motivated spread in two directions: (a) throughout the passive to provide it with 1/2sg./pl. forms distinct from corresponding deponent actives, and (b) throughout the main-clause negative system because **nī(s)* was more strongly characterised than inherited **ne*. When (b) brought **nī(s)* + **-mme/*-ttu/*-nnos/*-swes* into the active system as I^{S>O} beside old non-neg. I^O **-me/*-tu/*-e(n)/*-siyan/-nnos/-swes/*-sūs*, the former needed and acquired 3rd-person I^O forms, namely sg. n./m.) **-e(n)* and (with characteristic double consonance) f. **-ssīyan*, pl. **-ssūs*. Both sets, which already shared **-nnos/*-swes* with CC-, were then homogenised as **-mme/*-ttu/*-e(n)/*-ssīyan/*-nnos/*-swes/*-ssūs*. When new initial forms without I were created, these naturally adopted the same shape (CC-, and

h-less *V*-) after a vowel-final preverb as the enclitic pronouns had: **to*=*ttēgont* > OIr. *do:tiagat*, **ro*=*ssliχtos* > OIr. *ro:slecht* 'has been cut down', **to*=*are-beret* > OIr. *tairbir* 'inclines' and so on.

This scenario is corroborated by its ability to resolve two other problems as well as unmutated 'CV- and 'V- after vowel-final pretonic P in OIr. main clauses: the curious use of 1/2sg./pl. enclitic subject pronouns in the passive and the generalisation of originally copular neg. **nīs* > OIr. *ní* in non-imperative main clauses. Just inserting an element *VC(i)* to block lenition has proved to be by no means as straightforward or effective as it should be, and tricky to intractable problems confronting an elusive particle mean that a generally much less problematical alternative does not have to be as efficient as the particle in the latter's one area of strength as a supposed blocker of lenition on a consonant-initial tonic portion. The hypothesis supported here has the advantage of being based on actual rather than, in effect, artificially engineered enclitics and needs to be no more than adequate as an explanation of unlenited tonic *C*-, since it can at least match a particle otherwise and, indeed, decisively outperforms it with regard to OIr. abs. deponent endings and the lack of *h*-before tonic *V*-.

ABBREVIATIONS

- EIV* McCONE, KIM 1997: *The Early Irish Verb* (Maynooth).
GMW EVANS, D. SIMON 1964: *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin).
GOI THURNEYSSEN, RUDOLF 1946: *A Grammar of Old Irish* (Dublin).
KPV SCHUMACHER, STEFAN 2004: *Die keltischen Primärverben: Ein vergleichendes etymologisches und morphologisches Lexikon* (Innsbruck).
LexWb. KAVANAGH, SÉAMUS 2001: *A Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul* (Wien).
ODVC McCONE, KIM 2006: *The Origins and Development of the Insular Celtic Verbal Complex* (Maynooth).
 (Free download at <https://kimmcccone.org>).
RelChron. McCONE, KIM 1996: *Towards a Relative Chronology of Ancient and Medieval Celtic Sound Change* (Maynooth).
 (Free download at <https://kimmcccone.org>).
Thes. STOKES, WHITLEY and STRACHAN, JOHN 1901–3: *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus I/II* (Cambridge).
VKG PEDERSEN, HOLGER 1909–13: *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen I–II* (Göttingen).

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SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE MILAN GLOSSES¹

ABSTRACT

The relative uniformity of Old Irish has lead many scholars to conclude that Old Irish represents a written standard of the language. Despite this impression having been, at least partially, derived from the canonical Old Irish of the glosses of Milan, Würzburg and St. Gall, there are a few distinct ways in which Milan deviates not only from expected Old Irish forms, but also from its contemporaries. These variations are enough to demonstrate that the scribes of Milan were certainly not operating with the same variety of Old Irish as the other two corpora, though whether it be an issue of dialect or a competing standard remains to be seen. This paper will provide collections of four such variations and will discuss potential origins of them.

THE MILAN GLOSSES (c. 800) are considered one of the canonical texts of Classical Old Irish, alongside the glosses of Würzburg (c. 750) and St. Gall (c. 850), and the relative uniformity of the language within them, as well as the Old Irish corpus as a whole, has led scholars to conclude that Old Irish likely represents a written standard of the language (cf. McCone 1985: 102; Stifter 2009: 60).

Despite this relative uniformity, variations between the language of *Wb.*, *ML.*, and *Sg.* do exist. While some variations appear to be orthographic (cf. Strachan 1903a; 1903b), others have different origins: the Latin *spiritus*, Old Irish *spiurt*, has been borrowed into *ML.* and Turin (c. 700) as genitive singular *spiurto*, while appearing in *Wb.* as nominative singular *spirut* genitive singular *spirito/spirto* (cf. McManus 1983: 71); the doubled superlative form *-imem* appearing only in *ML.* and the *Poems of Blathmac* (cf. Carney 1964: 120; Stifter 2015: 84 n. 120; Ó Muirheartaigh 2018: 137–8) and identified by Thurneysen as a potential diatopic marker (*GOI* §§16, 371), has been demonstrated by Ó Muirheartaigh (2018) to be an imitation of Latin superlatives; the fluctuation between the *-o/-u* vocalism in particles and preverbs, with *ML.* showing a distinct preference for the forms in *-u*, has a possible phonological basis (Malthaner 2023) and may not be strictly orthographic.

As the corpus which is in the chronological middle, any distinct variations in *ML.* will always be the most convincing as evidence of synchronic, and

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potentially diatopic, variation as they cannot be attributed to simply being the result of diachronic development: an archaism present in *ML* but not shared by *Wb.*, or an innovation in *ML* that is not shared by *Sg.*, can indicate a preference or decision on the part of the scribe.

Any particular variation in which *ML* stands in isolation will, therefore, always be of increased interest, but the most considerable evidence for synchronic variation will come from those variants in which *Wb.* and *Sg.* are united in opposition to *ML*: a common ‘archaism’ present in both *Wb.* and *Sg.* with an innovation present in *ML*, or an innovation in *Wb.* and *Sg.* that is not present in *ML*, may suggest that *ML* was not operating within the same diatopic or diastatic variety of the language as *Wb.* and *Sg.* Of course, the possibility of *Sg.* adhering to a more rigid, earlier standard of Old Irish and editorialising away any innovative features cannot be entirely discounted;² nevertheless, variants in which *ML* is unique are features of keen interest.

This paper will identify four features in which *ML* is distinct from both *Wb.* and *Sg.* by showing a distinct preference for a form that is not shared by the other two, thus suggesting that *ML* was operating with a different written standard.

STRESSED *E* AS *æ*³

To begin with a minor orthographic variant, but a variant nonetheless: the usage of the *æ*/*æ* ligature in place of *é*/*e* is prevalent in *ML*, while being not as common in either *Wb.* or *Sg.* This usage is well-known (cf. *GOI* §24) and so its presence in the glosses was expected; however, while it is hardly predominant, and *ML* certainly uses *é*/*e* more consistently⁴ than it utilises *æ*, it still uses this form more than either *Wb.* or *Sg.*

	<i>Wb.</i>	<i>ML</i>	<i>Sg.</i>
Occurrences	99	700	16

Figure 1: *æ* for *e*

In both *Wb.* and *ML*,⁵ a significant number of *æ* are attested in forms of *día* ‘god,’ namely 44 in *Wb.* that show the ligature, roughly 56% of the total 78 gen./voc. sg. attestations, and 491 attested with the ligature in *ML*, approximately 92% of

²The language of the glosses of *Sg.* itself contains features that are both earlier and later than the language in *ML*, and Strachan consequently concluded that the glosses ‘are not homogenous, but heterogenous, coming from different sources and being of varying antiquity’ (Strachan 1903b: 470).

³For the purposes of this collection, instances of *ae* were included, as it often can be difficult to distinguish *ae* from *æ*.

⁴A full collection of examples of stressed *é*/*e* remains underway, as it is a rather substantial undertaking, and does have the potential to impact the discussion here.

⁵Collections from the glosses were primarily conducted via the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, however they were additionally checked against existing parsed corpora and databases: Hofmann (1996); Kavanagh and Wodko (2001); Griffith and Stifter (2013); and Bauer, Hofman and Moran (2017).

the 532 gen./voc. sg. attestations. Sg. only has one occurrence of the ligature with *día* and it is within a compound and therefore does not bear the primary stress: *bandæ* Sg. 53b1 'goddess'. In both *Wb.* and *ML.* the majority of the occurrences happen in place of *é*: *æclis* *Wb.* 28d31 for *eclais* 'church'; *ætach* *Wb.* 32c11 for *étach* 'garment', as examples; *bæs* *ML.* 127d15 for *bés* 'habit/custom', *du-ærget* *ML.* 56b13 for *do-érget* 'that they forsake' *ær[a?]sigthi* *ML.* 127a4 for *ér[a?]ssaigthe* 'made void' as examples.

Only 18 examples from *Wb.* are of short vowels, ten of which are of the word *ecne* such as *æcne* *Wb.* 8a10 'wisdom'; two are of *etergne*, *ætarcne* *Wb.* 12c32 'understanding'; and the rest are single instances of a particular word, such as *æitiud* *Wb.* 29a13 for *etiud* 'clothing'.

Sg. is different, in that the majority of examples are short vowels. The only long vowels represented are *æscæ* Sg. 61a26 for *éscæ* 'moon', *ætrud* Sg. 68b9 for *étrad* 'lust', *hællned* Sg. 55b11 for *éilned* 'pollution' and *æsi* Sg. 207a1.

ML. also has 18 instances of *æ* for a short *e*, such as *ælsrud* *ML.* 56b26 for *elsrud* 'desire', *æsnadud* *ML.* 24c01 for *esnadud* 'delaying' and *ni ærbarad* *ML.* 31b20 for an augmented past subjunctive third singular of *as-beir*, *-érbarad*.

Part of what makes this particular orthographic feature interesting is that, while *ML.* prefers the form *er-* to represent the preverb *ar-* (cf. *GOI* §§16, 823), there are only two instances of that *er-* written with the ligature, despite it occurring rather frequently in other instances: *isærutsu* *ML.* 2d08 (second singular prepositional pronoun) and *ærgartha* *ML.* 69a21 of *airgartha* 'prohibited' which has one other attested form in *ML.* of *ergartha* *ML.* 121d6. Without a fuller collection of all instances of stressed *é/e* in *ML.*, it is impossible to draw conclusions as to why this may be the case.

TRE

The preposition *tre*, from Proto-Celtic **trē*, is consistent in its tonic positions across all three corpora of glosses, without any variation of forms (cf. *GOI* §856). The pretonic forms, however, are distinctly different in *Wb.* and Sg. from those in *ML.*

Wb. uses *tre* and *tri* somewhat interchangeably, but with a minor preference for *tre*, as seen in the table below. *Wb.* across the board tends to show a significant amount of variation without distinct preferences for any particular form. Sg. as well has a preference for the form *tre*; however, with only thirteen occurrences of *tri*, it gives it a more significant preference than *Wb.*, which perhaps indicates an intentional preference on the part of the scribes of Sg. Both are in contrast to *ML.* which has no occurrences of pretonic *tre* whatsoever.

Other preverbs are consistently spelled in the forms with the relative particle, regardless of any other written preference. With *tri*, however, *Wb.* uses both forms, though with a preference for *tre* as of the five attestations, only one appears as *tri*: *tresaníccatar hili* *Wb.* 27c20 'through which many may be saved' beside *trisambí* *Wb.* 3d21 'through which is'. Similarly, with combinations with third singular and first plural possessives *Wb.* shows variation: *triagnáissi* *Wb.* 10a3 'through her companionship' beside *treagnímosom* *Wb.* 29d29 'through

	<i>Wb.</i>	<i>ML</i>	<i>Sg.</i>
<i>Tre</i>	70	—	48
<i>Tri</i>	62	195	13
Total	132	195	61

Figure 2: *tre*, *tri*⁶

his deeds’ and *trebarnimradud Wb.* 27a1 ‘through thinking of you’ beside *tribarnebconabtheititsi Wb.* 9d24 ‘through your incontinence’.

Sg., as the smallest corpus, unsurprisingly has the fewest examples and thus the least by which to compare, and as such its usage of *tri* is harder to definitively categorise, particularly owing to its clear preference for *tre*, as there are only a few instances of particular occurrences: *trisa nacomoltar Sg.* 215a12 ‘by which is joined’ is the only example with a relative particle, and there are equally only three examples of a possessive pronoun all of which take the form *tria*: *tria folud feisin Sg.* 211b5 ‘by its own substance’, *triatimdirecht Sg.* 35a2 ‘through their service’ and *tria nemnad Sg.* 3a11 ‘through their doubling’ showing the expected raising in hiatus.

In other instances, *tri* does not seem to be relegated to particular situations or limited to any particular formation, i.e. it is not limited to accompanying a palatal consonant, which could perhaps have influenced the choice of spelling of the preposition, nor are any of its occurrences exclusive to *tri*, as they are equally found with *tre*: *tri immaircidetaid Sg.* 213b8 ‘it is through the consequence’, *tri atarcud Sg.* 197b4 ‘through anaphora’, *tre intsamail Sg.* 6a11 ‘through imitation’. They are used interchangeably, with *tre* or *tri* appearing before an identical form: *tri digbail Sg.* 188a8 ‘through diminution’ beside *tredigbáil Sg.* 9a13 ‘through taking away’; with the article *trisinnigenitin Sg.* 209b31 ‘through the genitive’ alongside *tresin brethir Sg.* 138a1 ‘by the verb’; *trithóbae Sg.* 195b1 ‘through concision’, *trithóbæ Sg.* 201b3 but equally there is *trethóbae Sg.* 118b2.

As noted above, *ML* contains both the most occurrences of the preposition and preverb but equally shows no variation. It is consistent in its usage of *tri* in all contexts, unlike *Wb.* and *Sg.*

As a comparison, Lash (2017) has theorised that the variants found in *eter/iter*, particularly those that begin with an initial *i-*, are a later form, developing during the Classical Old Irish period and eventually becoming more prominent in later sources, albeit still not particularly favoured. The basis of his argument is a combination of the fact that there are more variants in *i-* in

⁶This table includes all instances of *tre/tri*, including those with the relative marker, possessives, the article, before nouns, etc. The only instances left out were the prepositional pronouns as they are entirely consistent across all three sets of glosses and do not show any variation, with all persons except for third singular feminine and third plural beginning with *tri-*, and adhere to the expected form. Additionally, the relatively rare form *tremi-*, the pretonic preverb, is not included in the above. There is some variation in those cases as well, however: within *Wb.* both pretonic attestations (*Wb.* 8a5, *Wb.* 25d14) appear as *tremi-*, there is no pretonic attestation in *Sg.*, but in *ML* there is still a preference for *tri* in pretonic position: *trimirucad ML.* 2b17; *trimiberar ML.* 21c3; *trimiberar ML.* 31b22; *trimedirgedar ML.* 54a22 stand beside *tremithait* [leg. *tremethait*] *ML.* 43c14 and *tremiteiched ML.* 54c21, as well as two instances of tonic *tre-*.

Sg. (and a collection of other minor glosses) than in *Wb.* and *Ml.* together with a comparison with the form *ceta*. He argues that *ceta* became more commonly spelt as *cita* by the late-eighth century while *etar* began appearing more often with its *i*-variant in the ninth century. He notes that the *i*-variant is more likely to occur in pretonic complexes, and that this is ‘unsurprising’ as *ceta* too appears as *cita*, with the *i*-variant in pretonic complexes. *Wb.* and *Ml.* combined contain only five occurrences of *it*- beside 239 of *et*-, and Sg. and the other minor collections have 20 occurrences of an *i*-variant beside 120 instances of an *e*-variant (Lash 2017: 150–1), showing an increased potential for the *i*-variant. Equally, while Sg. and the later glosses show more occurrences of *cita* for *ceta* than in *Wb.* and *Ml.*, Sg. and the other minor glosses have only 11 attestations while *Wb.* and *Ml.* combined only contain nine (Lash 2017: 153).

This is an interesting comparison to the case of *tre/tri*, as while the forms of *eter/iter* that use *i*- appear to be increasing in popularity over the Old Irish period, Sg. shows significantly less usage of *tri* than even *Wb.*

GENITIVE SINGULAR -O AND -A

The genitive singular endings -o and -a in both the i-stems and u-stems are the product of original long final vowels that preceded pre-apocope final consonants, and once those consonants were lost, the original long vowels were subsequently shortened (cf. *GOI* §93) such as *fedo* the genitive singular of u-stem masculine *fid*, from **widōs*.

The i-stems have traditionally been understood as originating from the Indo-European -ois, with seeming supporting evidence of Ogham inscriptions with i-stem names ending in -ōs (*Deagos*, *Allato*) which can suggest that this diphthong must have been treated differently than in -oi, which became -ī, -i (*GOI* §303.) The u-stems would have originated as the ending *-ous (*GOI* §311) and thus their similarity with the i-stems is coincidental and cannot have been expected to have developed identically. McCone (1994: 117, §18.3) has instead suggested that the i-stem -ois naturally became -īs, and then adopted the u-stem -ōs to distinguish the genitives from the nominative and accusative plural, and Jasanoff (1990: 183) has alternatively argued that the -o was borrowed from the original -ous of the u-stems (cf. Schumacher 2004: 70 n. 65).

These original endings would result in a genitive singular of -o, and the -a byform is observed by Thurneysen (*GOI* §95) as being interchangeable with its -o predecessor from about the beginning of the eighth century onwards. McCone (1996: 139) believes that, instead of merely being interchangeable, -o and -a merge to -a rather early, reducing the final unstressed phonemes to four instead of five (-a, -e, -i, and -u), noting that *Wb.* contains attestations of both endings while the -a is the ‘normal’ ending ‘from *Ml.* onwards’, a label with which Griffith (2022: 149) disagrees. Based on the contrast of Early Old Irish nominative singular *fēda* (*Thes.* ii 244.22) and genitive singular *fēdot* (*Thes.* ii 244.32), both forms of *fiada* in the *Cambrai Homily*, McCone (1996: 139) states he is ‘tempted’ to suggest that during the middle of the seventh century -o was lowered to /ɔ/, and that it was this sound that could be either

represented graphically as *-o* or *-a* in *Wb.* before being unrounded to *-a* and spelt accordingly in *ML*.⁷

In his article on the language of *Sg.*, Strachan (1903b) undertook a collection of the forms both in *Sg.* and *Wb.*, though not in *ML*, and his article on *ML* exclusively (Strachan 1903a), does not include a collection of these forms in that corpus either. In his collection, Strachan (1903b: 472–3) notes a different distribution in different sections of the *Sg.* codex: pp. 1–40 show an equal balance of the two forms of the ending; pp. 50–150 show more occurrences of *-a*, and *-o* is rare; on pp. 150–202 *-o* is common and *-a* is rare; on pp. 202–10 *-a* is more common; pp. 215–16 show *-o* only.⁸

Unfortunately, Strachan does not explain the logic behind the compartmentalisation of these sections, as surely changing the boundaries of these divisions would change the apparent results. The reason for the division is not immediately obvious, beyond being based on the variation of *-o* and *-a* (cf. Griffith 2022: 145–6): pp. 1–40 cover Priscian’s books 1–3, pp. 50–150 span books 4–8, pp. 150–202 are comprised of books 8–12 and pp. 202–10 contain only books 12–13. Even so, Strachan’s divisions do not correlate with the books themselves: for example, book 8 is pp. 138–63 of the manuscript, and is inexplicably broken up by Strachan’s sections. The divisions also have little to do with hand, as there is evidence of the main glossator writing throughout the manuscript (Hofman 1996: 14), thus the motivation behind these divisions is unclear. While the implication of these divisions *could* be that glosses were copied from a separate source or inserted by a different scribe perhaps, that is never explicitly stated, leaving Strachan’s intentions behind these divisions entirely opaque (cf. Lambert 1996: 189).

Overall, both types of ending exist across all three corpora, albeit in different distribution.⁹ *Wb.* favours the *-o* ending with it occurring 64% of the

⁷Griffith (2005: 48) does not agree with McCone that *fēda* should be understood as representing an original *fēdo* owing to the fact that u-stem final *-o* is consistently written as *-o*, and confusion between *-o* and *-a* does not appear consistently until *Wb.* He would instead view *fēda* as representing a phonemic *-a*, with the *-a* appearing in the pre-Ogham change of *-o* to *-a* in unaccented final syllables (Griffith 2005: 57).

⁸There are no relevant cases on pp. 41–9, and there is a single genitive singular of the adjective *remšuidigtheo* on p. 212 (*Sg.* 212a10) which is inconclusive as the ending is unexpanded. It is not stated explicitly by Strachan, merely implied, that there are no relevant attestations on these pages and thus it was necessary to check.

⁹There are irregular forms found within the glosses in addition to the expected *-o* and *-a* endings. *Wb.* has three attestations of words with both i-stem and ā-stem flexion showing ā-stem genitive endings: *buithe Wb.* 14d7 ‘being, existence’, *taidchrece Wb.* 21a6 ‘buying back’, *brithe Wb.* 25d3 ‘carrying, bearing’. Both *buithe* and *brithe* are verbal nouns that have replaced the nominative with the dative and which occasionally show ā-stem flexion (cf. *GOI* §294b), though as an original ā-stem, *buithe* can be viewed as an ā-stem inflection, as can *taidchrece*. Although *brithe* is not an original ā-stem, there is evidence that the ā-stem and i-stem inflections were occasionally confused (cf. Schmidt 1972), and thus this too can be regarded as an ā-stem inflection. *Wb.* also contains *búade Wb.* 24a17 ‘victory’, a neuter i-stem, and Thurneysen (*GOI* §301n) suggests that all instances of *búad(a)e* should perhaps be understood as genitive plural, and not singular. *ML* contains only three apparently irregular forms: *fuile ML* 22b1 ‘blood’ and *fule ML* 37c4 as well as *tomais ML* 20a21 ‘measuring’ but these are also easily explained. There is already some confusion between o-stems and u-stems in the Old Irish period (cf. *GOI* §309), and thus the palatalised genitive singular ending of *tomais* is not altogether surprising. Though the Milan Glosses Project

time, *ML* prefers the *-a* ending, utilising it 65% of the time and while with a less distinct preference, *Sg*, prefers the *-a* ending as well, 53% of the time.

	<i>Wb.</i>	<i>ML</i>	<i>Sg.</i>
<i>-o</i>	134	112	53
<i>-a</i>	77	206	59
Total	211	318	112

Figure 3: Final *-o* and *-a*¹⁰

This appears to run contrary to McCone’s (1996: 139) suggestion that *-a* was ‘the normal form from *ML* onwards’, as it would be expected to be predominant in the later *Sg*. Any level of fluctuation between the endings, which exists across all three corpora of glosses, indicates that the two sounds had already fallen together, as they would not have been considered appropriate alternatives for each other if their sounds had not been considered to be equivalent by the scribes. Thus, this particular fluctuation is likely a variation that is distinctly orthographic, though it does reflect a phonological change.

Furthermore, as the sound change had clearly already taken place, the nearly equivalent usage of *-o* in *Sg*. can potentially be regarded as a conservative writing feature that retained an older spelling – as presumably at some stage there was an initial stage in which *-o* was always written – that then progressed towards a stage in which *-a* was predominant, with the intermediate stage represented by the three corpora in which *-o* and *-a* are liable to alternate, although I have yet to encounter an attestations of an expected final *-a* written as *-o*. As the reduction of unstressed final vowels was undoubtedly already present in *ML*. (cf. Strachan 1903a: 51–2; McCone 1985) and therefore *Sg*. as well, it is additionally possible that spellings with final *-a* may represent not only the change of *-o* to *-a*, but also the ultimate shift to /ə/.

If this is presumed to be the case, then it would logically follow that as the oldest, *Wb.* would conform most closely to the original spelling of final *-o*, *Sg.* to the younger and encroaching *-a*, and *ML*. would be somewhat in the

(Griffith and Stifter 2013) gives both *fuile ML*. 22b1 and *fule ML*. 37c4 as genitive singular, and thus would make them irregular, O’Rahilly (1973: 141) has discussed their plural meaning, and it seems more likely that in both cases we are here dealing with a genitive plural form with singular meaning, in which case they show regular *i*-stem inflection, especially as *ML*. also has *fola ML*. 37d6 (this word has been discussed by Joseph (1988: 171–2 n. 4) and the potential merger of an originally neuter *fuil* and a feminine *fuil*, both with the same meaning of ‘wound,’ or ‘blood’). *Sg.* has twenty examples of ‘irregular’ endings. Some, such as *choibnis Sg*. 9b9, *Sg*. 28a19 ‘relationship’ are similarly explained as above, while the majority end in *-e*. Final vowels *-o -a*, spelled *-eo -ea* with glide vowels after a palatal consonant, after the reduction to /ə/, were often spelled as simply *-e* after a palatal consonant (*GOI* §99), with examples from the glosses such as genitive singular *suidigthe Sg*. 193b4 ‘established.’ The increased presence of these endings in *Sg*. is likely due to the Middle Irish development of reduction of final unstressed vowels to schwa, which was certainly underway in some capacity during the period of the glosses (cf. McCone 1985; *GOI* §99) and is indeed present, though to a lesser extent, in both *ML*. and *Wb.* (cf. Strachan 1903a: 51–2).

¹⁰I am enormously grateful to Dr. Aaron Griffith for providing a second set of eyes on this collection, and pointing out some errors and exclusions that appeared in an earlier draft of this article.

middle. But this is not what is represented by the three corpora, and while the impetus behind the norms of *Sg.* is possibly orthographic conservatism, the tendency of *ML.* to prefer the *-a* ending indicates that the scribes were using either an alternative, or innovatory orthographic standard to that preferred by the scribes of both *Wb.* and *Sg.*

CACH AND CECH

The pronoun *cách* is consistent across all three corpora of glosses (as *cāch*), but its unstressed pronominal form shows wider variation. *ML.* heavily prefers the innovatory *cech* with only 26 occurrences of *cach*, contrasted with 126 of *cech*. The more popular *cech* is undoubtedly a secondary form as not only did the form never contain an original *e*, but proclitic short *e* regularly became *a*.

	<i>Wb.</i>	<i>ML.</i>	<i>Sg.</i>
<i>cach</i>	83	26	64
<i>cech</i>	13	126	2

Figure 4: *cach* and *cech*

Cach occurs across all cases and genders in *ML.*, and no case or gender shows any particular preference for *cach*: it occurs three times as a masculine nominative singular (cf. *ol cach diib fri alaile ML.* 114c15 ‘says each of them to the other’), three times as neuter nominative singular (cf. *airthuccai cach chenel hí coitchet chenas* [leg. *coitchenas*] *aninsci sisi ML.* 42c8 ‘for each nation together understands its speech’), three times as masculine accusative singular (cf. *ruucthar fricachré ML.* 35b10 ‘it can be applied to everything’), and once as accusative neuter singular (cf. *la cachmaith ML.* 105d4 ‘with every good thing’). It occurs nine times in the feminine accusative singular, eight of which are in the phrase *cach le cáin / cach lacéin* (cf. *ML.* 40b8 ‘at the one time’) and only once in a different phrase: *fri cach crieid ML.* 85c14 ‘as any clay’. It also occurs once as a feminine genitive singular *cach afrithare ML.* 111a5 ‘every watch’ (for *cacha frithare*) following *cechlathi*; once as a masculine dative singular (cf. *coitchen do cach peccad són ML.* 56b41 ‘common to every sin’); once as a masculine genitive plural *fri tige cach n aithech ML.* 92d15 ‘to the houses of any subjects’; and once as either accusative/dative neuter singular *forcachleth ML.* 22b1 ‘on every side’. From the preceding examples alone, it is evident that there is no predominant semantic or grammatical context in which *cach* was preferred in *ML.*, indicating it was not an issue of distinctive or preferential usage of the form in opposition to *cech*. Equally, it does not appear that the subsequent consonant colour had any effect, meaning that the scribes were not attempting to concord the neutral vowel of *cach* with a subsequent neutral vowel, for example.

Sg. on the other hand, almost exclusively uses *cach*, with sixty-four occurrences and only two of *cech*, one accusative singular feminine *cech consain Sg.* 7a4 ‘every consonant’ and once in a genitive masculine or neuter *cech muid Sg.*

190a3. *Wb.* likewise prefers *cach*, with eighty-three instances against thirteen of *cech*: thrice in nominative singular masculine (cf. *orabad cech brathair Wb.* 34a4 ‘so that each brother should be’); once as nominative singular feminine (*cechirngide dongneid ituil dée beddlichthech Wb.* 5c20 ‘let every prayer that you make in God’s will be lawful’); once as accusative feminine singular (*cedumelmis cechtuari Wb.* 10c21 ‘if we consumed every food’); thrice in the genitive singular, once masculine and twice neuter (cf. *foditiu cech imnid Wb.* 1c18 ‘endurance of every tribulation’, *fobésad cech dachpreceptoro Wb.* 4a2 ‘according to the practice of every good preceptor’, *cid atobaich cendilgud cech ancridi dognethe frib Wb.* 9c20 ‘what impels you not to forgive every injury that may have been done to you’); both masculine and neuter in the dative singular (cf. *ocech cenélu serbe Wb.* 2a22 ‘of every kind of bitterness’, *oscech anmimm ainmnigther Wb.* 21a14 ‘over every name that is named’, *hicechcaingnīm Wb.* 33c8 ‘in every fair deed’); and once as a nominative plural feminine *issí didiu trebaire chollno cecha dethidnea domundi doimradud cen imradud nanemde Wb.* 3d30 ‘this then is “prudence of the flesh”, to consider all mundane cares without considering the heavenly’.

The shortened form *cach* of *cách* < **k̑āk̑o-* is entirely regular, but *cech* does not have any etymological basis (GOI §491). Thurneysen’s suggestion that *cechtar* was remodelled on the basis of *nechtar* (cf. GOI §491) is not a sufficient explanation for *cech*, as there was concurrently *nach*, the unstressed form of *nech* from **ne-k̑os*, and there would have been no need to remodel *cach* to *cech* in a similar way. It potentially may have been influenced by the conjunct particle *cacha/cecha* (cf. GOI §491), albeit this form is not present across the three corpora of glosses with the exception of *cacha orr Sg.* 12b7 ‘whichever he may slay’, so while possible, the argument is inconclusive. Indeed, an etymological origin for *cecha* is equally mysterious: aside from positing it as the potential original for *cech* (cf. GOI §491; LEIA C–3) no suggestions as to its origins have been put forward. As it stands, there is no clear origin for the innovatory *cech*.

Obviously, the innovation, whatever its origins, had already occurred by the time of *Wb.* as it is optionally present and without any particular context or reason. *Sg.* accords with *Wb.* in its preference for the expected *cach*, albeit with minimal attestations of *cech*, and therefore *cech* cannot be considered a feature of diachrony alone, as it was not a feature that saw increased usage over time, and indeed, shows significantly less usage in *Sg.*, the youngest of the three corpora. *Ml.*’s significant preference is innovatory, especially as it stands against both *Wb.* and *Sg.*, and unusual, as there is little else by way of fluctuation between *a* and *e* in unstressed positions within *Ml.*

Although all of these features may appear to be relatively minor on their own, when considered holistically, and taking other points of variation into consideration (such as the different borrowing of *spiritus*; the fluctuation in the *-o/-u* vocalism, the doubled superlative *-imem*, the preference for *er-* in the particle *ar-*), it would appear that *Ml.* represents a different variety of Old Irish from that of *Wb.* and *Sg.* The features discussed here cannot be linked to a particular pronunciation, and therefore cannot be viewed definitively as

evidence of diatopic variation, though examples such as the variation in *-o/-a* and *cach/cech* may belie an underlying spoken distinction. At the very least, even if all of the features are viewed as purely orthographic, they do provide evidence that *ML* adhered to a different written standard than that of *Wb.* or *Sg.*

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APPENDIX: GENITIVE SINGULAR ENDINGS OF I-STEM AND U-STEM NOUNS

Wb.: -a

(brá)th(a) 26b7, áeccalsa 7c8, æccalsa 9c7, aecolsa 12b18, aecolsa 13a27, áissa 16d7, anamchairtessa 12b14, betha 15d9, brátha 23c29, brátha 26a1, brátha 29a28, caesta 26d8, cáingnima 20d16, caingnima 29a28, cáingnima 4d6, césta 27c21, colna 20a6, comdithnatha 14b11, cosnama 6b1a, cotulta 25c12, crochtha 26d4, cúrsactha 7d9, cúrsagtha 14d6, cúrsagtha 26b23, daggníma 6a11, dagim-rata 3d5, dánigthea 21c22, deirchóintea 21b1, dénma 12b21, dénma 12b31, dénma 15d38, desimrechta 26b18, dilgutha 14c19, dílgutha 18b20, dula 5b29, ecolsa 11d6, elutha 11c11, etarscartha 13c1, etarscartha 23a20, fessa 26d15, focheda 25a12, fognama 10b22, fognama 22b21, fognama 3c11, gnúsa 15a20, immarmussa 29a15, immormusa 14a15, incholnigthea 27c21, indlína 9d5, liussa 13b6, máma 11c11, messa 4c24, moga 17a13, nebchomalnatha 14a15, nerta 31b11, óesa 10c11, óisa 22b15, óisa 22b17, óisa 8c3, óissa 16d7, pecctha 18b20, pecctha 31c22, pecctha 3b6, pecctha 29a28, pecctha 9d5, rechta 18c9, rechta 27a24, rechta 28c23, recta 21c1, sáitha 25d16, sásta 9c31, smachta 18c18, srotha 32c16, testassa 15a3, testassa 16a26, testassa 24c16, trátha 25c23.

Wb.: -o

aecilso 22c11, áisso 29a13, asithichtho 6a5, beotho 11a19, betho 10b3, betho 10b1, betho 10b15, betho 13c7, betho 14b10, betho 1a3, betho 29a8, betho 31b18, bratho 25d20, brátho 25d20, brátho 29c2, césto 32d3, césto 3d24, cholno 19a17, cimbedo 93b20, cllno 3d23, collno 3d1, collno 3d30, colno 20c20, colno 21b11, colno 22d13, colno 31d2, colno 31d3, colno 4a9, colno 6b4, colno 7c13, colno 9c10, crochtho 8a5, cumsanto 33b7, daggnímo 6a8, dagnímo 6a11, dáno 27d10, dílhotho 2c17, droggnímo 6a8, drogimrato 3d5, drognímo 27c13, dúlo 13b28, ecolso 13a3, ferto 12a9, fesso 14d30, firinnigtho 3d22, flaitheo 26a5, flatho 23d31, flatho 26a5, flatho 26a10, flatho 9d2, fochatho 17d28, fognamo 3d14, foilsichtho 12d15, gnímo 3c23, gnímo 3d6, imraitheo 3d6, incholnichtho 4d27, inspirito 12b33, inspirito 21c2, inspirito 21d5, inspirito 24c13, inspirito 4a7, intairmchrutto 15b6, laín-pectho 26a4, nachdatho 5c19, oipretho 3c14, pecctho 27b10, pecctho 5c8, pectho 13d27, pectho 14c19, pectho 14d1, pectho 14d4, pectho 14d27, pectho 21b4, pectho 21b5, pectho 22b21, pectho 25d8, pectho 29a15, pectho 3c14, pectho 3c38, pectho 3d20, pectho 5c19, pectho 9b12, pectho 9b13, pectho 9d5,

rechto 13d26, rechto 15a34, rechto 19b12, rechto 19d11, rechto 1d16, rechto 20a7, rechto 20a12, rechto 21b13, rechto 24a7, rechto 26a8, rechto 2b13, rechto 2c15, rechto 2c18, rechto 31d1, rechto 31d4, rechto 31d6, rechto 7c19, recto 15a20, recto 15a31, recto 19b16, recto 19b19, recto 19c14, recto 2b26, recto 31b14, recto 3c4, recto 3c36, recto 3d11, recto 4d12, recto 4d22, recto 6a27, recto 1d15, recto 4d11, rélto 12d15, spirito 12a17, spirito 12d21, spirito 14c42, spirito 20b16, spirito 21c22, spirito 27c28, spirito 29d21, spirto 12a11, spirto 15b20, spirto 22b8, spirto 23b26, spirto 3d20, spirto 5d18, spirto 6d11, spiruto 9c30, tairmthecto 3d6.

ML: -a

ærchoiltea 26d13, adartha 116b04, adrada 49a23, adrada 73d3, aimsea 104a1, airechsa 131c5, bela 112b12, bendactha 120c8, besa 117d1, besa 31d12, bésa 45d1, betha 46d6, betha 68d9, bratha 40a19, bruithea 34a26, catha 34c11, cesta 74d13, chatha 84c9, cheitbada 98d5, chétbada 98d2, chometa 55d6, chosmailsea 39c22, choteicthea 145a3, choteicthea 84b7, chuarsacha 54c14, clointa 127c22, coimchloda 63d3, coitcensa 37a19, comallada 122d4, croctha 16c5, cuindrigthea 41d1, daerguda 61a27, denma 17b26, denma 19a10, denma 34b10, denma 35b25, denma 35c10, denma 35c11, denma 35d18, denma 38d20, denma 47c13, denmada 27b13, dercada 127a10, desmrechta 22b1, dilguda 124b3, dilguda 46b29, dilguda 46d2, dilguda 98d6, dilgutha 126b5, dilgutha 51c19, dilgutha 55d5, dromma 51a8, dúrtha 84b8, ercheltha 63c16, escumluda 62b1, fertae 16c9 (*GOI* §925), fina 77d5, flatha 14a2, flatha 90a5, fochoda 59b10, fognama 84c12, fola 37c6, forcitlada 30d12, forsingigthea 109c6, frithgnama, fuasnada 16b12, fuasnada 16b12, fuiilema [leg. fuillema] 36a25, gena 55a18, gnima 129a1, gnima 19a10, gnima 35c10, gnima 35d14, gnima 36a13, gnima 37b4, gnima 42c17, gnima 46a2, gnima 48c10, gnima 55c18, gnima 56c1, gnima 56d5, gnima 68d8, gnima 73a10, gnima 80d2, gnumae [leg. gnima] 44a23, gnma [leg. gnima] 23c5, gotha 95d13, héluda 86c1, huachta 94b23, iata 46a8, imdaigthea 71c9, labartha 59a11, labartha 89d1, labartha 89d3, labrada 42c4, labrtha [leg. labartha] 89d2, legtha 38c9, lénda 129d13, londassa 107c14, londassa 20b16, londassa 59a17, londassa 92b12, marbtha 52x00,¹¹ messa 103c9, messa 103d1, messa 109c14, messa 137b07, messa 26a5, messa 69d1, messa 90a11, molta 145c2, oclachsa 46b22, pectha 30d14, pectha 103c12, pectha 123d8, pectha 124b3, pectha 126b4, pectha 127b6, pectha 144d3, pectha 24c2, pectha 33b5, pectha 34a23, pectha 43a3, pectha 54a5, pectha 58a13, pectha 58c6, pectha 71c13, pectha 76a5, pectha 77a7, pectha 77c6, pectha 88a4, rechta 74b5, relta 60a1, réta 37a14, reta 46a18, retha 93b4, sechtaigha 30d17, sechtaigha 31a7, soertha 112c12, soertha 136d2, soertha 35c3, soertha 55d6, soirtha 112a1, soirtha 116b1, soirtha 35c4, soirtha 40b7, soirtha 46b26, soirtha 51d19, soirtha 67a9, soirtha 84c3, soirtha 84c15, sóirtha 92b8, sortha 45b2, tairmtechta 74b5, tairmtechta 74b7, tessa 94b24, tinchitlada 76b1, tinda [leg. tintuda] 139a1, tinduda 125b8, tinruda 47c16, tindhuda 57a9, tintuda 103d22, tintuda 110b6, tintuda 115b5, tintuda 126c11, tintuda 2b3, tintuda 2d11, tintuda 3a8, tintuda 3a14, tintúda 45d2, tintuda 46c5, tintuda

¹¹The gloss number here is provided by Griffith & Stifter (2013), as *Thes.* (I, 164) does not provide one for this lengthier gloss.

47d2, tintuda 50b12, tintuda 50c21, tintuda 53c6, tintuda 54c3, tintuda 54d19, tintuda 58a14, tintuda 61a12, tintuda 61c7, tintuda 62a14, tintuda 62b24, tintuda 63a1, tintuda 64b7, tintuda 65c1, tintuda 65c8, tintuda 66b9, tinda 66d19 [leg: tintuda]), tintuda 67a3, tintuda 67c11, tintuda 67cd3, tintuda 67d16, tintuda 73d8, tintuda 77b2, tintuda 80d1, tintuda 82a4, tintuda 83b12, tintuda 83c4, tintuda 83c9, tintuda 84c18, tintuda 86a3, tintuda 87d7, tintuda 88c10, tintude 47a14, triba 66c8, tuailngigthea 96b20.

ML: -o

ainsedo 23c21, ainsedo 67d24, ainsedo 68c14, ainsemo 35a18, airilteo 138c7, aiso 31c1, aiso 54a13, aiso 65c3, aiso 66d5, aiso 67a9, aiso 67b1, aisso 27c2, aisso 54a19, atlaichtho 66c5, béso 27a9, betho 128d15, betho 16c5, betho 54a15, betho 56b24, betho 88a3, broto 32c10, chataigtheo 128a11, chathaigtheo 67d19, chatho 34a20, chatho 83a11, chomainsedo 42b28, chosmailseo 107c16, chosmailseo 62a2, chuindrigthedo 24b8, dilgudo 32d15, dolo 42b11, dulo 85b16, dumichtho 44d4, eslabrigtheo 93a24, fatho 74d13, feidligtheo 15a5, fers 103d26, ferso 107c16, ferso 138c18, fino 77d3, fino 77d6 , fino 77d7, flatho 137b5, foammamigtho 67c2, fochodo 22d9, fochodo 50d8, fochodo 64a2, fochodo 77d6, forgnuso 40a20, frithchathaigtho 16a12, geno 82c5, gessedo 73b13, glanto 51a20, gnímo 15a2, gnimo 15a3, gnimo 15a5, gnimo 23c25, gnimo 23c26, gnuso 47d8, homno 128d7, iarfaichtheo 35c29, iarfaichtho 45d19, iarfaichtho 57d1, iarfaigtho 24b10, indedet 61a18 , labartho 123b14, loichtho 62a19, molto 126b18, molto 51d10, omno 128d9, pectho 126b6, pectho 49b7, pectho 53b21, pectho 60b19, pectho 60b19, rebo [leg. trebo] 66d24, rechto 46c8, rechto 46c20, rechto 60b12, rechto 63a15, rechto 74b7, rechto 75d5, rechto 97a14, retho 42c19, reto 20a19, reto 44d6, sechtaigtho 30d6, sechtaitho 31d13, srotho 93b11, suidigtho 111c4, thomtho 26d2, threb 67b1, threbo 66d1, threbo 66d5, threbo 66d11, threbo 66d16, threbo 66d22, threbo 66d23, threbo 67a1, threbo 67a6, threbo 67a9, threbo 67a9, threbo 67a13, thribo 66c15, thribo 66d1, thribo 72d1, thribo 72d2, tobrúchto 64c15, toimseo 20a21, toimseo 35c23, trebo 100b5, trebo 106d10.

Sg: -a

aimmerda 32a8 (dual), ainmneda 209b28, alta 95a5, bindiusa 23a3, c(h)esta 209b28, cesta 143a3, cesta 26b15, chest 142b1, chesta 148b14, chésta 208b14, chesta 77a7, chocda 64b9, choitchennsa 203a14/15, dana 156b4, denma 184b3, dénma 212a11, ehta 46b5, etha 17b13, etha 65a10a, etha 69b3, etha 70a1, feda 121a1, feda 12a5, feda 70a12, fersa 101a2, fersa 148b15, forgnusa 203a2, foxlada 207a1, foxlada 78b3, gnia 147a1, gnima 140b4, gnima 142b1, gnima 144b1, gnima 145b4, gnima 148b13, gnima 148b18, gnima 178b1, gnima 26b15, gnima 77a7, gona 37b20, hetha 51b6, i(n)tliucta 3a4, immognama 2b3, instliuchta 210b2, intlichta 210a5, intliuchta 198b4, intliuchta 3a8, intsluchta 209b30, lectha 11b2, mora 112, mora 94a3, netha 64a9, netha 67b20, nihelsa 14a2, nihelsa 6b5, nintliuchta 3a3, renda 73a12, róida 203-4, tesa 5a8.

Sg: -o

ainmnedo 201b1, ainmnedo 209b11, ainmnedo 215a9, ainmnedo 92a92, air-ebthado 200b9, aitrebthad 198a13, aitrebthado 198a12, aitrebthado 198a17,

aitrebthado 200b10, aittrebthado 204a2, aittrebthado204a1, cesto 140b4, chest 196b2, chésto 140a5, chesto 144b1, chésto 178b1, chésto 194b1, chétbutho 25b7, denmo 2a7, dulo 76b7, dúlo 76b8, dúlo 76b8, fedo 33b6, fedo 35b12, ferso 136a1, ferso 136a2, fino 122a2, forgnuso 198a4, forgnuso 216b3, gnimo 149b7, gnimo 153a2, gnimo 153a3, gnimo 154a4, gnimo 188a28, gnimo 188b2, gnimo 194b1, gnimo 196b2, gnimo 197a11, gnimo 209b28, gnimo 28a21, gnúso 215a12, gotho 200a6, gotho 3b1, gotho 5a4, hetho 60a4, immognomo 188b1, innriccso 59b3, innstliuchto 26a9, lino 162b2, reto 187b1, sotho 65a6, srotho 35b7, togarthado 215a9.

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A TRACT ON NEMED'S ANCESTRY AND DESCENDANTS

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a brief tract preserved in two copies, both of them in the Great Book of Lecan, concerned with some of the legendary settlers of Ireland. The text may be earlier than *Lebor Gabála Éirenn*, dating possibly from the tenth century, and its doctrines differ from those of that work in several respects. Particularly interesting is its account of the Túatha Dé, whom it associates with contemporary magical practices, and for whom it claims some kind of 'worship' by the practitioners of various arts.

THE BRIEF TEXT edited below exists in two copies, both of them in the Great Book of Lecan (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy MS 2 P 2 (535); hereafter Lec), and both in the hand of the scribe Giolla Íosa Mór Mac Fírbhisigh writing early in the fifteenth century.¹ The first of these, designated A below, appears in a collection of anecdotes and bits of lore: it is immediately preceded by a story concerning Colum Cille, and is followed by an account of Find mac Cumail and his *fian*.² The second, designated B, appears in the manuscript's second copy of *Lebor Gabála Éirenn* (hereafter *LGE*), belonging to the version designated recension *c* by Mark Scowcroft;³ within that work, it is placed at the end of the section devoted to the settlement of Ireland by Nemed.⁴

¹I have already presented the text of one of these copies, with some variants from the other along with translation and discussion, in 'Lebor Gabála Éirenn "The book of invasions of Ireland"', in Michael Clarke, Erich Poppe and Isabelle Torrance (eds), *Classical Antiquity and Medieval Ireland: An Anthology of Medieval Irish Texts and Interpretations* (London, 2024), 335–44. The aims of that collection, and the space available, precluded a full edition; in undertaking to supply that desideratum here, I am mindful of Michael Clarke's anticipation that several of the 'interim editions' in the volume were 'likely to be superseded once a fuller study of the text has been made' (ibid., xxii). Various of the interpretations advanced below do in fact supersede positions taken in the 2024 collection. All translations are my own.

²Fol. 193va7–37; this was published as part of a 'Lecan Miscellany' by Toirdhealbhach Ó Raithbheartaigh (ed. and trans.), *Genealogical Tracts I* (Dublin, 1932), 197–8. In fact our tract does not form part of the genealogical miscellany proper, which occupies fols 177r–183r of the manuscript. Another autonomous text included in his 'Miscellany' by Ó Raithbheartaigh is an account of the Gaelic settlement taken from fol. 191va, a fragment of which is also preserved in the Book of Leinster; this was subsequently edited by Vernam Hull, 'The Milesian invasion of Ireland', *ZCP* 19 (1933), 155–60.

³For Scowcroft's most recent assessment of *LGE*'s textual history, see his chapter 'Mediaeval recensions of the *Lebor Gabála*', in John Carey (ed.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: Textual History and Pseudohistory*, ITS Subsidiary Series 20 (London, 2009), 1–20.

⁴Fol. 277ra19–rb14; published in R. A. S. Macalister (ed. and trans.), *Lebor Gabála Éirenn: The Book of the Taking of Ireland*, ITS 34, 35, 39, 41, 44 (London, 1938–56), iii, 152–5. Cf. A. G. van Hamel, 'On *Lebor Gabála*', *ZCP* 10 (1915), 97–197, at 163, 166; and Ó Raithbheartaigh, *Genealogical Tracts I*, 198–201.

It appears that our text was first written as an independent composition, rather than originating as an addition to some version of *LGÉ* recension c, with copy A excerpted from the same source.⁵ This is evident from the age of its language (discussed below), from the extensive divergences between the two copies, and from indications (also discussed below) that some form of it may have influenced recension *b* of *LGÉ*. For Giolla Íosa to have added such a tract to his text of *LGÉ* would have been in character: as Tomás Ó Concheanainn has noted, he also included there extracts from a synchronistic treatise and from the *Bórama* saga, as well as material from the *Annals of Tigernach*;⁶ and he can indeed be seen to have made several further additions as well.⁷

As the tract is quite short, I provide diplomatic texts of both copies below; these are followed by a discussion of language and apparent date, as preliminaries to offering a critical text, together with translation, textual notes and further discussion.

DIPLOMATIC TEXTS⁸

A.

§1. Parrthalon & Neimead da mac Agnomain meic Stairde meic Thæt meic Beim meic Mair meic Aireacht meic Fortheacht meic Iathacht mic Iathfeth meic Noí.

§2. Sil mBeothaig meic Iardainis ⁊ sil Semians meic Stairns ⁊ sil Feargusa Lethdeirg is ead fil a Manaind.

§3. Is airi as-bearddas Fir Bolc imme-curdís fir Earann i mbolcaib do reic fri Grecu ar or ⁊ airged do suigiud ima chathrachaib ar nathracha ⁊ ar biastaib nemneachaib. Is de-sin a mbunad ⁊ no theigdis cusin ceandach-sin sair ⁊ inair ⁊ is do sil Nemid doib.

§4. At-bearad aroili Tuatha Dea do sil Beothacht meic Iardanainis doib .i. do muintir Nemid don lucht do-chuadar sair do chuindgid na hingine. Ar gabtha thair ⁊ do-ronsad feis i n-airthir co tancadar iarum cind rée moiri a n-úi ⁊ a n-iarmai. La meid a n-eolais dano do-lodar genóo⁹ gen eathró co n-eistedar for Sleib Conmaicni ⁊rl-.

§5. At-beraid aroile hi deamna grada examla Túatha Dé Danann ⁊ it iad-side do-deachadar do nim ar æn risin loinges do-deachadar la deamon do nim.

⁵Cf. my discussion of this question in Carey, 'Lebor Gabála Éirenn "The book of invasions of Ireland"', 341.

⁶Tomás Ó Concheanainn, 'Lebor Gabála in the Book of Lecan', in Toby Barnard, Dáibhí Ó Cróinín and Katharine Simms (eds), 'A Miracle of Learning' – *Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning: Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan* (Aldershot, 1998), 68–90, at 72–87; cf. Macalister, *LGÉ* ii, 241–2; iii, 97; v, 308–9; Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Cath Almaine*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 25 (Dublin, 1978), 66–70; R. Mark Scowcroft, 'Leabhar Gabhála – Part I: The growth of the text', *Ériu* 38 (1987), 81–142, at 123, 128.

⁷I hope to make these additions the subject of a study in the near future.

⁸All unambiguous abbreviations have been silently expanded, including the horizontal suspension stroke when this signifies *n*.

⁹There appears to be a superscript *n* above this word, yielding an emended reading *gen nóo*.

Ar-fæmad curpa aerda umpu do millead 7 do aslach sil Adaim. Is e leas fris' tudchadar æs in athiarmorachta-sin a ndiaig demain 7 a muintiri.

§6. Tiagaid tra in lucht-sin highi. Thiagaid fo muri. Tiagaid hi conrechtaib. Tiagaid co tuaithcingtha. Tiagaid co haimidi. Is inand bunadus doib uile .i. muintir demain iad uili.

§7a. Ata fis 7 eacna leo co n-adradis 7 ro chachnadar brichta goband 7 druid 7 leigi 7 luamnachta 7 deogbairi 7 airidechta. Is uaidib atait adraithi i nEri. Finit.

B.

§1. Is examail fo-gabar in genelach-sa Parrthalon 7 Nemid .i. Da mac Agnoimean meic Sdairn meic Thæid meic Beoein meic Mair meic Airtthecht meic Iathacht meic Iathfeth meic Næi meic Laimiach.

§2. Sil mBeothaich meic Iardanainis. Sil Semianis meic Sdairnainis. Sil Fergusa Leithdreg meic Nemid is ead fil i Mainn Conain.

§3. Is airi ad-bearar Fir Bolc friu uair do-berdis uir leo a hErinn da reic re Grecaib ar or 7 ar airgead do thuigiudug na cathrach. Uair do badar naithreacha nemnecha nemi 7 piasta urchoidecha isna cathrachaib-sin la Grécu 7 is e-sin bunad firindi in adbair fa n-abar Fir Bolc riu 7 no theiddis cusin cendaigecht-sin soir 7 anoir cacha bliadna 7 Fir Domnann o domaintoirnem na huiiri isna bolcaib 7 Gaileoin ona tachailt. Ocus is do sil Nemid doib dib linaib.

§4. Ad-bearaid aroile Tuatha De Danann comad do sil Beothaich meic Iardanainis doib .i. do muintir Nemid don lucht do-chuadar soir do chuindgid na hingine. Ar gabus tair 7 do-ronsad feis mair thair co tangadar iarum cind re maire a n-ui 7 a n-iarmui. La med a n-eolais dano do-lodar can noithi cen eathra co ndeisidar for Sleib Conmaicne Rein i Condachtaib.

§5. At-beraid aroile comad deamna grada ecsamla Túatha Dé Danann 7 comad iad-siden do-deachadar do nim ar æn risin loinges do-deachaid Luitcifear cona deamnaib do nibh. Ar-fæmad chuirp ærda umpu do millead 7 d'aslach for sil nAdaim. Is he les fris' tucadar æs in iarmorachta-sin i ndiaid demain 7 a muintiri.

§6. Tiagaid thra in lucht-sin i sidaib. Ocus tiagaid fo muirib. Ocus tiagaid tiagaid¹⁰ i conrechtaib. Ocus tiagaid co hamaide. Ocus tiagait co tuaithcingtha. Is as-sin is bunadus doib uili .i. muintir deamain.

§7b. Ni ruca genelach na ndaine-sea for cula nocho ro-féasidar fir in domain olchena. Ocus do-ræbadar in sluag-sa uili la firindi mac Milead 7 la tairchedal chreidme Críst. Acht ata isin Libar de subternis As-beartadar aroile comad fileada do Grecaib Túatha Dé Danann co n-imad a cumachta co n-imthigdis for murib cen leasdrú i ndiaid inna deasorbiba in bithfáithi. Robdar tuatha rig 7 cenela. It e a n-anmanna na coimthech cona Tuathaib Dea .i. Dealbæth 7 Ealathan 7 Breas las' roferad cath Bresi .i. cath Muigi Turead fri Fomorchaib 7 Dagda 7 Lug Lamfota foden.

¹⁰Dittography due to moving between columns.

LANGUAGE AND DATE

When I have had occasion to refer to this tract in the past, I have considered copy B only, and have not looked closely at its language; on this basis, I have assumed that it was a work of the later Middle Ages.¹¹ Closer scrutiny, however, and comparison with the readings of A, indicate that it is earlier than this: I can see no reason why it cannot date from the tenth century, and feel that it would be difficult to date it later than the eleventh.

Scribal Features

As both A and B are the work of a single individual, there is a high likelihood that some shared readings reflect not the exemplar, but the scribal habits of Giolla Íosa himself. Before considering aspects of the language of the text that hold real potential as dating criteria, accordingly, it will be useful to eliminate those which probably belong to this category. Examples for comparison will be mainly taken from sections of the copy of *LGÉ* recension *c* in Lec that are adjacent to copy B of our text, juxtaposed where appropriate with instances drawn from the copy of the same recension in the Book of Ballymote (RIA MS 23 P 12 (536); hereafter BB). For convenience, I shall cite R. A. S. Macalister's edition; but all readings have been checked against the manuscripts.

- Insertion of the glide vowel *a* between *e* and a broad consonant. This is usual in both manuscripts of recension *c*; but there are cases where its absence in BB indicates that it has been supplied by Giolla Íosa in Lec: *nEbha* BB / *nEaba* Lec (*LGÉ* iii, 170, line 1316); *fechta* BB / *feachta* Lec (*LGÉ* iii, 172, line 1338); *nDela* BB / *nDeala* Lec (*LGÉ* iv, 28, §295 n. 9).
- Use of *d* rather than earlier *t* for final /d/. Again this is standard in both manuscripts, but there are cases in which the change is made in Lec only: *ro linsat* BB / *ro linsad* Lec (*LGÉ* iii, 148, §264 n. 18); *iat* BB / *iad* Lec (*LGÉ* iii, n. 45); *do-radsat* BB / *do-radsad* Lec (*LGÉ* iv, 34, §297 n. 1); *ro randsat* BB / *ro roindsead* Lec (*LGÉ* iv, 38, §300 n. 18–18).
- Lec consistently reads *bolc* where BB, and other manuscripts of *LGÉ*, read *bolg*.
- In §3, *airged* A, *airgead* B contrast with the earlier form *argat* (or dative singular *argut*). Palatalisation of the cluster is however standard in the later language,¹² and was in any case employed by Giolla Íosa: thus he gives Níadu's epithet as *Airceadlam*, *Airgedlam* (*LGÉ* iv, 176, §362 (twice); 180, §364) where the Book of Leinster copy of *LGÉ* has *Argatlám*, *Argatlam* (LL lines 1092, 1074, 1092).

¹¹John Carey, *A Single Ray of the Sun: Religious Speculation in Early Ireland*, 2nd ed. (Aberystwyth, 2015), 18–19; Carey, 'The old gods of Ireland in the later Middle Ages', in Katja Ritari and Alexandra Bergholm (eds), *Understanding Celtic Religion: Revisiting the Pagan Past*, New Approaches to Celtic Religion and Mythology 1 (Cardiff, 2015), 51–68, at 57–8.

¹²Thus *airgead* is given as a permissible variant of *argad* in IGT II.11.

- In §5, accusative singular *loinges* in both copies might seem to point to this word's treatment in the source as a masculine noun: a later usage. But this form seems likely to be due to Giolla Íosa, who has accusative and dative singular *loinges* throughout his text of *LGÉ*: accusative singular *loinges* (fol. 272ra44), *a (= i) morloinges* (fol. 279ra32), *don loinges* (fol. 280ra11), *for loinges* (fols 270rb3–5; 275vb33, 39–40; 277ra17; also *for loingeas*, fol. 284va23–4), *re loinges* (fol. 276vb38–40). Rendering an earlier text, Giolla Íosa has *for loinges* in his copy of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* in the Yellow Book of Lecan, by contrast with *for longais* in *LU* 4861; similarly '*com longes* (vs '*com loingis*, *LU* 5489), *la loinges* (vs *la longais*, *LU* 6601), *co longes* (vs *co loingis*, *LU* 6629), *did longes* (vs *dit loingis*, *LU* 6644).¹³ I have therefore emended to *longais* in the edited text below.
- In §7a, I have emended A's *atait* to *at-taat*: the former is very frequent in manuscripts of the later Middle Ages, and freely substitutes for the older form (for instance, in the Old Irish material in legal texts).¹⁴ In his copy of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Giolla Íosa has *atait* where the Book of Leinster version reads *atát*.¹⁵

In normalising below, I have accordingly eliminated these features. Since, as will be demonstrated in detail, the text is evidently Middle Irish, I have also felt justified in restoring *argut* for *airged* A *airgead* B in §3, and *milliud* for *millead* AB in §5: *u*-colouring from the very end of the Middle Irish period can be found in comparable contexts in the *Annals of Inisfallen*.¹⁶ Further individual instances of normalisation are discussed in the textual notes.

Indications of Date

Several aspects of the tract's language indicate that it can scarcely have been composed after the Middle Irish period.

- There are no instances of univertation in the text. Deuterotonic forms are: *as-beirtis* §3, *imme-cuirtis* §3, *at-berat* §4 and §5, *do-chúatar* §4, *do-rónsat* §4, *do-lotar* §4, *do-dechatar* §5, *do-dechaid* §5, *ar-fóemat* §5, *at-tá* §7a, *at-taat* §7a. Although some very common verbs retain deuterotonic flexion into the Early Modern period, the process of univertation is already well established in *Saltair na Rann*, in the late tenth century.¹⁷

¹³John Strachan and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds), *The Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan with Variant Readings from the Lebor na hUidre* (Dublin, 1912), ll. 371–2, 1010, 2072, 2090, 2104.

¹⁴E.g. CIH 206.27, 213.27, 219.16, 350.26, 359.34, 495.7, 522.33, 794.25, 795.14, 1167.20, 1236.20, 1821.28, 1823.3, 1824.5, 1825.28, 1997.35, 2006.4.

¹⁵Strachan and O'Keeffe, *Táin*, l. 2605; LL 10351. This section of the text is missing from *LU*.

¹⁶Seán Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS. Rawlinson B. 503)* (Dublin, 1951), s.aa. 1162 (*asin chuimriuch*), 1177 (*do inriud*, o *Lumniuch*), 1196 (*i cubriuch*), 1203 (*i lLumniuch*).

¹⁷Liam Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', in Kim McCone et al. (eds), *Stair na Gaeilge: In Ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta* (Maigh Nuad, 1994), 282–3. Readings from *Saltair na Rann* will be cited below using the line-numbers in Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Saltair na Rann* (Oxford, 1883).

- The old independent plural passive ending appears to be preserved in *gabtha* §4 (*gabus* B). The ending is found throughout the Middle Irish period,¹⁸ but independent instances grow increasingly rare over time.
- Almost all original strong preterites and perfects are inflected as in Old Irish. This is unremarkable in the case of forms of *téit* (*do-chúatar* §4), *do-tét* (*do-lotar* §4, *do-dechatar* §5, *do-dechaid* §5, *tudchatar* §5) and *tic* (*táncatar* §4). But it may be more significant in that of *ro chachnatar* §7a; and especially in that of *co ndeistetar* §4, retaining the relatively rare old 3 pl. form by contrast with the considerably more common *deisetar*, evidently formed by analogy with other Middle Irish 3 pl. preterites ending in *-setar*, *-satar*.¹⁹
- The old 3 pl. present indicative of the copula *it* continues to be used with plural subjects (§5). There was a tendency for *it* to be replaced by *is* in the course of the Middle Irish period; both forms (with *at* for *it*) are for instance present in the eleventh-century *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*.²⁰
- The relative form of the preverb *imm-* appears to be present in *imme-cuirtis* §3; its retention is according to Liam Breatnach very rare in Middle Irish.²¹ Here relative nasalisation appears to be due to the preceding *úair* ‘because’;²² Breatnach notes that relative nasalisation has almost entirely disappeared in the Middle Irish period.²³
- A short dative is present in *i nÉre* §7a – admittedly, this is one of the words with which the short dative was formulaically retained throughout Middle Irish.
- §7a gives the correct Old Irish *i*-stem genitive plural *leige* (MS *leigi*) for *liaig*; the only examples of the genitive plural offered by *eDIL* are Middle Irish *lega*, Early Modern Irish *leagha*, *legad*.²⁴ Another instance of the early form is genitive plural *lege* in *Cath Maige Tuired*.²⁵

¹⁸Kenneth Hurlstone Jackson (ed.), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (Dublin, 1990), p. 111.

¹⁹Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 301.

²⁰Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, lines 190, 796, 896, 1120–21. As Ruairí Ó hUiginn points out to me, however, *it/at* continued in use as a ‘stylistic archaism’ in the Early Modern period; he notes instances in the *Annals of the Four Masters* extending down into the seventeenth century, also in the ‘Gaelic Marco Polo’. Cf. Damian McManus, ‘An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach’, in McCone et al., *Stair na Gaeilge*, 335–445, at 416–17.

²¹Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 287.

²²Relative nasalisation is much better attested with the related conjunction *óre*, *úaire* (*GOI* 316); but Ruairí Ó hUiginn has also noted instances with (*ind*) *úair*: ‘The Old Irish nasalizing relative clause’, *Ériu* 37 (1986), 33–87, at 36. *Uair* is present only in B, but is necessary to explain relative *imme* in A.

²³‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 287.

²⁴*eDIL* s.v. 1 *liaig* (<https://dil.ie/30125>; accessed 11 October 2024). *IGT* II.1138 appears to give an example of genitive plural *leagh*.

²⁵Elizabeth A. Gray (ed. and trans.), *Cath Maige Tuired: The Second Battle of Mag Tuired*, ITS 52 (Naas, 1982), 54, l. 542.

- The adjective meaning 'great' has the form *már* rather than *mór* in both of its instances in the text (both in §4). Commonest in Old Irish, *már* becomes rare in the Middle Irish period: there are no instances in *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*;²⁶ and out of the approximately 250 examples in the passions and homilies in the *Leabhar Breac*, only two have the *á*-vocalism.²⁷
- In *ar bíastaib nemnechaib* §3, an attributive adjective following a dative plural noun preserves the dative plural ending. This is still the standard usage in *Saltair na Rann*, but tends to give place to the old accusative ending thereafter. Examples can still be found however in later Middle Irish, and indeed thereafter as well.²⁸
- The preposition *fri* has not yet been replaced by *re*, *ri* in §3; also *frisín* §5, *fris'* §5. On this basis I have felt justified in normalising *risín* AB to *frisín* in §5.
- *Airi* in the sense 'on account of it, therefore' (as in §3) is noted by *eDIL* s.v. 1 *ar* as a usage characteristic of the Old Irish glosses, being replaced by *air sin* in the later language.
- Nasalisation after an old neuter is present in *síl mBethaig* §2. For the most part, this usage characterises Old and Middle Irish; when the second element is a proper noun, however, such nasalisation lingered on as a fossil (notably in the names of places and population groups), and can even be found when the first element is in the genitive or dative singular.²⁹ It may however be significant that the neuter pronoun *ed* is used to refer to another of the instances of *síl* in the same paragraph.
- Ruairí Ó hUiginn has called my attention to two further features in §4 which, while not entirely unattested in the later language, are most characteristically early: use of the word *nó* 'ship',³⁰ and prepositionless dative *cinn* in an adverbial phrase referring to time.³¹

The conservative elements in the language of the tract are balanced by others, from several of which it is clear that it cannot be Old Irish.

²⁶In his glossary Jackson notes *deg-máru* on line 737; but the old vocalism was regularly preserved in the second elements in compounds.

²⁷Robert Atkinson (ed. and trans.), *The Passions and the Homilies from the Leabhar Breac*, Todd Lecture Series 2 (Dublin, 1887), ll. 306, 7531. I exclude from consideration instances of the formulaic phrase *céin máir* 'a long time' (ll. 919, 2565, 2998, 3422, 7046).

²⁸Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 252; Tomás Ó Máille, *The Language of the Annals of Ulster* (Manchester, 1910), 126.

²⁹Breatnach, 'An Mheán-Ghaeilge', 239; Ó Máille, *Language of the Annals of Ulster*, 129–31.

³⁰While *eDIL* s.v. 2 *nó*, *noe* notes examples even in later Middle Irish, most of its citations are from earlier sources.

³¹Thus *GOI* 537; and cf. the exact parallel to our phrase in *cinn rehe*, *Wb.* 4c11. This usage is however still found in the poetry of Flann Mainistrech (died 1056): *cind cethri ndíni* 'at the end of four generations' (*LL* line 23415).

- In *do-rónsat* §4, the augmented preterite passive stem of *do-gní* is used in the 3 pl. preterite active. This use of the preterite passive form of this verb for the active appears to have arisen in the tenth century: examples are found in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, *Bethu Phátraic* and *Saltair na Rann*.³²
- In *do-chúatar* §4, lenition follows the first preverb of a non-relative compound verb; similarly, lenition follows a non-relative verbal particle in *no théigtis* §3, *ro chachnatar* §7a. Kenneth Jackson held that ‘simple and prototonic active verbs after the preverbs *no*, *ro*, *ní* etc., and the tonic part of deuterotonics when non-relative (as well as when relative) must have been generally lenited in MI or at any rate in later MI’,³³ and there is already plenty of evidence of these developments in *Saltair na Rann*. Thus there are instances of *do-chúaid* at 2101, 3685, 3711, 3877, 3981, 4001, 4745, 4776, 5333, 5625, etc.; with *no*, note e.g. *no chinned* 4019, and instances with *ní* at 519, 842, 3123, 5485, 6139, 8181.³⁴
- The verb *as-beir* appears with a meaningless infixed pronoun in *at-berat* §§4 and 5 (but note *as-bearddas* A in §3, on the strength of which I have restored *as-beirtis* despite *ad-bearar* in B). The form with petrified infix is already well established in *Saltair na Rann*.³⁵
- In *na hingine* §4, the feminine genitive singular article *na* corresponds to earlier *inna*. Although the later form, *na* is already extensively attested in Old Irish: examples in the glosses include *Wb.* 12c11, 16a12, 18d14; *ML* 18d24, 19c9, 20a20.³⁶ For the possibility that there is in fact an instance of *inna* in §5, see the textual notes.
- Several augmented preterites appear to be used with the sense of the narrative preterite rather than the perfect: *do-chúatar* §4, *do-rónsat* §4, *ndeistetar* §4, *do-dechatar* §5, *do-dechaid* §5, *tudchatar* §5, *ro cachnatar* §7a. Again, this is a development that began within the Old Irish period, but became prevalent in Middle Irish.³⁷
- The old 3 pl. independent personal pronoun *é* is replaced by *íat* (§5). Examples of the latter are present not only in *Saltair na Rann* (5517, 8355) but also in *Bethu Phátraic*.³⁸

This is a diminutive text; and the indications of date that it affords are few, and fairly unspecific. Most of them would accommodate a time of composition anywhere in the Middle Irish period. There is however nothing in the tract’s

³²Examples in *DIL* s.v. *do-gní*, col. 285, ll. 60–3.

³³Jackson, *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, 77.

³⁴Cf. Breatnach, ‘An Mheán-Ghaeilge’, 278–9.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 284–5. With *as-beir* in particular, note in *Saltair na Rann* the example *at-beir* 4169.

³⁶Cf. James Carney, ‘The dating of early Irish verse texts, 500–1100’, *Éigse* 19/2 (1983), 177–216, at 199–200.

³⁷Discussion in Kim McCone, *The Early Irish Verb* (Maynooth, 1987), 98–104.

³⁸Kathleen Mulchrone (ed. and trans.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (Dublin, 1939), ll. 1053, 2649.

language incompatible with composition in the tenth century; and the use of *már* rather than *mór*, together with *imme-cuirtis* with relative preverb and relative nasalisation, *airi* in the sense 'therefore', and (if correctly restored) feminine genitive singular *inna*, appear to me to tip the balance in favour of an earlier rather than a later dating. Placing the text so early would also make sense in terms of its divergence from the doctrines of *LGÉ*, a work which clearly became widely influential soon after its first composition;³⁹ and of its agreements with the earlier *Scél Tuáin*, detailed below.

Copies A and B have different conclusions, which I designate **§7a** and **§7b** respectively. I take the view that **§7a** represents what was found in the exemplar, while **§7b** has been introduced as a substitute for this; see discussion in the textual notes below. I may however be mistaken on this point; and the language of **§7b** is in any case deserving of comment.

Although **§7b** exhibits several late features, these need not be earlier than the current scribe: thus the paragraph also contains the conjunction-phrase *comad*, which can be seen to have been added by B in **§4**, and again twice in **§5**. There are several conservative forms: *s*-subjunctive *rofeasidar*, strong preterite *do-ræbadar* and *as-beartadar*, the original independent 3 pl. pronoun *e*, the short form *Tuathaib Dea* without *Donann/Danann*, and the old vocalism in *-fota*. None of these features necessarily indicates a date earlier than, or even particularly early in, the Middle Irish period; *inna* as a form of the definite article, by contrast, does look quite early. There appears accordingly to be room for the conjecture that the mysterious *Liber de subternis* ('Book of the Subterranean Ones') may have been an Old Irish text.

EDITED TEXT

§1. Partholón 7 Nemed, dá mac Agnomain maic Stairn maic Thaít maic Beoéin maic Máir maic Airecht maic Íathacht maic Íathféth maic Noí.

§2. Síl mBethaig maic Íardanainis. Síl Sémiainis maic Stairnainis. Síl Fergusa Lethdeirg: is ed fil i Mainn Chonáin.

§3. Is airi as-beirtis Fir Bolg, úair imme-cuirtis úir leo a hÉrinn i mbolgaib, do reic fri Grécu ar ór 7 ar argut, do súidiugud ima cathracha ar nathrachaib 7 ar bíastaib nemnechaib. Is de-sin a mbunad 7 no théigtis cusin cennach-sin sair 7 anair 7 is do síl Nemid dóib.

§4. At-berat araili: Túatha Déa, do síl Bethaig maic Íardanainis dóib .i. do muintir Nemid, don lucht do-chúatar sair do chuindgid na hingine. Ar gabtha thair 7 do-rónsat feis máir co táncatar iarum cind rée máire a n-uí 7 a n-iarmuí. La méit a n-eólais dano do-lotar cen nó cen ethru co ndeistetar for Sléib Conmaicne Réin i Connachtaib.

§5. At-berat araili it demna gráda écsamla Túatha Dé Donann 7 it íat-side do-dechatar do nim ar óen frisin longais do-dechaid la demon do nim. Ar-fóemat

³⁹On this point see e.g. John Carey, 'Lebor Gabála and the legendary history of Ireland', in Helen Fulton (ed.), *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society* (Dublin, 2005), 32–48, at 45.

curpu áerda umpu do milliud 7 do aslach síl Ádaim. Is é les fris' tudchatar áes inna tíarmórachta-sin i ndiaid demain 7 a muintire.

§6. Tiagait trá in lucht-sin i síde. Tiagait fo muiri. Tiagait i conrechtaib. Tiagait co túaithchingtha. Tiagait co h-aimiti. Is inann bunadus dóib uile .i. muintir demain.

§7a. At-tá fis 7 ecna leo co n-adraitis 7 ro chachnatar brichtu gobann 7 druad 7 leige 7 lúamnachta 7 deogbaire 7 araidechta. Is úaidib at-taata adrada i nÉre. Finit.

TRANSLATION

§1. Partholón and Nemed, the two sons of Agnoman son of Starn son of Tat son of Beoén son of Már son of Airecht son of Íathacht son of Japhet son of Noah.

§2. The lineage of Bethach son of Íardanainis. The lineage of Sémiainis son of Stairnainis. The lineage of Fergus Lethderg: it is that which is in Mainn Conáin.

§3. This is why they used to be called 'Fir Bolg' ['Men of Bags']: because they used to carry soil with them from Ireland in bags, to sell to the Greeks for gold and silver, to be put around their cities against serpents and poisonous beasts. Hence is their origin; and they used to go to and from the east on that business, and they are of the lineage of Nemed.

§4. Some say: the Túatha Dé are of the lineage of Bethach son of Íardanainis; that is, of the people of Nemed, of the company who went eastward to ask for the maiden. For they were seized in the east, and they made a great wedding in the east, so that afterward, at the end of a long time, their grandsons and their great-grandsons came. So great was their knowledge that they came without ships, without vessels, so that they rested upon Slíab Conmaicne Réin in Connacht.

§5. Others say that the Túatha Dé Donann are demons of a special kind, and that it is they who came from heaven together with the exile which came from heaven with the Devil. They put on bodies of air to ruin and to tempt the lineage of Adam. That is the errand on which the folk of that following came, in the train of the Devil and his household.

§6. That company, then, go into the hollow hills. They go beneath the seas. They go in wolf-shapes. They go to those who turn against the sun. They go to witches. They all have the same origin: the household of the Devil.

§7a. They have knowledge and wisdom, so that they used to be worshipped. And they recited spells of blacksmiths and of druids and of physicians and of navigation and of cupbearers and of chariot-driving. It is from them that there is worship [of idols] in Ireland. *Finit.*

[§7b.⁴⁰ The genealogy of these folk cannot be carried back, nor can the men of the world know it. And this whole host perished on account of the righteousness of the sons of Míl, and on account of the foretelling of the faith of Christ. But [this] is in the *Liber de subternis* ['Book of the Subterranean Ones']: 'Others said that the Túatha Dé Danann⁴¹ were poets of the Greeks with the abundance of their power, so that they used to go upon the seas without vessels, after the They were tribes of kings, and races. These are the names of the companions among the Túatha Dé: Delbáeth and Elatha and Bres – by whom was fought the battle of Bres, i.e., the battle of Mag Tuired against the Fomóraig – and the Dagda, and Lug Lámfota himself']

TEXTUAL NOTES

§1. *Partholón 7 Nemed*: B here reads *Is examail fogabar in genelach-sa Parrthalon 7 Nemid .i.* 'This genealogy of Partholón and Nemed is found differently, i.e. ...'. This wording is evidently secondary, serving as a bridge between this passage and the conclusion of the Nemed section in *LGÉ* which immediately precedes it.

Partholón: Both A and B read *Parrthalon* here. The spelling with *-rr-* is characteristic of recension *c* of *LGÉ*, while that with *a* in the second syllable is specifically characteristic of Lec: thus, although Macalister's apparatus does not always make this clear, the name is almost exclusively so spelled in the *Partholón* section of that manuscript's copy of recension *c* (e.g. fol. 273ra 8, 13, 24, 27, 31, 34, 40, 41, 42 (twice), 48; with abbreviated *Parr-* at 43, 46 and instances with single *-r-* at 10, 12). Since the spelling *Partholón* appears to be that consistently found in twelfth-century manuscripts, I have adopted it here.⁴²

§2. *Síl mBethaig*: I have here normalised against both copies (*Síl mBeothaig* A, *Síl mBeothaich* B); similarly in §4 below. The spelling with *-eo-* is characteristic of Lec (also of BB), but more conservative versions of *LGÉ* have *-e-* in the first syllable: this is confirmed by internal rhyme between *Bethaig* and *srethaib*, *LGÉ* iv, 214, ll. 1807–8.

i Mainn Chonáin: I have tentatively followed B here, regarding A's *a Manaind* 'in Man' as a *lectio facilior*. The name *Mainn* or *Moin(n) Conáin* is applied in *LGÉ* to a region in Britain settled by the descendants of Fergus Lethderg.⁴³ Otherwise, it seems to appear only in much later sources: *AFM* s.a. 960, and

⁴⁰§7b appears in B instead of §7a, the latter being in my view likelier to represent the original; see discussion below. For the text of the former, see the diplomatic edition of B above.

⁴¹The manuscript here has *.i.d.d.* I expand the final word using the later spelling *Danann*, as this is the form which the scribe uses when he writes the name in full in B §4 above.

⁴²Thus *LU* 1224, 1231; *LL* 392, 413; J. H. Bernard and Robert Atkinson (ed. and trans.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, 2 vols (London, 1898), i, 159.

⁴³*LGÉ* iii, 126, 148, 156, 176. In the last of these instances, internal rhyme with *raind* indicates the original vocalism.

(citing *LGĒ*) Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*.⁴⁴ I have supplied the lenition after dative singular *Mainn*; if its absence in B is not merely scribal, it could be an indication of lateness.

§3. *as-beirtis*: I am grateful to Ruairí Ó hUiginn for the persuasive suggestion that *as-bearddas* in A represents the 3 pl. imperfect passive, which I have accordingly restored; *ad-bearar ... friu* in B represents a reinterpretation of this form. I am not aware of other examples of *as-beir* being used to mean 'calls, names' without an associated preposition.

imme-cuirtis: I take B's *doberdis* to be a *lectio facilior*, substituting a more common verb and dropping the (nasalising) relative clause following *úair*.

úir leo a hÉrinn: I here adopt the reading of B; A reads *imme-curdís fir Earann*. A's *fir* looks like a misinterpretation of *úir*; and that these 'men' should then be taken to be 'the men of Ireland', even though this does not make much sense in context, is perhaps not surprising.

i mbolgaib: Only A has the phrase *i mbolcaib* here. I have included it for the sake of sense; by the same token, however, it may be preferable to regard it as a *lectio facilior*.

ima cathracha: As the wording of A and B is quite divergent here, I feel that this emendation of A's *chathrachaib* is justified. That *cathracha* stood in the exemplar may explain incorrect *nathracha* A, *naithreacha* B immediately thereafter; see the next note.

ar nathrachaib: I here emend against the testimony of both copies (*ar nathracha* A, *uair do badar naithreacha* B), as the dative plural ending of the adjective in the following clause (*ar biastaib nemneachaib* A) looks like an early reading.

a mbunad: B here reads *bunad firindi in adbair fa n-abar Fir Bolc riu* 'the true basis of the reason why they are called Fir Bolc'. That this additional wording is secondary is suggested by the form *riu*, contrasting with *friu* in B above; and this phrase seems to belong with the clearly secondary explanations of the names of the Fir Domnann and Gaileóin which follow in the same copy (see next note).

sair 7 anair: B here adds *cacha bliadna 7 Fir Domnann o domaintoirnem na huirí isna bolcaib 7 Gaileoin ona tachailt* 'every year; and the Fir Domnann [were so called] from lowering the earth deep into the bags, and the Gaileóin from digging it'. These etymologies appear to have been taken from *LGĒ* recension c, to which this copy of our tract has been added.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Nollaig Ó Muraile (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies*, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003–4), §§40.1, 1006.2.

⁴⁵*LGĒ* iv, 30; the passage is found in BB as well as in Lec. Giolla Íosa also includes these etymologies in a passage inserted earlier in his Nemed section: *LGĒ* iii, 146.

§4. *At-berat araili: Túatha Déa, do síl Bethaig maic Íardanainis dóib:* As Ruairí Ó hUiginn has pointed out to me, the syntax of this clause is unusual: even though there are other instances in which ‘after verbs of relating, thinking, seeing etc. the person or thing about which the information is given is put as direct object after the verb’, the object is in these cases followed by a relative verb in turn. I am grateful to the anonymous reader for pointing out that the apparent difficulty can be resolved by taking this as a case of direct statement, with *Túatha Déa a nominativus pendens*.

Ar gabtha: As Ruairí Ó hUiginn notes, this can also be understood as *argabtha*, 3 pl. preterite passive of *argaib* ‘seizes, captures’. The variant *gabus* in B is peculiar: perhaps the result of misinterpreting a suspension mark?

feis máir thair: I here follow B; *feis i n-airthir* in A evidently arose, as Ó Raithbheartaigh recognised, from misinterpretation of minims. In rendering *feis* as ‘wedding’ I am influenced by the reference earlier in this paragraph to an expedition in quest of a woman; but ‘feast, festival’ would also be possible translations.

§5. *Túatha Dé Donann:* To the best of my knowledge this expression is only found in sources from the eleventh century and later; earlier than that, the shorter form *Túatha Dé(a)* is employed.⁴⁶ *.t.d.d.* in both copies may accordingly be a later modification of original *Túatha Dé*, even as B’s *Tuatha De Danann* in §4 is evidently a modification of the reading preserved there by A as *Tuatha Dea*. It may also be significant that *Scél Tuáin*, which shares other wording with this section of our tract, uses the form *Túatha Dé*.⁴⁷ For *Donann* as a form older than *Danann*, see discussion in the article cited in n. 47.

inna tíarmórchta-sin: In the treatment of B in my article of 2015, I rendered *Is he les fris’ tucadar æs in iarmórchta-sin* as ‘This is where those who inquire about them go (?)’;⁴⁸ as the question mark indicates, however, I was not entirely happy with this conjecture, and in 2024 I proposed instead ‘that is the reason for which that rearguard went’.⁴⁹ The present treatment builds upon the latter interpretation. I have tentatively emended A’s *in ath-* to *inna t-*: not only is no noun *aithíarmóracht* attested (nor, indeed, a verb *ad-íarmórat* from which it would be derived), but *tíarmóracht* and the related *íarmóracht* are taken to be feminine *ā*-stems, rendering a genitive singular article *in* difficult to account for.⁵⁰

§6. *co túaithchingtha:* This is accusative plural of a compound *túaith-chingid*, which is not noted in *DIL*. The literal sense is ‘left-stepper’, i.e. one who walks

⁴⁶ See my remarks in ‘The name “Tuatha Dé Danann”’, *Éigse* 18/1 (1981), 291–4, at 292–3.

⁴⁷ John Carey (ed. and trans.), ‘Scél Tuáin meic Chairill’, *Ériu* 35 (1984), 93–111, at 102, ll. 57–8.

⁴⁸ Carey, ‘Old gods’, 57.

⁴⁹ Carey, ‘Lebor Gabála Éirenn “The book of invasions of Ireland”’, 337.

⁵⁰ Thus genitive singular *iarmorechta*, *CIH* 692.35; discussion in *LELA* s.v. *tíarmóracht*. *Iarmhóracht/iarmhóireacht* is still regarded as feminine in the modern language.

túathbel or counterclockwise; thus Ó Raithbheartaigh translates the word as ‘folk who walk *sinistrorsus*’.⁵¹

§7a. *adrada*: The manuscript has *adraithi*. Ó Raithbheartaigh translated ‘From them are the druids [?]’; but this seems unsatisfactory, if only in light of the spelling *druad* just above. In my preliminary edition I rendered this as ‘adorations [of idols?]’; I am grateful to the anonymous reader for persuasive advocacy of this interpretation, in preference to an alternative reading which I had proposed in the initial version of the present article. The plural phrase *adrada ídal* is very common as a designation for idolatry in the Milan glosses;⁵² I have not encountered it elsewhere.

§7b. As noted above, I take **§7b** to be secondary, having been substituted for **§7a** in the course of the text’s transmission. I am inclined to this opinion by the following considerations:

- **§7b** contradicts what immediately precedes it, reverting to the position of **§4** as if this position had not been advanced previously.
- It duplicates the statement that the Túatha Dé could cross the sea without vessels, already made in **§4**.
- The form of the verb in the phrase *As-beartadar aroile* contrasts with that in *At-berat araili*, shared by both copies in **§§4** and **5**.
- Likewise, *It e* in **§7b** contrasts with *it íat-side* in **§5**.

Accordingly, it is a normalised version of **§7a** that is included in the edition above. The evidence is however not conclusive, as the text sample is so small; so the truth may be the reverse of what I have conjectured here.

Ni ruca genelach ... for cula: I understand this as an error for earlier *Ní rucar genelach* ‘The genealogy cannot be carried back’, meaning that inasmuch as the Túatha Dé are not human, their genealogy cannot be traced to Adam. Another possibility would be to take the verb as 2 sg. *Ní rucae* ‘You could not carry’. It seems to be this passage, or a similar one, that is alluded to in *LGÉ* recension *b*, in a section mentioned below in discussion of the name *Íardanainis* in **§2**: treating of the Túatha Dé, this speaks of ‘the difficulty of carrying their genealogy back’ (*doidhnge a ngeneailg do brith for culu*).⁵³

Another passage clearly related to the opening of this paragraph is found in the copy of *LGÉ* recension *a* in RIA MS D iii 1 (671) (continuing the text in the Book of Fermoy), and in recension *c*. In BB, this reads as follows:

*Is follus nach do deamhnaib na dho sidhaibh doibh. Ar rofeadar cach gur gabhsad cuirp dænna umpu ol [s]odin as firu 7 airimhtheair in geinelach for culu 7 doræbadar la tiachtain creidme.*⁵⁴

⁵¹ Ó Raithbheartaigh, *Genealogical Tracts I*, 198. Macalister’s rendering ‘they go to the powerful’ (*LGÉ* iii, 155) is clearly mistaken.

⁵² *ML*. 46b26, 46b30, 47d10, 49a23, 50a11, 62d1, 63a10, 65d11, 65d12, 73d2–3, 84b9. The phrase glosses *superstitio* in 47d10, and *superstitiones* in 65d11 and 65d12.

⁵³ My translation. *LGÉ* iv, 164; the version of the same passage in recension *c* is given at 246.

⁵⁴ Fol. 19ra31–4; cf. *LGÉ* iv, 134 §318, 202 §371.

'It is evident that they do not belong to demons or to the *síde*. For everyone knows that they assumed human bodies, which is more true; and the genealogy is reckoned back, and they perished with the coming of the Faith.'

indiaid inna deasorbiba in bithfaithi: Macalister rendered this phrase as 'Besides being prophets in the world according to their true inheritance', mistranscribing *in bith* as *i mbith*;⁵⁵ Ó Raithbheartaigh did not venture a translation.⁵⁶ In my own earlier treatment of this text I offered 'according to the fair ease (?) of the eternal prophet', understanding *deasorbiba* as a garbling of earlier *deas-sorbi*;⁵⁷ but as this interpretation does not yield any recognisable sense, I think that it is best relinquished.

coimtech: I take this word to be a variant of *cáemthach* 'friend, companion', and/or of its synonym *comthach*; this seems less incongruous than 'strangers', the translation which I proposed in 2024.⁵⁸ As evidence of a form *caimthech*, *eDIL* compares *cneascáimtigh*, rendered 'naked bedfellows', in *Caithréim Thoir-dhealbhaigh*,⁵⁹ while the homonym *cáemthach* 'friendship, companionship' appears twice as *cæimtech* in *Betha Féchin Fabair*.⁶⁰

cona: Ó Raithbheartaigh translates 'with the (?)', but this should be *cosna(ib)*. Equally tentatively, I take *cona* to be for earlier *ocna(ib)*.

.i. *cath Muigi Turead fri Fomorchaib*: Two relatively late features are present here: use of the dative with *fri*, and velar flexion of *Fomóir* (< *Fomoir*).⁶¹ As the phrase is evidently a gloss, however, it need not constitute evidence for the age of the rest of the passage.

CONTENT AND BACKGROUND

The text begins by identifying Partholón and Nemed as sons of Agnoman, and tracing their ancestry back to Noah (§1). The doctrine that Partholón and Nemed were brothers differs from the position of *LGÉ*, and other legendary-historical sources, according to which Partholón was the son of Sera son of Srú, only Nemed being son of Agnoman.⁶² In the oldest version of the earlier (possibly ninth-century) *Scél Tuáin maic Cairill*, however, they are portrayed as brothers, and sons of Agnoman son of Starn.⁶³ Alternatively, the statement

⁵⁵ *LGÉ* iii, 154–5.

⁵⁶ *Genealogical Tracts I*, 200.

⁵⁷ Carey, 'Lebor Gabála Éirenn "The book of invasions of Ireland"', 339, 344.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 339.

⁵⁹ Standish Hayes O'Grady (ed. and trans.), *Caithréim Thoir-dhealbhaigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, vol. I: *Text*, ITS 26 (London, 1929), 99.

⁶⁰ Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), 'Life of S. Féchin of Fore', *RC* 12 (1891), 318–53, at 322.

⁶¹ On the latter development, see my 'The nature of the Fomoiri: The dark other in the medieval Irish imagination', in Emily Lyle (ed.), *Myth and History in Celtic and Scandinavian Traditions* (Amsterdam, 2021), 25–48, at 26 n. 2.

⁶² Nemed is however said to have been Partholón's great-grand-nephew in *LGÉ* recension *b* (iii, 126–8).

⁶³ Carey, 'Scél Tuáin', 101, ll. 21, 31. This is the reading of the copy in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud Misc. 610, which preserves the most conservative text; the other manuscripts call

in our text could be interpreted as reflecting a misinterpretation of *Lebor Bretnach*, the Middle Irish adaptation of the Cambro-Latin *Historia Brittonum* (early ninth century). There, the Latin *Nimeth filius quidam Agnominis* ‘Nimeth, a certain son of Agnomen’ is rendered *Nemead ... mac saidein araile Atnamain*, where the Irish could also be taken to mean ‘Nemed ... who was another son of Agnoman’ – implying that Partholón, named just previously, was a son of Agnoman as well.⁶⁴ I am however inclined to regard this explanation as less plausible, both because the linguistic indications reviewed above suggest a date rather earlier than that assigned to *Lebor Bretnach* (eleventh century) and, perhaps more tellingly, because there is a further indication of *Scél Tuáin*’s influence at §5 (discussed below).

The pedigree also differs sharply from that which is given for either Partholón or Nemed elsewhere. It can however be compared with pedigrees for the Gaels found in several Irish sources (early genealogical poems, *Auraicept na nÉces*, *Scéla Mošauluim*, *LGÉ*), all of which are indebted to a pedigree for the European ancestor Alanus in *Historia Brittonum*. I have tabulated this evidence in detail elsewhere;⁶⁵ here the comparanda can be concisely noted: *Thait* (cf. *Thoi*, *Toe*, *Toi*, *Thaite*, *Tait*), *Beoéin* (cf. *Boib*, *Boidb*, *Bamb*, *Boinb*, *Buith*, *Boomain*), *Máir* (cf. *Mair*, *Móir*, *Maír*), *Airecht* (cf. *Aurthach*, *Aurthecht*, *Aurtacht*, *Athiecht*, *Aurtecht*, *Arthecht*), *Íathacht* (cf. *Ethach*, *Ethecht*, *Ethiecht*, *Aithecht*).

§2 specifies the three descendants of Nemed who were ancestors of peoples. In *LGÉ*, these are Bethach son of Íarbonél Fáith, ancestor of the Túatha Dé Donann; Sémiún, ancestor of the Fir Bolg; and Fergus Lethderg, ancestor of the Britons.⁶⁶ Even within *LGÉ* there is some variation in these names, with *Íardan(él)* sometimes appearing for *Íarbonél*,⁶⁷ and *Semul* for *Sémiún*.⁶⁸ But *Íardanainis*, *Sémiainis* and *Stairnainis* (evidently for *Starn*) look like elaborated derivatives of the more familiar forms; Macalister designated them ‘childish mystifications’.⁶⁹ In view of our tract’s closeness to the doctrines of *Scél Tuáin* in other respects, it is noteworthy that Sémiún son of *Stairnainis* in the former clearly corresponds to Sémiún son of *Stairai* (v.ll. *Stairn*, *Stariath*) in the latter; whereas *LGÉ* makes Sémiún/Semul the son of Íarbonél/Íardan(él),⁷⁰ or of Érglan

Partholón the son of Sera (ll. 14, 21). (Where my edition has *Agnomain meic Starbuí, do Grécaib*, this should be emended to *Agnomain maic Sta[i]r[n], buí do Grécaib*.)

⁶⁴A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum Ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, [1932]), 21.

⁶⁵John Carey, ‘The ancestry of Féníus Farsaid’, *Celtica* 21 (1990), 104–12, in particular the table between 106 and 107.

⁶⁶Thus recension *a*, *LGÉ* iii, 124–6 §§244–5; iv, 106 §304. Cf. recensions *b* and *c*, *ibid.*, iii, 144 §§258–9, 150 §265; iv, 138 §320, 166 §356. Earlier poems reflect the same doctrine, and were to at least some extent *LGÉ*’s source here: *ibid.*, iii, 176–8; iv, 214.

⁶⁷*LGÉ* iii, 174, l. 1345; 180, l. 1414; iv, 248, l. 2137; v, 488, l. 3875.

⁶⁸*LGÉ* iii, 124 §242; 174, l. 1345; 181 n. 4.

⁶⁹*LGÉ* iii, 198.

⁷⁰*LGÉ* iii, 124 §242, 144 §259. There is also a reference to ‘the descendants of Símon mac Stairn’ (*cloind Simoin m-c Sdairn*) in a list of battles fought by Túathal Techtmar, in a section of recension *c* surviving only in Lec: *LGÉ* v, 318 §593d.

mac Beoáin maic Stairn.⁷¹ In most manuscripts of *Scél Tuáin* the ancestry of the Túatha Dé also involves variant names: they descend from *Beothecht* (v.ll. *Beothach*, *Beoth-*) *mac Iordanen* (v.ll. *Iarboneoil*, *Iordanel*, *Iardonel Fatha*).

Íardanainis recurs at §4 below. Bethach's father is identified as *Íardainis* in a passage in *LGÉ* recension *b*, and also in an associated quatrain: as will be further discussed below, aspects of this passage's wording, as well as its subject (the question whether the Túatha Dé were humans or demons), suggest that it may have been influenced by the forerunner of copy B of our tract.⁷²

The Fir Bolg are the subject of §3, which describes how they travelled to and from Greece, selling Irish soil to the inhabitants as a way of protecting their cities from poisonous creatures. The name *Fir Bolg* (interpreted as 'Men of Bags') is explained as referring to the bags in which the soil was transported. This differs entirely from the account in *LGÉ*, in which they are said to have fled from Ireland to Greece where they were enslaved, and made to haul the earth there in bags; when at last they escaped back to Ireland, they made these bags into the ships in which they travelled.⁷³ A passage attributed to the putatively eighth-century Book of Druimm Snechtai also speaks of the Fir Bolg as fleeing, but in ships stolen from the king of the Greeks.⁷⁴

The idea, implicit in our text, that Irish soil is effective against poison derives from the well-known absence of snakes from Ireland; thus Isidore of Seville already stated that Ireland has no snakes (also no bees, and few birds: *Etymologiae* XIV.vi.6). This statement is repeated in the Latin preface to recension *m* of *LGÉ*, where however it is preceded by the more sweeping assertion that 'the learned attest that Ireland has no snake or lion or frog or harmful mouse or dragon or scorpion or any harmful animal, except the wolf'.⁷⁵ The earliest surviving attestation of the doctrine that this circumstance is due to a property inherent in Ireland itself seems to be a statement of Bede, writing in the eighth century, according to whom the smell of Irish air is fatal to snakes; while anything brought from Ireland, including scrapings from the leaves of Irish books, is effective against their poison (*Historia ecclesiastica* I.1). Ireland's freedom from snakes is first attributed to a blessing by a holy individual in later sources: this is Moses, in some manuscripts of *LGÉ* recension *b* and in recension *c*;⁷⁶ and more famously Saint Patrick, the earliest witnesses to the latter position being various non-Irish writings of the twelfth century.⁷⁷

⁷¹ *LGÉ* iv, 8 §280, 30–32 §296, 42 §303.

⁷² *LGÉ* iv, 164 §353; 246, line 2112.

⁷³ *LGÉ* iii, 124 §244; 144–6 §§259, 262; iv, 14 §286.

⁷⁴ *LGÉ* iii, 124 §244, 144 §259.

⁷⁵ My translation. *LGÉ* i, 164 §101.

⁷⁶ *LGÉ* ii, 34 §119, 58–60 §144.

⁷⁷ These are the *Vita Cottoniana Patricii*, Gerald of Wales's *Topographia Hiberniae* (although Gerald doubts the story, attributing the absence of snakes to the nature of the land), and Jocelin of Furness's *Vita Patricii*: editions by Ludwig Bieler (ed.), 'Anecdota Patriciana: Fragments of a Life of St. Patrick from MSS. Cotton Vitellius E. vii and Rawlinson B 479', in Sylvester O'Brien (ed.), *Measgra i gCuimhne Mhichil Uí Chléirigh* (Dublin, 1944), 220–37, at 228–9; John J. O'Meara (ed.), 'Giraldus Cambrensis in *Topographia Hibernie*: Text of the first recension', *PRIA* 52C (1948–50), 113–78, at 130–1; and John Colgan (ed.), *Triadis thaumaturgae ... acta* (Louvain, 1647), 64–116, at 103. The evidence is usefully summarised by Pádraig A. Breatnach, 'Medieval traditions from

In its opening statement that the Túatha Dé descend from Bethach son of 'Íardanainis' (elsewhere called Íarbonél/Íardan(él) Fáith; see discussion of §2 above), §4 conforms to the doctrine of *LGÉ*. The concluding assertion that they came to Ireland without ships, and alighted upon the mountain of Slíab Conmaicne Réin, is similarly found in *LGÉ* recension *a*, according to which they travelled 'in dark clouds';⁷⁸ this is denied by recension *b*, which has them coming by ship, while recension *c* attempts to harmonise the two positions.⁷⁹ Recension *a*'s doctrine can be paralleled in one of the poems in the tenth-century *De Suidiugud Tellaig Themra*, which speaks of the Túath Dé coming to Ireland 'in masses of dark mists' (*i coepaib ciach ciar*);⁸⁰ while the poem *Ériu co n-úaille co n-idnaib*, which has them descend from Bethach son of Íarbonél and come to Slíab Conmaicne in Connacht in a cloud, may be of roughly the same date.⁸¹

There is however nothing in any other source corresponding to §4's account of the Túatha Dé having gone into the east on a wooing expedition, and then being 'seized' so that they remained there for several generations. Both this doctrine and the account of the Fir Bolg in §3 differ from the rest of the tradition in portraying the departure of these peoples from Ireland in an auspicious light, by contrast with the harrowing narrative in *LGÉ* of the servitude, revolt, decimation and exodus of the various descendants of Nemed.

Having presented in §4 the position that the Túatha Dé were descendants of Nemed, and hence human, the text proceeds in §5 to give the alternative view that they were demons 'of a special kind' (*gráda écsamla*), who 'came from heaven together with the exile which came from heaven with the Devil' (*do-dechatar do nim ar óen frisin loinges do-dechaid la demon do nim*). This latter clause is particularly close to the statement of *Scél Tuáin* that the learned are not sure of the origin of the *Túatha Dé ocus Andé*, but think it likely that they belong 'to the exile which came from heaven' (*din longis do-deochaid de nim*).⁸²

That demons can assume bodies of air was a common belief in the Middle Ages, inherited from such authorities as Augustine and Isidore.⁸³ In Ireland, this doctrine appears already in the seventh-century *Liber de ordine creaturarum*.⁸⁴ The colophon to the tale *Serglige Con Culainn*, identifying the people of the *síde* as demons, states that their power was so great that 'they used to battle against

west Munster', *Studia Hibernica* 17/18 (1977–8), 58–70, at 60–1.

⁷⁸*LGÉ* iv, 108 §306.

⁷⁹*LGÉ* iv, 140–42 §322, 146 §327, 168–70 §358.

⁸⁰R. I. Best (ed. and trans.), 'The Settling of the Manor of Tara', *Ériu* 4/2 (1910), 121–72, at 132. The poem is also preserved in all three recensions of *LGÉ*; for the relevant quatrain, see ii, 212, ll. 727–30.

⁸¹*LGÉ* iv, 212–14, ll. 1796–813. Attribution in some of the manuscripts to 'the *fili Eochaid*' points to the authorship of Eochaid ua Flainn, for whose identity with Eochaid ua Flannucáin (died 1004) see most recently Mícheál Ó Mainnín, 'Eochaid Ua Flainn agus Eochaid Ua Flannucáin: súil úr ar an bhfianaise', *Léann* 2 (2009), 75–104.

⁸²Carey, 'Scél Tuáin', 102, l. 58.

⁸³Augustine, *De ciuitate Dei* VIII.16, XV.23; Isidore of Seville, *De differentiis* II.xiv.42.

⁸⁴Marina Smyth (ed. and trans.), *The Liber de ordine creaturarum*, Brepols Library of Christian Sources 5 (Turnhout, 2023), 78.

humans corporeally (*co corptha*);⁸⁵ and in *Acallam na Senórach* a woman of the Túatha Dé Donann states: 'I am not a beguiling woman of the *síde* ... I am wearing my own body (*mo chorp féin umum*).'⁸⁶ That supernatural bodies might be of air is suggested by the late medieval tale *Eachtra Thaidhg mheic Céin*: here it is said of the Otherworld woman who lured the mortal prince Connlae to join her in Mag Mell – together, indeed, with Connlae himself – that 'the tips of the lovely green grass scarcely bent beneath the delicate soft white feet of that pair'.⁸⁷

§6 continues to speak of the Túatha Dé as demons. The statement that they go into the *síde* or hollow hills invokes of course one of their primary associations; and they are linked with the sea as early as the tale *Echtrae Chonnlaí*, in which the Otherworld of Mag Mell is reached by crossing the sea, and its inhabitants are called 'people of Tethra', a name associated with the sea.⁸⁸ The identification of them as werewolves is somewhat more unusual, although *síd*-women who can turn themselves into wolves appear in *Acallam na Senórach*,⁸⁹ a wolf is one of the creatures whose shape the Morrígain assumes in *Táin Bó Cúailnge*,⁹⁰ and many further tales associate the Túatha Dé with transformations of various kinds.⁹¹

Most intriguing are the statements that the Túatha Dé go to 'those who turn against the sun' (*túaitchgingtha*) and to 'witches' (*h-amaiti*): here they are clearly associated with condemned forms of magic. As observed in the textual notes above, the noun *túaitchgingid*, apparently a *hapax legomenon*, must designate one who walks counter-clockwise or *túaitibel*, a direction with strong negative connotations in Irish tradition. For an association between the people of the *síde*, and black magic involving the counterclockwise turn, see the entry for *túaitheinte* 'left-pagans' (i.e. fairies) in *O'Davoren's Glossary*, which speaks of 'protection against the left-pagans, that is, against the pagans who turn counterclockwise, the people of the *síde*' (*imcomett ar thuathaginntib .i. arna gindtib impadhus tuaithbil, na sidhaighe*).⁹² The reference is to a passage in the legal tract *Conslechteae*, which speaks of a lapdog being used to protect a pregnant woman from *túaitheinti*.⁹³

⁸⁵Myles Dillon (ed.), *Serglige Con Culainn*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 14 (Dublin, 1953), ll. 844–9.

⁸⁶Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Acallamh na Senórach*, *Irische Texte* 4/1 (Leipzig, 1900), ll. 6380–1.

⁸⁷S. H. O'Grady (ed. and trans.), *Silva Gadelica*, 2 vols (London, 1892), i, 350.

⁸⁸For the text, see Kim McCone (ed. and trans.), *Echtrae Chonnlaí and the Beginnings of Vernacular Narrative Writing in Ireland*, Maynooth Medieval Irish Texts 1 (Maynooth, 2000), 121–3; for the marine associations of the name *Tethra* see *ibid.*, 84.

⁸⁹Stokes, *Acallamh*, ll. 7674–725.

⁹⁰Cecile O'Rahilly (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Cúailnge: Recension I* (Dublin, 1976), ll. 1856–70, 1982–2005; cf. Johan Corthals (ed. and trans.), *Táin Bó Regamna: Eine Vorerzählung zur Táin Bó Cúailnge*, Veröffentlichungen der keltischen Kommission 5 (Vienna, 1987), 55–7.

⁹¹I discuss this topic in some detail in a forthcoming essay 'Transformation, concealment, and the people of the hills'; I have undertaken to survey the evidence for Irish lycanthropy in my article 'Werewolves in medieval Ireland', *CMCS* 44 (Winter 2002), 37–72.

⁹²*CIH* 1531.3–4.

⁹³*CIH* 806.34–807.6; translation and discussion by Liam Breatnach, 'On the glossing of early Irish law-texts, fragmentary texts, and some aspects of the laws relating to dogs', in Anders Ahlqvist et al. (eds), *Celtica Helsingiensia*, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 107 (Helsinki,

Ammaitech or ‘witchcraft’, the art of the *ammait* or ‘witch’, is included in the list of occult skills learned by the descendants of Bethach at the opening of *Cath Maige Tuired*: the tale has taken this list from a copy of recension *a* of *LGÉ*, where however *ammaitech* does not appear.⁹⁴ Later in the same tale, the Dagda speaks of *amaidichtai* (i.e. *ammaitechta* ‘witchcrafts’?) as one of the forms of assault which he will direct against the enemy.⁹⁵ More reminiscent of our own text is the brief Old Irish tale *De Šil Chonairi Móir*, which says of the daughter of a woman brought out of the *síd* that ‘she used to visit *síde*, and seas, and (it was) through witchcraft’ (*foríntegeth síde 7 mure 7 la aimtige*).⁹⁶ Also relevant may be the Middle Irish glosses referring to the type of woman called *bé foimrimme* ‘wandering (?) woman’ in the law tract *Bretha Crólige*: she is described as ‘the feeble-minded woman; i.e., she goes with the *síd*-folk ... they do not come to her except every second time; and when they do come it is not so as to be spoken of (?) that they come’.⁹⁷

§7a states that the Túatha Dé sang or chanted ‘spells’ (*brichta*) pertaining to a series of professions: ‘spells of blacksmiths and of druids and of physicians and of navigation and of cupbearers and of chariot-driving’. Comparable lists are found elsewhere in the literature: the prayer *Fáeth Fiada* or ‘St Patrick’s Breastplate’ asks for protection ‘against spells of women and blacksmiths and druids’ (*fri brichtu ban 7 gobann 7 druad*);⁹⁸ and the Book of Leinster’s copy of *LGÉ* contains the statement ‘Their were the spells of druids and charioteers and trappers and cupbearers’ (*Is accu batar brechta druad 7 arad 7 cuthchaire 7 deogbaire*).⁹⁹ Magic (here referred to as *feiss*, evidently for *fis* ‘knowledge’) is again associated with various groups and professions in a prayer attributed to Colum Cille:

*Feis nEirenn fós fess nAlban feiss suadh feiss druad feiss cerda feiss
cuthchoire feiss corrguine feiss sēdhguine feiss ceich duine bí do-ní
olc 7 amhnus fírm chorp 7 mh’anmuin ...*¹⁰⁰

1996), 11–20, at 16, where *túaitheintí* is rendered ‘fairies’.

⁹⁴Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, 24; *LGÉ* iv, 106 §304. On this interpolation, see Gerard Murphy, ‘Notes on *Cath Maige Tuired*’, *Éigse* 7/3 (1954), 191–8, at 195; John Carey, ‘Myth and mythography in *Cath Maige Tuired*’, *Studia Celtica* 24/25 (1989–90), 53–69, at 53–4.

⁹⁵Gray, *Cath Maige Tuired*, 54.

⁹⁶Lucius Gwynn (ed. and trans.), ‘De Šil Chonairi Móir’, *Ériu* 6 (1912), 130–43, at 133.

⁹⁷D. A. Binchy (ed. and trans.), ‘Bretha Crólige’, *Ériu* 12 (1934–8), 1–77, at 26; my interpretation differs from Binchy’s here. The basis for an association of the *bé foimrimme* with the *ammait* would be considerably enhanced if T. F. O’Rahilly was correct in deriving the latter word from **n-mentí*/**n-mntí* ‘one who is witless’: ‘Notes, mainly etymological’, *Ériu* 13 (1942), 144–219, at 151. But see Joseph Vendryes, *LEIA* s.v. *ammait*, who (citing earlier scholarship) derives the word from **amma*-, originally a children’s term for an older female relative.

⁹⁸*Thes* ii, 357.

⁹⁹*LL* II. 1059–60. A version of the same sentence, omitting the cupbearers, is found in other manuscripts of recension *a*; discussion in John Carey (ed. and trans.), ‘A *Tuath Dé* Miscellany’, *BBCS* 39 (1992), 24–45, at 39.

¹⁰⁰Kuno Meyer (ed.), ‘Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften’, *ZCP* 6 (1908), 257–72, at 258; cf. John Carey, *Magic, Metallurgy and Imagination in Medieval Ireland: Three Studies* (Aberystwyth, 2019), 47–8. Aspects of the wording here recall the prayer *Fáeth Fiada*, in which the appeal for protection against the spells of women and smiths and druids, cited above, is followed by a request to be guarded ‘against every knowledge (*fiss*) which ruins the body and soul of a person’.

'The knowledge of Ireland, moreover, the knowledge of Scotland, the knowledge of sages, the knowledge of druids, the knowledge of craftsmen, the knowledge of trappers, the knowledge of sorcerers, the knowledge of deer-hunters, the knowledge of every living person who wreaks evil and harm against my body and my soul ...'

The association of the Túatha Dé with various skills is reflected throughout the medieval literature;¹⁰¹ thus recensions *b* and *c* of *LGÉ* state that 'they learned knowledge and poetry; for every mystery of skill and every exactitude of medicine and every cleverness of art has its origin from the Túatha Dé Donann'.¹⁰²

This close association of the Túatha Dé with a variety of professions suggests that they may have remained important to practitioners of those professions, perhaps indeed as the objects of some kind of belief – even as our text states that they were 'worshipped' by the classes of professionals who are enumerated. We may have contemporary evidence of such a role in the references to Goibniu, the blacksmith of the Túatha Dé, and to Dían Cécht, their chief physician, in two ninth-century charms.¹⁰³ It is striking that our text states that there 'is worship' on account of the Túatha Dé, using the present tense, as well as that they 'used to be worshipped'; also cast in the present tense are the statement that they assume bodies of air in §5, and the description of their activities in §6. This curious mixture of tenses is also found in the entry on Brigit in *Sanas Cormaic*, where her status as a goddess is spoken of in both the imperfect and the present tenses; it may be relevant that Brigit's divinity is also here linked with her association with various arts.¹⁰⁴

CONCLUSION

Although the evidence is far from conclusive, linguistic indications point to a date for our tract in the early Middle Irish period, quite possibly in the tenth century. It may in other words constitute a treatment of Irish legendary history which antedates *LGÉ*; and as we have seen its testimony differs from that of *LGÉ* in several ways. In a variety of respects it can be best compared with works that appear to date from the ninth century: *Scél Tuáin* (Partholón and Nemed as brothers §1, ancestry of Sémiainis/Sémión §2, parallelism of wording in *do nim ar óen frisin loinges do-dechaid* §5 vs. *din longis do-deochaid de nim*) and *Sanas Cormaic* (mixture of the present and imperfect tenses in references to devotion to the Túatha Dé §7a); while some of the wording in

¹⁰¹For some discussion of this point, see my article 'The waters of vision and the gods of skill', *Alexandria* 1 (1991), 163–85, especially at 174–8.

¹⁰²*LGÉ* iv, 164 §353, 200–2 §371. As an example of the text in recension *b*, RIA MS D iv 3 (1224), fol. 17r, ll. 6–9 reads: *ro fogluimsett eolussa 7 filidichta ar cach diamair dana 7 cech leri legis 7 cach amuinsi elathon docussin is do Thua[th] De Donond ata a bunad.*

¹⁰³I discuss these in *Magic, Metallurgy and Imagination*, 4–9.

¹⁰⁴Kuno Meyer, *Sanas Cormaic: An Old-Irish Glossary, Anecdota* 4, 15 §150. Imperfect: *bandēa no adratris filid ... dea Brigit uocabatur*. Present: *eum [sic] deam uocant poetarum*.

§6 recalls the potentially even earlier *De Síil Chonairi Móir*. Other doctrines are wholly without parallel: that the Fir Bolg sold Irish soil to the Greeks (§3), and that the Túatha Dé went on a wooing expedition into the east, where they were detained for generations (§4). Our tract appears to give us a fascinating glimpse of Irish legendary history at a relatively early stage in its development.

At least as interesting is what §§5–7a have to tell us about the Túatha Dé regarded as supernatural beings: the patristic doctrine that they are spirits who assume bodies of air (§5), their association with sinister magic (§6), and their further association with the spells or *brichta* linked with various professions (§7a). Especially noteworthy is what looks like a reference to their worship (*adrada*) by those who followed these professions: this, and the repeated use of the present tense in this section of the tract, raise intriguing questions about their role at the time of the its composition.

The final section of the text is replaced by a longer paragraph in B. While the substitution appears to be secondary, it is of interest inasmuch as it cites a lost work *Liber de subternis* ('Book of the Subterranean Ones'), which may have been at least as old as our tract itself.¹⁰⁵

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¹⁰⁵I am grateful to the anonymous reader of an earlier version of this article, and to Professor Ruairí Ó hUiginn, for numerous penetrating observations from which the text has benefited greatly. At a subsequent stage in the editorial process, a second anonymous reader made several acute and helpful suggestions, all of which I have adopted. I bear sole responsibility for the deficiencies that remain.

TÁIN BÓ DARTADA

ABSTRACT

This article presents a new edition and translation of the much neglected Ulster Cycle tale, *Táin Bó Dartada* ‘The cattle-raid of Dartaid’. It is here edited from British Library MS Egerton 1782 (E) with readings from the Yellow Book of Lecan (Y) and British Library MS Additional 33993 (A). E is shown to be the best representative of an archetype which is no later than the tenth century but may have drawn on earlier sources. An examination of Y suggests that that version was somewhat modernised and reorganised by c. 1100, although the analysis suggests that E also underwent some abridgement. Problems of interpretation of the text that have previously been glossed over are explored in detail. An interesting picture of the nature of the *áes síde* emerges, notably as regards their invisibility and close proximity to humans and their use of wordplay and lavish gifts in acts of egregious deceit.

THE TALE KNOWN AS *Táin Bó Dartada* (TBD) is extant in three complete texts representing three different recensions. The oldest complete copy is contained in Dublin, Trinity College (TCD) MS H 2. 16 (1318) (= Yellow Book of Lecan, hereafter YBL), cols 644–6, which will be designated Y here. This section of the manuscript was in the process of being compiled by Giolla Íosa Mac Fírbhisigh in and around the year 1392 (Ó Muraíle 1996: 16). A second copy, here designated E, is found in London, British Library (BL) MS Egerton 1782, fols 80r–81r, written by members of the Ó Maoilchonaire family around 1517, probably mostly at Cluain Plocáin in the parish of Kiltrustan, Co. Roscommon (Flower 1926: 260–2; Hazard 2003; HDGP v, 92). Our tale was written by the chief scribe who identifies his father as Seaan mac Torna uí Maoilchonaire, *ollam* of the O’Connors, who died on New Year’s Day in 1517 while the manuscript was being compiled. The last of the complete copies, here called A, is taken from London, BL MS Additional 33993, fols 1v–2v, written in the sixteenth century (Flower 1926: 1). A fourth copy, preserved in TCD MS H 1. 13 (1287), pp. 345ff., written by Aodh Ó Dálaigh in 1746, is nearly identical to E (Abbott and Gwynn 1921: 42) and is clearly derived from it. A very short fragment is also preserved in the hand of the main scribe of *Lebor na hUidre* (designated U), p. 20b32–37 (LU ll. 1553–7).

Y, E and A have been previously edited. Windisch (1887a) edited separately Y and E, and Thurneysen (1912) edited A. The fragment in LU is edited in the diplomatic edition of the manuscript. The tale has been translated

by Windisch (1887a), based on E, and Leahy (1905–6), which is based on Windisch's German.¹

RECENSIONS

All three primary copies (Y, E, A) differ to some degree, although they all are ultimately derived from a single archetype and agree in all essentials of the narrative. E seems to best preserve the state of the original language (see below) and only in a small number of cases does Y suggest a better reading. A is clearly the latest in terms of language and presents a radically abbreviated and reworded version, apparently with the intention of making it comprehensible to a contemporary audience. It agrees closely with Y and E in the version of events portrayed, but despite a large degree of verbal agreement, and even allowing for its abbreviated form, the wording frequently differs. It is closest to E in its telling with many agreements against Y and is clearly derived from a copy close to E. Note, for example:²

§	Y	E	A
1	dia sechtmaine	dia samno	la samna
2	do airle comairli duidsiu teglach maith umut 7 graiġ alaind allmardai	do thabuir̃t comuirli duitsi teglach coem immut 7 graid aluinn allmurdo fout	do tabairt comairle duitsí gan teghlach caem 7 gan graidh alainn almurdha fott
3	.xl. timthacht do timtachtaib mac rig	7 caeco escrimi do escrimmim sidi leo	.l. essgrine sidhe leó
4	om. i ndorus in duni om.	gu srianuib oir 7 arccuit friu i ndorus liss coego echlusc finnbuini	co srianuib oir 7 airgit friú a ndorus in lís .l. echlasc finnrúine
7	<7 docum>lat dia crich cotric Eochaid fria tri m<acai>b <G>laschon	docomlat as iarum dia tig co comarnacuir fri macu Glaschon	docomlat ass iarum docum a tighi coconrangatar fri macu Glescon
8	tri .c. ba<n>	cetri .xx. mac rig	.ííí.xx.it do macuib righ
9	cia taid om.	coichi ibsi ata .xl. lulgach le	coich sibh fil da .xx.it loilgec le
10	om.	laech amra sidi do Muimnechuib	laech amhra do Muimnechuib

¹See also Mikhaylova (1985), which I have been unable to access. I am grateful to the editors and the anonymous reader for many helpful and judicious comments. Any remaining errors are, of course, my responsibility.

²Readings are from the MSS but the spacing is mine. Text which is now illegible is placed in angled brackets.

§	Y	E	A
	ciasu annann bai for suidiu	cia for nanmunnsi	cia bur nanmandsa
11	roime	as for crich	asbur crich
15	om.	got buaib	cot buaibh
16	docher and Dart isin comrac fo .c. imguin	dorochoir inn ingen fo.c.oir laissin cetcomrac	dorochur a ingen isin cetcomrac

There is a very small number of occasions on which **A** agrees with **Y** against **E** but these are largely of a minor nature and could, in most cases, have been arrived at independently. For example, both **A** and **Y** mention the sending of messengers (*Tiagaid techta*, Y §1 = *ro cuir Medbh 7 Ailill techtai*, A), for which **E** has a passive verbal formation (*doroideth*), but otherwise the wording of **A** and **Y** at this point is completely different so that the use of *techta* is likely to be coincidental. Similarly, the reading *arnamarach* (§4) in **A** and **Y** for **E**'s *matuin iarna ūaruch* is probably due to similar approaches to modernisation of the inherited text. **Y**'s *cuich iad* (§11) reappears, although garbled, in **A** as *cuidb iatside*, for which **E** has superior *cid neiside* for original *citnē side*. *Cuich iad* would have been a natural way of modernising **E**'s reading and could have been arrived at independently. Nevertheless, **A** and **Y** appear to preserve the better reading on one occasion. They have *cungnum*, *cungnam* for **E**'s *congnim* (§3) which I argue is an error (see notes). It is possible that both have corrected this independently but it is more likely that *cungnam* was in the common ancestor of **E** and **A** and that it is merely a scribal slip in **E**. Thus, it would seem that **E** and **A** belong to the same branch and that **A** is not derived directly from **E**.

The readings of **Y** are better than **E** on a number of occasions, some of them quite significant.

- 2 tuidcebuir, E: tudchobair, Y.
- 4 ate, E: ote, Y.
- 6 Cuailnge, E: Cuailng<n>iu, Y.
ata indethin foruib, E: ata .l. didiu andetitin for suidib, Y.
- 7 rotmbiasiu, E: rotbiasa, Y.
insena, E: inseuu, Y.

Much more frequently, however, **E** provides better or more archaic readings than **Y**:

- 1 Cuillne, E: Chuilli, Y.occo, E: aco, Y. accallum, E: acallaim, Y.
- 2 cotlud, E: cotalaig, Y. ind ogleach, E: adochoclaech, Y. ca hairmm, E: cair,
Y. inan aithgeuin, E: inacen sinn, Y.
- 3 dotaircibe, E: dothairgebad, Y. escriimi do escrimmim, E: timthacht do
timtachtaib, Y. tiasuit, E: tiagaid, Y. ar diri, E: for tire, Y.
- 4 scauiblipra ruissi, E: beothruse, Y.

- 5 innaidi, E: indie, Y.
 6 diandomgomgradsa, E: daningartar, Y.
 7 co comarnacuir, E: cotric, Y.
 8 conid apudar, E: conabadar, Y.
 9 in mnai ata haillium, E: in oicben [...] bad ailli, Y. coichi ibsi, E: cia taid, Y. is do macsi, E: ise do macsu, Y. di ocuib maithib, E: do ocaib amra, Y. dusnicfo, E: donicfa, Y. fono maccaemu, E: imna macaib, Y. dorochrutar, E: dirochart, Y.
 10 Corb Cliach, E: Co<rp Li>at, Y. Nemaine artuaith, E: Neme antuaid, Y (for *Neme aniar antuaid*). dusnaidbiut, E: tosnaidbed, Y.
 11 cid neiside, E: cuich iad, Y.
 12 no rigsi, E: no rad, Y.
 14 teti, E: tothaet, Y.
 15 tredam, E: tri daim, Y. ainfimm, E: anfam, Y.
 16 dorocratar, E: dotuited, Y. leo, E: le (for *leis*), Y. inda buu, E: a bu, Y.

Finally, it may be noted that U and Y are generally in agreement against E, including the incorporation of a gloss in the hand of M (.i. *i nHuib Cúanach indossa*, LU 1554 gl. a = *in hUib Cuanach andiu*, Y) which is absent from E and A. As U contains only the opening of the tale, all examples relate to §1 only.

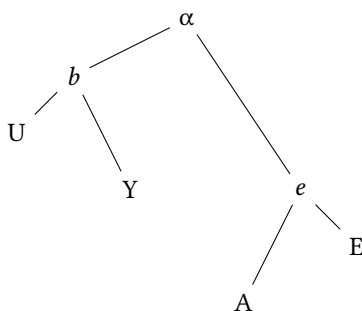
U	Y	E
Corpri	Coirpri	Cairpri
rí	ri	rig
batar	badar	<i>om.</i>
ríg 7 rurech	rig 7 ruirech	rig
na mMuman	na Muman	Mumun
fria mbiathad na mac	fria biathad na mac	oca mbiathad
téit techta	tiagaid techta	doroideth
a dochum	a docum	<i>om.</i>

That Y is independent of U is perhaps suggested by the singular verb (*téit*) with a pl. subject (*techta*) beside Y's older usage (*tiagaid techta*), although conceivably the scribe could have 'corrected' U's reading. Therefore, we may tentatively posit a common exemplar that was redacted before the turn of the twelfth century when LU was written.³ Moreover, E is closer to U in *Eochu*, U: *Eochu*, E: *Eochaid*, Y, and, indeed, is better (final -u), as it is also in *occo* (*oca*, U: *aco* Y), and E has the *lectio difficilior* in *doroideth* which has been simplified in U and Y using constructions with *techta* 'messenger'. We may further conclude, therefore, that E is independent of U and that the archetype predates the writing of LU.

³This accords with the conclusion by Strachan and O'Keeffe (1912: v) that, orthography aside, the text of the YBL recension of *Táin Bó Cúailnge* is generally superior to that of LU. Similarly, McCone's analysis shows that the YBL copies of *Echtrae Chonnlaí* in this gathering (his Y²), along with Egerton 1782, are independent of LU (McCone 2000: 27).

It is worth noting that **U** and **Y** employ the definite article in the phrase *rí na mMuman*. Throughout most of history, the province name appears without the definite article. In the *Annals of Tigernach*, apart from occasional references in the seventh and eighth century, it first appears in what seems to be contemporary usage in 1058 after which it becomes more common, although never exclusively so and never in the phrase *rí Muman*.⁴ It occurs only sporadically in *AI* beginning in 1024. However, as the name continued in use without the definite article, we cannot be sure that **E** has not reverted to the shorter form.

The relationship between the extant versions may be laid out as follows, therefore. The date of *e* relative to the other branch is not known.



α = archetype; *b* = source for both **U** and **Y**

HISTORY OF THE TALE

The tale is mentioned in the two major Middle Irish tale lists where it appears as *T[áin] Bó Dartada/Dartadha* in List A and *Táin Bo Darti nó Táin Bo Dartada* and *T[áin] Bo Dartadha* in two of the three manuscripts of List B (Mac Cana 1980: 42, 52). The title appears to have been added independently to the two lists as, although they share a common core, this section in List B does not appear to go back to the archetype (Toner 2000: 93).⁵ The tale further appears in two shorter lists derived from List A as *Táin Bó Darta* and *T. Bo Dartada* (Mac Cana 1980: 64–5).⁶ It is listed as *Do tháin bo Dartadha* among the *remscéla* to the *Táin* in Dublin RIA MS D iv 2, fol. 49vb, but is absent from the list of *remscéla* found in *LL*, ll. 32901–9.⁷

Despite this strong presence in lists of tales, there are very few references to the events of the tale in the wider literature. The *Táin* makes no mention of it at all.⁸ Elements of the tale are told briefly in the *Dindshenchas* of Áth

⁴Kevin Murray kindly supplied me with a list of instances of *Mumain/Muman* with the definite article, none of which are earlier than the ones given above.

⁵Moreover, the lack of alliteration between it and an adjoining title would suggest that it may have been added to A at some time after the compilation of the original list (see Toner 2000: 105).

⁶See Toner (2000: 99–100) on the relationship to A.

⁷For a discussion of the tale's function as a *remscél* to *Táin Bó Cúailnge* and its parallels with other *remscéla*, see Cleary (2018), especially 48–9, 101, 130–31, 136–7, 178, 185–6, 258.

⁸Eochu Bec is said to have been one of Medb's suitors in the Pillow Talk episode of the Book of Leinster version of the *Táin* but he is not otherwise mentioned (*TBC LL*, l. 26).

Clíath Medraige (*MD* 3, 314–17). There, it is stated that the Clanna Dedad of Munster waged war on the seven Maines and three thousand men at that ford (ll. 13–16), which stands in marked contrast to the small band of youths lead by Órlám in our tale. No mention is made there of Dartaid's love for Órlám or any of the Connachta, although it is said that the Maines were engaged in a raid of Dartaid's cattle (*im tháin bó Dartada*, l. 19). Eochu Bec mac Cairpri, king of Clíu, comes from Cuillenn to the ford (ll. 21–3), causing the Maines to create protective hurdles (*cliatha*) of thorns surrounding the ford, whence its name, Áth Clíath. This is very different from the story told in *TBD* where Eochu is ambushed not by the Maines but by the people of Irros Domnann at a place called Inis Úa Conchada which is said to be in Meath (*Mide*), although may originally have been located further south (see note §7). The same story is told in the prose *Dindshenchas* preserved in the Rennes manuscript where it is said that the seven Maines took the cattle of Dartaid (*táin bó Dartada ingine Regamna*) and that Eochaid pursued them to Áth Clíath to recapture the cows (Stokes 1894: 459).⁹ Location also links *Táin Bó Dartada* to one of the traditions cited in *Cóir Anmann*. In our tale, the place called Imlech Dartá in Clíu is said to have been named from our eponymous heroine (see §16). A similar name appears in *Cóir Anmann* in the context of the three cows that escaped the destruction of cattle in the time of Bressal Bódíbad. In the long version, the three cows are identified as a heifer in Cooley, another in Line (Moylinny, Co. Antrim) and a third in Clíu, where, however, the name of its location is given as the somewhat different Imlech Fir Áendairti (Arbuthnot 2007: 73, §282; cf. 5, §18).¹⁰ It would appear that there may have been some link between this event and the cattle of Eochu and his daughter, Dartaid, but what that may have been is now obscure.

LANGUAGE

This analysis is based primarily on **E**, which generally preserves an earlier state of the language, but includes reference to **Y** where significant.

Final unstressed vowels are written indiscriminately. Consonants are generally represented as in **OIr** and **MÍr** but there are occasional examples of *c* becoming *g* (*beg* 1, 5, *agallum* 1, *ōglaech* 2, *ogus* 2, *ēgin* 7, *ōig* 16, *Cosgar* 9, *Cosgrad* 10; *-sgarfa* 10, *rugsaid* 16; *gu* 3, 4, 9, 14, *got* 15, *gach* 7) and *t* becoming *d* (*-apudar* 8, *rugsaid* 16 (before *s-*)). See also *scūabo* 4 (with *b* for earlier *p*), *huilip* 15 (*p* for */v/*), and *MS scūaiblipra* 4 (with *b* for */b/* and *p* for */v/*).¹¹ Alongside these modernisations, we find several examples of seemingly archaic *th* for later *-d* (*/ð/*) in final unstressed position: *-roīdeth* 1, *[š]ainnriuth* 7, *cāeiniuth* 8, *anīartūaith* 10, *fēimgeth* 14; see also in **Y** only *torbath*, 14 (where **E** represents

⁹See also Stokes (1892: 490).

¹⁰In the earliest version, the place, called there Aenach Fir Aendarta, is located in Moylinny while a third cow is said to have survived at an unnamed location in Clíu (Arbuthnot 2005: 82, §13).

¹¹For a discussion of such unorthodox orthography in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century MSS, see Breatnach (2012: 42–50), although our text avoids some of the extremes noted there.

the ending with a suspension stroke). There are no examples of hypercorrection and only eleven examples of *-d* where a word ending is written *plene*: past subj. *ndigsid* 1, pres. ind. *gaibid* 5, past pass. *-chomgrad* 6, ipv. 3 sg. *ēirged* 9, vn. *bīathad* 6 (x2), vn./personal name *cuscrad* et var. (x3) 10, adj. *socraid* 9, and, with the later dental inflection, gen. sg. *sliged* 16. In the same vein, we have *-ch* in *Tassich* 10 also written *Tassuig* 16. In preverbs, *do-* is invariably written *do-* except in *to:scarthar* 15 and, in **Y** only, *tosnaidbed* 10 (= *dus:n-aidbiut*, **E**), and *tothaet* 14.

Hiatus is not represented, for example, in *do:comlāt* 5, 7, and *mám* 7 (frequently written *maam* in the Glosses). The prepositional pronoun 2 sg. *fout* 2 is superficially a hiatus form but there is no etymological support for McCone's suggestion (1981: 33–4) that it was originally disyllabic.¹² Hiatus is possibly preserved in the prep. *fri* + 3 pl. suff. pron., *friuu* 4, which had a disyllabic form (see *eDIL* s.v. *fri*), but it is more generally *friu* (3, 4, 5, 15) and we may compare hypercorrect apl. *buu* 16 for *bú*, possibly with the doubling of the vowel simply indicating vowel length. A disyllable is original in *laa* 7 (x2), although this remains a common representation of the long vowel in **MIr** (see *SnaG* 229, 231) and into **EModIr**. Rounding of *e* before *ch* is seen in *do:deochatar* 16 and in *Eochu/Eocha* 1, 2, but is absent from *Echo* 2, *Echu* 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, *Echaid* 8, *Echach* 9, 14. Note also the absence of any marker of the dat. sg. in *ech* 4.

The state of the **definite article** is generally that found in **MIr**. It is usually *in*, never *an*. Where **OIr** has *ind* we find *ind*, *inn* and *in*: *isinn imairec* 9, *inn ingen* 15, 16; npl. masc. *ind oīcc* 15, *ind oīc* 16, *in oīg* 16, with which compare *na tecto*, 1. The last occurrence of *in(d)* in the npl. masc. in **AU** is found in 999, but occasionally examples are found in later texts such as *Passions and Homilies* and *Togail Troí* (*AMC* 79; *SnaG* 259). We find the short form of the gpl. of the article in *na* 6, 8, alongside the long form in *inda buu* 16 which seems to have been disappearing in the ninth century with the latest examples found in the tenth century (McCone 1985: 89–90; *SnaG* 259; Stifter 2013: 183–4).

The **neuter** was moribund by the eleventh century, surviving largely in fixed phrases and placenames (*AMC* 79–80; *SnaG* 239). It is preserved here, but frequently written *i*, in: *a ndirim* 5, *hi llaa-si* 7, *i n-ēcusc* 9 (nom. sg.) and possibly in *in ētuch* 13 (acc. sg.). But it is replaced by masc. forms in *in scēl* 8 and possibly in *in tecluim* 10 if this is correctly identified as an old neuter. The neut. is probably preserved also in *in n-ī* 7 with which compare masc. *int-ī* 5.

The dat. pl. of the **adjective** seems to have been moribund by the twelfth century and certainly the second half of that century (Toner 2007: 72). Here, it is well preserved in **E** (only once in **Y**): *mbelgib airccdigib* 4, *būaib blichtuib* 6, *ōcuib maithib* (*-ib* represented by suspension stroke) 9, *būaib huilip* 15 (but *ōic maithi* 11). There is only a single instance of a predicative *o/ā*-stem adj. in the nom. pl. masc. and it shows the innovatory *-a* form (*atē scūaiblipra* 4) (omitted in **Y**).

¹²The only example he supplies is *fout* from *Saltair na Rann*, l. 1734 (Greene 2007), but a disyllable would render the line hypersyllabic. David Stifter (pers. comm.) suggests that this may be simple *u*-affection.

The **equative** in *-ithir* + acc. was giving way to other constructions in MÍr (see *AMC* 90; *SnaG* 255–6) but is still found in some EModÍr texts. It is retained here but with nom. for acc. in *siritir a lām* 10 in a short passage found only in E which may be a later addition (see below pp. 190–1). The old superlative ending *-am* is preserved in *hāillium* 9 (E only) and there are no examples of it being replaced by the comparative, a feature that was already emerging in OÍr. Jackson notes a mixture of forms in *AMC*, all in the same adj. (*nessam/nessa*) (*AMC* 90–1). The old superlative ending also appears here in a fixed phrase (*Cia nesam dūn* 10) taken from Y (the equivalent phrase is absent from E) but logically this would appear to be a hypercorrection for the comparative; see the almost identical phrase *cid as nesu dúin de sin* (LL 34166 (*Tochmarc Ferbae*)). For *-am* in the comparative, see *SnaG* 257.

The inflection of the **noun** reveals few diagnostic features. Breatnach (*SnaG* 249) notes that the long dative of old neut. *n*-stems is very rare in MÍr and is often replaced by a form with non-palatal *-m* but here we find *escrimmim* 3 (see also *escrimim* 5 although the expansion is ambiguous). The old neut. pl. is preserved in *anmun* 9, 10 although this survives into late MÍr (Toner 2007: 69, and cf. *SnaG* 249). We have the old short dat. in *hĒriu* 9. There are conventional instances of the independent dative: *int [s]ainnriuth* 7, *timchiull* 16, *nōnbur* 16.

Prepositions

The simple prepositions follow their OÍr form and usage for the most part but with some departures towards MÍr. I give here only significant forms:

- ar** ‘in front of’: replaces *for* in *ar brū*, 10.
- a** ‘out of’: *a* 6, beside later *as* 11.
- do** ‘to, for’. With pron. 2 sg., the most common form is *duit* 2, 3, 7, etc., with one example of *det* 6 (cf. *deit* found occasionally in *Wb.* and *Ml.* (GOI 274)). The simple prep. *do* is spelt thus throughout but *di* ‘from’ is *di* 4, 9, 10, alongside *do* 3, 6, 7, etc.
- for** ‘on’. Takes the dat. in *for cech ech* 4, *for imairicc* 7, *fora n-echaib* 15 (although the ending here is represented by suspension stroke), but with acc. for dat. in *forsna slūaga* 14.
- fri** ‘against, with’: always with initial *f*–: *fri* 6, 7 and in prep. pronouns *friuu* 4. With poss. adj. *fria* 6.
- imm** ‘around’ is generally so written: *im* 11, 12, *imm* 8; with pron. 2 sg. *immut* 2, 3 sg. *immi* 5. Formally, it is confused with *fo* in *fono mac-cāemu* 9 (= *im na macaib*, Y) and in *fo thīr nĒrinn* ‘around Ireland’ 8 (both Y and E).
- i n-** ‘in’. The old prep. pron. 3 sg. acc. (*ind*) is replaced by the dat. form *ann* 11.
- la** ‘with’, so spelt 4, 5. With pron. 1 sg. *lemm* 6, *lem* 2, 6, 9, *let* 3 (OÍr *lat*; cf. *lat* Y 10), 3 sg. masc. *laiss* 1, *lais* 16, fem. *lē* 9, 1 pl. *linn* 15, 3 pl. *lēo* 3, 11, 15, 16. With def. art. *laissin* 16.

- oc** 'at'. always so spelt (3, 7, 8). With a pron. 3 sg. masc. *occo* 1, *oco* 7.
With poss. adj. *oco* 5.
- ó** 'from'. With pron. 3 sg. masc. *hūad* 4 (never *úada*).

The non-palatal *n* of 1 pl. is preserved in 1 pl. *dūn* 2, 3 (see AMC 98, *SnaG* 326), but we find innovative palatalisation in 1 pl. *etruinn* 2 (Y, E), which is found in late MlIr (*SnaG* 327).

Verbs

The verbal system is conservative for the most part. Deuterotonic forms are generally retained: *do:roīdeth* 1, *con:facō* 2, *conn:facu* 9, *con:faccatar* 4, *conn:facatar* 13, *do:biur-siu* 7, *dus:berat* 16, *do:bēre* 2, *do:gnīther* 7, *do:fuit* 8, *do:rochuir* 16, *do:rochrutar* 9, *do:rocratar* 16, *con:rāngatar* 7, *dot:aircibe* 3, *his:rubartumar* 13, *do:tōegat* 11, *do:tiāgat* (*tiagaid*, Y) 16, *do:deochatar* 16, *dus:n-ārthet* 16, *at:raig* 5, *at:ragat* 4, *do:comlāt* 5, 7, *do:chorthae* 7, *do:lleth* 8, *dus:n-aidbiut* 10, *con:sgarfa* (-*scailfeā*, Y) 10, *to:scarthar* 15. Only in cases where two vowels meet do we find the prototonic usurping the deuterotonic: *taircgebat* 7 (beside *dot:aircibe* 3), *tucuit* 15 and *rugsaid* 16. We may note the probably purely graphic use of *f* to indicate a deuterotonic form in *do:ficfat* 11, with which compare *dus:n-icfo* 9 (see McCone 1997: 198). We find *do:fuit* 8 for *do-tuit* which probably arose in response to the anomalous prototonic form *-tuit* which, by false analysis, would have suggested deuterotonic *do-(f)uit* (see McCone 1997: 9). Breatnach notes variability between deuterotonic and later simple verbs in *Saltair na Rann* (*SnaG* 283). We may note the absence of petrified infixed pronouns in *his:rubartumar* 13 and compounds of *con-*. We find no counterexamples aside from reflexive usage.

Simple pret. or narrative pres. forms are commonly used throughout: *bui* 1, 2, *con:facō* et var, 2, 8, *con:faccatar* 4, 13 -*chomgrad* 6; -*comarnac[t]uir* 7, *con:rāngatar* 7, -*rānicc* 14, *conid:apudar* 8. *Ro* has perfective sense in *ro mbui* (beside *boi*, Y) 9; *do:rochrutar* 9, -*ndergēne* 10, *his:rubartumar* 13 (although McCone (1997: 98) notes the generalisation of the augment in *as-beir*, the sense is necessarily perfective here). The sense is almost certainly perfective in *do:roīdeth* 1 ('had been sent'), expressing past action in relation to the immediately following snippet of dialogue between Eochu and the messengers from Connacht. We find an augmented form in *ro:ūātar* 9 where the sense is continuous rather than simple preterite. Thus, there are no certain examples of the spread of *ro* as a marker of the past tense in E. Y shows some encroachment of the augment into the verbal system: *ro dailis* 2 (om. E, A); *Ro s<..>r* 8; *ro bai* 13 (but the last mentioned is a true perfect), and the spread of *ro* is found throughout A. McCone suggests that the spread of the augmented preterite beyond its earlier resultative use was already appearing in early ninth-century *Bethu Brigitte* (McCone 1997: 98) and, according to Breatnach, the simple preterite had almost entirely disappeared by the early Middle Irish period (*SnaG* 299). The usage here, therefore, can hardly be later than the tenth century and, given the discriminating use of the augment, may well be earlier.

There are no examples of substitution of *ro/do* for original *no* which is preserved in *no:úeinn* 2. *Do:lleth* 8 might be read as a case of *do* for *ro* but I think it more likely that it is an s-pret. 3 sg. of otherwise unattested **do-letha*. Unfortunately, the text of **Y** is damaged at this point. The letters *ros...r* are visible, suggesting that it might have had a different verb.

The 3 pl. pres. ind. *dus:n-aidbiut* 10 < *do-adbat* shows the typical distinction of palatalised root in the 3 pl. against non-palatal in the 3 sg. found in OIr. In *dot:aircibe* 3, we find the original quality of the *-b-* preceded by a short vowel which later gives a future in *-éb-* (see McCone 1997: 223; *eDIL* s.v. *do-airic*). Even in OIr, historical *-f-* of the future regularly becomes *-b-* between unstressed vowels (*GOI* 397). Cf. *dothairgebad*, *dotairgeba* in **Y** 3 and *tairgebat* 7. We may also note the absence of the innovative 1 sg. fut. in *-at* in *ragu-so* 1 (see *SnaG* 316).

The s-subj. is preserved in those verbs in which we would expect to find it surviving in the MÍr period: 3 sg. *-immairi* 11, 1 pl. *-comairsim* 12 (in the latter with *-im* for *-em*: see note), 3 pl. *tiasuit* 3.

There are some innovations in the verbal system, mostly of a minor nature. The 3 pl. of *do-téit* is *do:tīgat* 16 but is found alongside the later form, *do:tōegat* 11, which is attested in late MÍr texts (see *eDIL* s.v. *do-tét*). Compare also ipv. 3 sg. pass. *tīagur* 9. The ipv. 1 pl. ending in *tīaguim-ni* 12 shows palatalisation under the influence of emphatic *-ni*. The 1 pl. *his:rubartumar* 13 (*dochuadamar* **Y**) shows influence of the ending *-amar* from suffixless verbs which is rare even in late MÍr (see *SnaG* 301 which cites a single example of innovative *-amar* in *-ergemmar* from *LL* 29257; also McCone 1997: 238–9). We may compare, with further innovations, *atrubrumar* (Atkinson 1887: l. 554 (sim. 3460)) and particularly the alternation *adubramar/atrubhamar* (Stokes 1909: l. 2641) which may have influenced the form at a late date in the text's transmission. Our instance appears in an intratextual comment noting the repetition of a description of apparel from earlier in the text which might suggest that it is a later addition but **Y**'s *dochuadamar*, a late pret. form of *ad-fét*, would suggest that something similar stood in the archetype. We find an innovative 2 pl. ending *-abair* in *-tuidcebuir* 2, which ending is attested as early as *Saltair na Rann* (see McCone 1997: 235). We may note that **Y** has the older vocalism here, *-tudchobair*, which is likely to have stood in the archetype. Beyond this, the endings of the past tense are conservative with no evidence, for example, of the spread of 3 sg. *-estar/-astar* or 3 pl. *-atar* (see *rugsaid* 16).

The future stem of *téit* shows depalatalisation of the initial consonant in fut. 1 sg. *ragu-so* 1 (for *rega*), *no rag* 3 (MS *rat* for *-rig*, *-reg*), sec. fut 3 pl. *-ragduis* 14 (×2) (for *no regtais*). This development is attested in *Saltair na Rann*, although not in rhyming position, and in *LL* (see *SnaG* 233, 319). However, the OIr consonant quality and vocalism are preserved in *no rig-si* 12, suggesting that the non-palatal forms may belong to a later copying or revision phase.¹³ *At:raig* 5, *at:ragat* 4 shows the later vocalisation for OIr *-reig*, *-regat* (*GOI* 54)

¹³We may note the absence of the development of *g-* to *ch-*, found as early as *LU*, and which McCone considers a northern dialect feature (1997: 227).

in both sg. and pl. The 3 sg. *at-raig* is generalised in saga literature and the earliest datable example is in *Saltair na Rann* (*atraig*: *ahaidid*, Greene 2007: l. 6445). However, the older form seems to have lasted longer in the plural. Thus, in the late OIr *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, we find 3 pl. *ata-rregat*, *ata-regat* beside sg. *at(a)-raig* (Hollo 2005: §§7, 11; §§4, 26) and in *Fled Bricrenn* in *LU* we encounter sg. *atraig* and pl. *ataregat* right beside each other (*LU* 8191–2). While sg. *atraig* is found throughout *LU*, the sole pl. example follows the older pattern (*atregat LU* 1606 = *Táin Bó Flidaise*).¹⁴ The 3 pl. with *-a-* (*atragat*) is found in the *LU Fled Bricrenn* (*LU* 8843) and *Scéla na hEsérgi* (*LU* 2753). As the later vocalism is thought to have originated by analogy with *saidid*, *sedait*, etc. (*GOI* 54), it is credible that the *-a-* arose first in the sg., as in *Fled Bricrenn ocus Loinges mac nDuíl Dermait*, and later spread to the plural at some time in the later MÍr period. Thus, our *at-ragat* would belong to the later phase.

The copula preserves forms as found in OIr although the pres. ind. 3 sg. rel. is spelled *is*. We may note pres. ind. 2 sg. *at* 3; 3 pl. *at* 4 for older *it* 6, and 3 pl. rel. *ata* 9. Also past subj. 3 sg. abs. *bid* 2. The defective verb *ol* ‘says’ is dominant throughout E with twenty-nine examples against two examples of *or* (12, 15) and two of *al* (6, 11).¹⁵ Y shows modernisation in this regard with nine examples of *ol*, eleven of *or* and one of *for*.

Relative clauses

The nasalizing relative was in serious decline at the end of the OIr and beginning of the MÍr periods, and had ‘ceased to be a productive feature in the language during the course of the earlier part of the tenth century’ (Ó hUiginn 1986: 75). There are few relative clauses in the text and even fewer where a nasalizing relative clause might have been utilised in OIr. A nasalizing relative is absent in *Fo bith at maith* 3 but this is of no diagnostic value as the absolute was permissible with the copula in OIr. Nasalisation is not marked in *comuirli do:bēre* 2 and a hypercorrect rel. nasalisation appears in *ēcusc ro mbuī*, 9 where the antecedent is the subject of the verb (on this feature see Hollo 2005: 78). We may compare with the latter *rot:bīa-siu* 7, with inf. pron. 2 sg., which is written *rotmbiasiu* in the same MS (but correctly *rotbiasa* in Y).

We may note the use of *no* to mark the relative in *no rag* 11 and *no rig* 12, a feature which was obsolescent in early MÍr (*AMC* 102–3). We should also note the extension of the relative where the antecedent is a prep. pron. (*nība duit-si ēm bus cuscrad* 10) which begins to appear in the later glosses (*GOI* 320) and lenition in *charus* 9 which becomes common with special relatives only at the end of the OIr period (*GOI* 315). *Fil* (never *file*) is used as the 3 sg. pres. ind. of the substantive verb in relative position: *a fil ann* 6, *it ē fil im chomuir* 6, *gach trepthaig fil fot mām* 7.

¹⁴See also *atraig*, *LU* 3274, 3306, et passim (*Serglige Con Culainn*); 4929, 5412, 6202, etc. (*Táin*); 7899 (*Togail Bruidne Da Derga*).

¹⁵The first of these seemingly influenced by the subject, *Ailill*, unusually here spelled with an initial *-o*.

Infixed and Suffixed Pronouns

There are almost no opportunities for the use of suffixed pronouns in the text of E. We may note the form with suff. pron. *tēti* 14 ‘goes’, but this adverbial use of the pron. becomes petrified and remains in use long after the demise of the suff. pron. (see Breatnach 1977: 80–1). Infixes are used to express the object of a verb according to OIr norms save that the spelling is sometimes modernised:

Class A: 2 sg. *rot:bīa-siu* 7 (*rotmbiasiu*, E; *rotbiasa*, Y); 3 pl. *dus:n-icfo* 9, *dus:n-aidbiut* 10, *dus:berat* 16, *dus:n-ārthet* 16 (reflexive). Class A inf. pron. 3 pl. -s- expresses the subject with the substantive verb in *dus:fuil* 11 (GOI 479 and see *SnaG* 323 for Mlr. examples).

Class C: 1 sg. *dīa-ndom-chomgrad-sa* 6; 3 sg. *conid:apudar* 8 (reflexive); 1 pl. *inan:aithgēuin* 2.

Independent Pronouns

There are no examples of independent subject or object pronouns in E other than as subject of the copula. The 3 pl. pron. *é*, which Breatnach says is found into early Middle Irish (*SnaG* 273), is preserved in *atē* 4 (*ate*, MS; *ote*, Y) and *it ē* 6. Note the late form *ib-si* 9 for *sib-si*, the earliest examples of which seem to appear in *Félire Uí Gormáin* (c. 1170) (*SnaG* 274). In Y, note the misreading *inacen sinn* 2 which appears to have a 1 pl. object pron.

With the interrogative *cía*, we find the correct use of the fem. form in *cisi* 2, *cissi* 6, and of the plural *citnē-side* (*cid neiside*, MS) 11. The fem. form is chiefly found in OIr texts but there are occasional examples in Mlr, for example, *cissí ascaid* (AMC 312) alongside *cía h-airmm* (AMC 533–4) etc.; hypercorrectly in *cissi log*, LL 30975 (*Togail Troí*). It appears in the consciously archaising language of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh* with fem. but also with masc. nouns (Walsh 1948: 292, l. 14; 96, l. 15). *Cissi* has possibly been replaced by *cía/cá* in *cā hairm(m)* 3, which is the only instance of the replacement of *cía* with *cá* in this text. The neut. form *cid* is missing in *cía llin* 3, 12. We may also note OIr *cōichi* *ib* ‘who/whose’ 9. As it is written in the MS, it appears to be taken as a late Mlr form with a late form of the independent pronoun 2 pl., but this is almost certainly a modernisation of earlier and otherwise unattested *cōichib* (see note).

REVISION OF THE ARCHETYPE

There are substantial differences in wording between E and Y which indicate a degree of revision of the narrative, perhaps in both recensions. The horses and equipment from the *síd* which are initially bestowed on Echu (§§3–4) and later again on the son of Ailill (§§9, 13) are described in some detail at first mention but the account is considerably curtailed in E at the second mention:

*dus:n-icfo hūaim-si i n-ēcusc ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale
do:rochrutar isinn imairec aile, eter srianu 7 ētuigi 7 delcci.
(§9)*

‘you will obtain from me the [same] attire worn by the other lads who have fallen in the other battle, including reins and garments and brooches.’

It is abbreviated in Y in very similar terms:

Donicfa uaim-sea andiu in esgrim (boi im na macaib dirochart indne), itir ech ⁊ sren ⁊ etach ⁊ delge, ⁊ comairim tairgeba a<mara>ch matan moch.

‘you will obtain from me today the attire (which the lads who fell yesterday wore), including horse-gear and clothing and brooches, and you will receive its equivalent early tomorrow morning.’

It will be noted that Giolla Íosa’s text in Y has omitted, perhaps accidentally, the phrase beginning *boi im [...]*, shown here in brackets, which corresponds to E’s *ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale do:rochrutar*, and that it was added by a second hand in the margin. This contains the Mlr use of the dat. after the prep. *im*, as well as the wrongly understood *dirochart* for 3 pl. *dorochratar* as in E. Y has a form of the substantive verb 3 sg. pret., *boi*, that would make acceptable OIr, but E’s perfective form suits the context better despite the modernisation of the spelling and the hypercorrect rel. nasalisation. Moreover, Y’s *indne* ‘yesterday’, appears to be a simplification of E’s *isinn imairec aile*, in which we may note the preservation of the older masc. inflection. Apart from this marginal insertion, Y’s *donicfa* might be taken as an error, with omission of -s- for what is represented in E as *dus:n-icfo*, although it could be read as an inf. pron. 3 sg. masc. referring to Órlám alone. Y also has *esgrim* where E has neut. *i n-ēcusc*, although *esgrim* is a rare and possibly archaic word found elsewhere in the text. Most interestingly, Y’s *⁊ comairim tairgeba a<mara>ch matan moch* lacks an equivalent in E. I take *comairim* to mean ‘an equivalent amount’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *comairem*) and would render this line ‘and you will receive its equivalent early tomorrow morning’, which probably just reinforces what has already been said rather than promising an additional gift for Ailill personally. The verb is modernised beyond what we find elsewhere in E but the significance of this is diminished by the appearance of the same modernisation elsewhere in Y where the archetype must have had the older form (see *dot:aircibe*, discussed below p. 201).

When the gift from the *síd* appears at Crúachain, E does not describe it again but merely refers to *in ngraid ⁊ in ētuch his:rubartumar* (§13), where the reader is referred back to the earlier account by the single word *his:rubartumar* ‘we have mentioned’. However, this is described more extensively in Y. The text is problematic and I give a little more context and add the line divisions of the MS in what follows:

lotar Connachtai

a dun Chruachan isin faichthi con-acadar in graig ⁊ in
sren ⁊ an timthacht uili amal dorairngert ⁊ dochuadamar

co mbadar i ndorus in duine amal dorairngert doib an uili
adconairc ro bai im na maccu rig anlla¹⁶ riam.

‘the Connachtmen went from the fort of Crúachain into the green
and they saw the horses and horse-gear (?)¹⁷ and all the equipment
as she had prophesied and as we have related, so that all the things
that he had seen the princes wearing the previous day were at the
gate of the fort as she had prophesied to them.’

The phrase *amal do-rairngert* ‘as had been prophesied’, contains a good OIr form which persists in *Saltair na Rann* alongside the unverbated form with prefixed *ro* (*rotharngert*, Greene 2007: l. 2789) and may well have stood in the archetype. Where E has the form *his:rubartumar*, with a modified MIr ending but the older preverb *is-* (for *as-*), Y has *dochuadamar* ‘we have recounted’ with depalatalisation of the OIr *-d-*, and with no sign of a rel. nasalisation after *amal*. The phrase *amal do-rairngert* is repeated in identical form and somewhat superfluously in the next line in what may well be a case of dittography. We may note here the use of the plural verb *-mbadar* with a subject (*an uili*) which must be read as a pl. (OIr *ind uili*) although it is the antecedent of a singular verb, *ro bai*. With some amendment, therefore, Y could be made to represent a plausible early MIr or OIr text that could conceivably have stood in the archetype.

We see similar shortening of the description at an earlier point in the tale when Echu arrives in Crúachain (§5). The host’s arrival causes an immense stir among the people of Crúachain but neither version provides a description of what they saw, save that Y adds an explanation:

.i. l. laech cosin nenegusc¹⁸ uile amal don-r¹⁹<ui>rmisim.

‘that is, fifty warriors with all the singular garb that we have set forth’.

We may note the verbal form *donr<ui>rmisim*, perf. 1 pl. of *do-rími* with infixed *ro* and rel. nasalisation. Apart from minor modernisations, this passage could well be original and may have been omitted in E because it does nothing to advance the narrative. If this did, indeed, stand in the archetype, it points already to significant ellipsis of descriptions from the beginning.

Y also contains several passages of dialogue not found in E. In §5, the text continues immediately after the previously discussed gloss as follows:

‘Imcomarcas cia so,’ ar Oilill. ‘Ni ansa, Eochaid Becc ri Cliach.’
Doleicter isin lis 7 isin rigtheg. Ferthar failti friu. Anaid ann tri la
7 tri haidchi for flegugud.

¹⁶Omitted by Windisch. Leg. *an llá*.

¹⁷We might emend to *sr[i]en* ‘bridle’ but a plural/collective is required; a word *srén* is attested in *Saltair na Rann* (see *eDIL* s.v. *srén*).

¹⁸*egusc* (Windisch 1887a) but *nen* (or possibly *neu*) is clearly visible.

¹⁹*r* inserted above line by a later scribe.

“Let it be enquired who this is,” said Oilill. “Not difficult. Eochaid Bec king of Clíu.” They are admitted into the courtyard and the royal house. They are welcomed. He stays there feasting for three days and three nights.’

This welcoming passage is wholly absent in **E** apart from a generic statement of welcome (*Fertair fáilti friu iarum la hAilill 7 Meidb*) which is made immediately as the Munstermen arrive in Crúachain. The **Y** passage contains some Middle Irishisms, notably *ferthar* for **E**’s *fertair* (= *ferthair*), *lis* for *les* ‘courtyard’, and the masc. form of the numeral in *tri haidchi*, and apart from the absence of *-th-* in the ipv. pass. (*imcomarcar*), there is little to support the idea that this short dialogue might have been in the archetype.

A reasonably clear-cut example of expansion of **Y** is found in §10. Exact or approximate correspondences with **E** are shown in bold:

‘Níba duit-si ēm bus cuscrad 7 con:sgarfa mic rīg 7 airech.’ (**E** §10)

“Indeed, you will not suffer destruction and you will slaughter the sons of kings and lords.”

‘**Níbo coscur duíd-seo**,’ or si, ‘7 bid tecmallad.’ ‘Cia nesam dun de suidiu?’ ‘Ni *ansa*. Tecmall lat maccu rīg 7 rigdamna **con scailfea maccu rīg 7 rigdam**<na 7> **airech**.’ (**Y**)

“You will not have victory,” she said, “but gathering.” “What must we do therefore?” “Not difficult. Gather together sons of kings and princes so that you will scatter the sons of kings and princes of lords.”

E’s text makes reasonable sense, the apparent difficulty being due to the writer’s playing with the meaning of *coscrad* ‘defeat’, and the redactor of **Y** seems to have expanded the text to clarify the meaning. It is noteworthy that **E**’s text is repeated, albeit in slightly jumbled form in **A**, so it was clearly comprehensible and meaningful to him (see note). There is little in the language of **Y** that would suggest that it is original. The old superlative ending in *nesam* is notable but it became petrified in this particular phrase meaning ‘is necessary’.²⁰ We may also note the later use of *con* in **Y** in the sense ‘that’. Moreover, it has *coscur* (with the *ur* symbol, possibly replacing a suspension stroke) for **E**’s *coscrad* so that the original subtlety that we find in **E** and **A** is further obscured. Finally, it may be noted that some of the same phrasing appears also in the dialogue between Ailill and the phantoms (§9). After the woman introduces herself, **Y** has Ailill ask what they will do next for which there is no equivalent in **E**:

‘Cia nesam duind de suidiu?’ ol Ailill. ‘Ni *ansa*’, ar <si>²¹.

“What must we do therefore?” asked Ailill. “Not difficult,” she replied.’

²⁰Cf. *iss ed is nessam* (AMC 227–8); *Cid is nesam dún[...]*? (AMC 1241, and see above p. 181).

²¹Faint but legible.

Given the other considerations, and the improbability of the same phrase being accidentally omitted twice, it must be concluded that the same phrase was twice deployed independently by the redactor of the **Y** recension.

In light of this, other instances in which **E** differs from **Y** may be attributed to changes in the latter, but it may be suspected on occasion that **E** represents a slightly abbreviated text. In **E**, the woman gives an instruction to raise a host for the attack on Munster:

‘*Ēirged dirim socraid di ōcuib maithib 7 .xl. mac rīg do macuib rīg Connacht.*’ (§9)

“Let a splendid host of noble warriors and forty princes of the princes of Connacht rise up.”

In **Y**, this is cast in the form of a dialogue:

‘*Ergid-si dirim sochraidi ume.*’ ‘*Cia lin ragas?*’ ol Oilill. ‘*.l. marcach do,*’ ar si, ‘*do ocaib amra <.i.>²² .xl. mac do macaib caema Connacht.*’

“Raise up a host of splendour around him.” “How many shall go?” asked Oilill. “Let him have fifty horsemen,” she said, “of famous warriors [and] forty sons of the fine sons of Connacht.”

This echoes the earlier dialogue between Echu and the woman (§3) which is found in both main versions:

‘*Cia llin no rag?*’ ol Echu. ‘*Cōeco marcach duit,*’ olsi. (**E**)

“With how many will I go?” asked Echu. “You will have fifty horsemen,” she said.

‘*Cia lin ragam?*’ ar se. ‘*Caeca marcach duidseo,*’ or si. (**Y**)

“With how many shall we go?”, he asked. “You will have fifty horsemen,” she said.

While it could be argued that **Y** has lifted the additional line in §9 from §3, this seems less well-motivated and less likely than the suggestion that **E** has shortened the dialogue here. We may note that **E** exhibits OIr. *no* in relative position, which feature was obsolescent in early MlIr (see above p. 184).

E also contains some material not found in **Y** but less frequently so. When the phantom urges Ailill to raid Dartaid’s cattle, she says:

‘*Tiagur hūait,*’ olsi, ‘*gu tuctar gabál duit do cetri ō Dartuid ingin Echach. A:tā .xl. lulgach lē.*’ (§9)

“Send out men,” she said, “so that cattle may be seized by you from Dartaid daughter of Echu. She has forty dairy cows.”

²²I follow Windisch in reading *.i.* here, although the MS is barely legible at this point. If this is the reading, it must be an error for 7 ‘and’.

The underlined text is omitted from **Y** but forty dairy cows (*lulgach*) are twice mentioned in similar terms as belonging Echu in both **E** and **Y**:

Buī danō xl. *lulgach* occo, ‘Moreover, he had forty dairy cows.’
(§1)

A:tā .xl. *lulgach* lemm, ‘I have forty dairy cows.’ (§6)

It is very likely that this line in §9 is original, therefore, and it is possible that it was lost in the **Y** branch during the arrangement and expansion of this passage.

Another possible significant omission occurs in §11 where the fairy woman warns Corb Clíach of the imminent attack from Connacht:

‘Nī sochaidi in fiallach, ar cid ōic maithi do:tōegat ann, bid tesor-cuin do inchaib Muman huli mā immairi in gnīm so.’ (**E** §11)

‘“The war-band is no army, for although it is noble youths who are coming there, the honour of all of Munster will be saved if this deed succeeds.”’

‘Nī ba sochaidi dus-biad. Bith tesorgain²³ do inchaib fer Muman dia maide in gnīm.’ (**Y**)

‘“They will not possess an army. The honour of the men of Munster will be saved if you promise the deed.”’

Y has the late verbal form *dus-biad* for *ros:biat* (fut. 3 pl.) and an inf. pron. class A for class C instead of **E**’s *fiallach* ‘war band’. The latter makes for a pithy saying and is the *lectio difficilior*. We may also note the replacement of the verb *-immairi* with *-maide*, which I take as pres. subj. 2 sg. of *moidid* in the late sense ‘promises (to)’. As such, it would seem that original *-immairi* was misread. The line *ar cid ōic maithi do:tōegat ann* is omitted altogether in **Y**, although it reinforces the worthiness of the opposition despite the fact that it falls short of constituting an army.

A comment on the nature of the Munster warrior, Corb Clíach, is found only in **E**:

Lāech amra-sidi do Muimnechuib. Is siritir a lām a ndergēne di ulcc. (§10)

‘He was a famous warrior of Munster. All the evil that he had done was as long as his arm.’

The OIr verbal form *ndergēne* is noteworthy, although we have the prototonic form where OIr would have a deuterotonic, a transition which seems to have occurred in or around the tenth century (see *SnaG* 276).²⁴ Arguably, this could

²³Initial *t* added below line, perhaps by a later hand.

²⁴However, while *dergēne* is undoubtedly an old form, it did survive at least until the end of the sixteenth century, albeit in isolated instances (see *AFM* vi, 2120, 2142 (s.a. 1599)). Also worthy of note is the old equative form, albeit with the nom. for acc., although this is not a firm diagnostic (see above p. 181).

have been omitted during the transmission of **Y** on account of the negative portrayal of a Munsterman but it seems more likely to me that it is an addition in **E**. Both **Y** and **E** portray Corb as defending Munster against a raiding party and he declares that he prefers gathering (*tecluim*) to destruction (*coscrad*) (§10). In no way does he act in this tale as a predatory actor and so it seems fair to conclude that these two lines were more probably added to the text after **Y** had broken off from **E**.

In conclusion, it is likely that the redactor of the version found in **Y** expanded the archetype in places but conversely that a scribe of the **E** recension omitted some lines that are now found only in **Y**.

DATING

The linguistic analysis presented above indicates that the text of **E** was originally composed no later than the tenth century but suffered some minor revision later in its transmission.²⁵ The orthography is generally that of **MIr**, and we may note in particular the lack of any consistent distinction of final unstressed vowels and the occasional writing of *d/g* for *t/c* in unstressed position. Hiatus is absent, appearing only in hypercorrect usage. That aside, the verbal system is largely as found in **OIr**, and certainly no later than *Saltair na Rann*. Deuterotonic forms are well evidenced with no univerbation outside what had already occurred in **OIr**. The infixed pronoun is used according to **OIr** norms, including in Class C, apart from modernisation and simplification of the spelling. There are no independent pronouns used as subject or object of the verb, and we may note in particular the 3 pl. form *é* which cannot be later than early **MIr**. The neuter is correctly retained in several cases (with no archaisms), and we note the use of the long dative of old neut. *n*-stems. We find one example of the longer form of the acc. pl. definite article, *inda*, and two examples of the nom. pl. masc. *ind*, which point to a date of composition before the end of the tenth century. The almost completely consistent use of *ol* 'says', while not a sound diagnostic of itself, adds support to an early date. The overwhelming weight of evidence indicates that the extant text was first composed some time before c. 1000 CE.

There is some evidence that may push the date of composition back further. The distinction between pret. and perf. is well maintained throughout, a feature which could point to **OIr**, suggesting that the text is at least as old as the early ninth-century *Bethu Brigitte*, although further work needs to be done on this feature. We may also note the absence of the independent personal pronoun before the predicate in *is do mac-si charus* §9 (cf. *ise do mac-su coras<i>*, **Y**); there are no counterexamples. The pronoun appears in this structure only occasionally in *Wb.*, becoming more frequent in *Ml.*, before becoming obligatory in the later language (*GOI* 492, Ó Nualláin 1911). The lack of palatalisation in *do:chorthae* §7 may also indicate a date earlier than the glosses (see note).

²⁵Thurneysen (1921: 303) noted that the language of the older version was reminiscent of sagas of the ninth century but provided no discussion.

We may also note *cōichi ib* ‘who/whose’ §9 which very probably stands for the otherwise unattested *cōichib* and is likely to be OIr (see above p. 185). The otherwise unattested expression *all-aidchi* §9 is a further possible indicator of early date, being a predictable use of *all-* as an adjectival prefix (from *aile*) (see *GOI* 248 and *eDIL* s.v. 1 *aile* C.I. (a)), although we cannot dismiss the possibility that this survived into the later language as a fixed phrase, despite being nowhere else attested.

These features are suggestive of an OIr date but hardly conclusive. Nevertheless, on this basis it is worth considering the examples of final, unstressed *-th* after a vowel for later *-d* (/ð/), particularly as there are no examples of hypercorrection. Stifter postulates that the change in the pretonic consonant is separate from the post-tonic development, dating the former to the seventh century and the latter to around the beginning of the eighth (Stifter 2013: 173–4). Our text appears to echo this distinction, with only isolated examples of *to-* against multiple instances of *do-*, yet with a strong showing of final *-th* in a ratio of approximately 1:2. However, this feature could be coincidental with Stifter’s proposed development and might simply be a quirk of the orthography of the text.²⁶

In conclusion, we can only suggest that the tale was written in more or less the form that we have it in **E** no later than the tenth century, but that some version of it may have existed already as early as the eighth century.

The survival intact of many of the older linguistic features in **E** suggests that it has preserved the archetype well, notwithstanding the possible abbreviation of the text in parts and the occasional addition. No serious revision of **E** is likely to have taken place after the tenth century. The investigation of the stemma has shown that the archetype of **Y** and **E** predates the writing of *LU*, although there is little to indicate how much change the *e* branch had undergone by this stage. All of the modernisation of the orthography in **E** could easily be attributed to its scribe, although the careful preservation of so many other early features may suggest that the modernisation belongs to an earlier phase in the text’s transmission. The 2 pl. ending in *-tuidcebuir* §2 is not, to my knowledge, ever found in OIr (see McCone 1997: 235).²⁷ The fact that **Y** has the better form and that it must have split off from **E** before the writing of *LU*, suggests that there was some revision of the text of **Y**, however minor, before c. 1100. The development of *-regat* to *-ragat* hardly predates the eleventh century but could well be from later copying. The palatalisation of the ending in the prep. pron. *etruinn* and the recasting of *sib* as *ib*, both of which are unattested before the late twelfth century, must belong to a later phase of copying as does the modernisation of stops *t > d* = /d/ and *c > g* = /g/.

²⁶We may note similar preservation of final unstressed *-th*, against an isolated instance of preverbal *to-*, in O’Mulconry’s glossary which Moran takes as evidence of an Early Old Irish date of composition (2019: 67–8).

²⁷Its emergence is dated to the early Middle Irish period by Murphy (1940: 72–6). I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer for drawing this reference to my attention.

EDITORIAL METHOD

Any attempt to recreate the archetype is fraught with difficulties and is not attempted here. Rather, I present the text of Egerton 1782 (E) as closely as possible with the correction of a very small number of clear scribal errors. Fuller discussion of possible errors will be found in the notes, where significant divergences between the recensions are given when they may have a bearing on the interpretation of the text as edited. I follow the spelling of the manuscripts except that I replace *q* with *ch* in *aidqi*. I have retained MS *ũ* for lenited *b* as it provides an unambiguous indication of lenition. Unlenited *b* is sometimes represented by *p* (*scūaiblipra*, *huilip*, *trepthaig*) and I have allowed these to stand.

Ambiguous contractions and symbols are indicated by the use of italics, otherwise they are silently expanded. Numerals are frequently employed in the text. Where these occur at the beginning of a sentence they are expanded and marked in italics; otherwise, the roman numerals are retained as in the MS. Word division, capitalisation and punctuation are my own, but I have followed the sentence division of the MS which is usually indicated by a stop at the end of one sentence and an enlarged letter beginning the next. Macrons indicate vowel length where it is not marked in the MS. I have retained the paragraph numbering used by Windisch.

TEXT

[80r25] Tāin bō Dartada inso.²⁸

§1. [B]uī Eochu Beg macc Cairpri, rīg Cliach, i ndūon Cuillne. *Cethracha* dalto laiss do macuib rīg Mumun. Buī danō xl. *lulgach* occo oca mbiathad. Do:roideth ō Ailill 7 ō Meidb co ndigsid dīa n-accallum.

‘Ragu-so dīa n-agallum ēim’, ol Eochu, ‘dīa Samno.’

Tiagait na tecto as ĩaram.

§2. Boī Eocha and aidchi ina cotlud con:facō nī chuici in mnaī 7 ind ōglæech ina comuir.

TRANSLATION

The Cattle-raid of Dartaid here.

§1. Echu Bec son of Cairpre, king of Clíu, was in the fort of Cuillenn. He had in fosterage forty of the sons of the kings of Munster. Moreover, he had forty dairy cows to feed them. Messengers had been sent from Ailill and Medb so that he would go and parley with them.

‘I will, indeed, go and parley with them at Samain,’ said Echu.

The messengers left then.

§2. One night, Echu was sleeping when he saw a woman coming towards him accompanied by a warrior.

²⁸Title inserted above line.

'Fo *chen* düib', ol Echo.

'Cā hairm²⁹ inan:aithgēn-ni³⁰?' olsi.

'Ba döig lem bid ind ogus düib no:üeinn.'

'Toimdiu lem is comfocus etruinn cēni immo *n*-acai dün.'

'Cā hair*m* i mbid-si?' ol Echu.

'Hi Síd Cuillni sunn,' olsi.

'Cid dia [80v] tuidcebuir³¹?'

'Do thabuir comuirli duit-si,' olsi.

'Cisi comuirli do:bēre dam-so?' olse.

'Nī bes leas enech 7 anmo duit oc dul hi tīr 7 sech tīr,' olsi. 'Co ndig teglach cōem immut 7 graid āluinn allmurdo fout³².'

§3. 'Cia llīn no rag³³?' ol Echu.

'Cōeco marccuch duit,' olsi.

'Dot:aircibe hūaim-si himāruch,' olsi, 'cōeca ngabur ndubglas gu srianuib ōir 7 arcuit friu 7 cāeco escrimi³⁴ do escrimmim sīdi lēo 7 tīasuit do dalta³⁵ huili let 7 is cōir dün congnam³⁶ frit. Fo bīth at maith occ immditin ar d[t]iri 7 ar feruinn³⁷.'

'You are welcome,' said Echu.

'Where did you perceive us?' she asked.

'I would think that I would have been near you.'

'I think that we are very close to each other though we don't see one another.'

'Where do you be?' asked Echu.

'Here in Síd Cuillne,' she said.

'Why have you come?'

'To give you advice,' she said.

'What advice will you give to me?' he asked.

'Something that will be to the advantage of your honour and your life when going into or beyond a land,' she said. 'May a fine retinue and beautiful, exotic horses go under your control.'

§3. 'With how many will I go?' asked Echu.

'You will have fifty horsemen,' she said.

'Tomorrow you will receive from me fifty dark grey steeds with reins of gold and silver and fifty sets of equipment from the fairy mound along with them, and take all your foster-sons with you. It is right for us to help you. Because you are good at protecting our land and our territory.'

²⁹Cā hairm] cair, Y.

³⁰inan:aithgēn-ni] inanaithgeuin, MS, inacen sinn, Y.

³¹*d* added above line.

³²allmurdo fout] fout allmurdo, MS. Superscript *b* above *fout* and *a* above *allmurdo* indicate that they are to be swapped. Cf. almurdha fott, A (om. Y).

³³rag] The bottom of the *g* has been erased but traces of it are still visible; ragam Y, raghuit A.

³⁴escrimi] essgrine, A, timthacht, Y.

³⁵The horizontal stroke of the *t* continues over the open *a*.

³⁶congnam] congnim, MS.

³⁷Windisch reads *fuinn* but there is a clear suspension stroke above the *f*.

§4. Tēt hūad in ūen la soduin. At:ragat iarum matuin iarna ūāruch con:faccatar nī, in .l. n-ech ndubglas ina tonudmuim³⁸ gu srianuib ōir 7 arccuit friu i ndorus liss 7 cōeco bretnus n-arccait co n-inchaib ōir 7 .l. maclēne cona n-imdēnum ōrsnāith, 7 cāeco ech finn n-ouderg atē³⁹ scūaiblipra. Ruissi hi ccorccuir huili a scūabo 7 a monga⁴⁰, cona mbelgib airccdigib friuu 7 urcomal crīadumo⁴¹ for cech ech, 7 cōego echlusc finnbruini cona cennpairtib di ōr fūib do brith ina llāmuib.

§5. At:raig in rī iarum int-i Echu 7 gaibid immi. Do:comlāt as iarum fon escrimim sin do Crūachnuib Aī. Fertair fāilti friu iarum la hAilill 7 Meidb 7 is beg nād mūich[th]i⁴² dúine⁴³ oco ndēiscin 7 oca tai[d]briud. Ba mór a ndirim, ba caīn n-allmur n-innaidi⁴⁴.

§6. ‘Cid dia-ndom-chomgrad-sa⁴⁵?’ ol Echu fri hAilill.

‘Dūs in n-ētar asccid dam-so,’ ol Oilill, ‘hūait. Ar atā ēcen form-so, .i. biathad fer nĒrinn do thabuirt na mbō a Cūailnge.’

‘Cissi haiscid is āl det?’ ol Echu.

‘Aiscid donō do būaib blichtuib,’ ol Ailill.

‘Nī fulāir⁴⁶ a fil ann dīb,’ ol Echu. ‘A:tā⁴⁷ cetrachu daltau lemm do macuib rīg Mumun for altrumm. It ē fil im chomuir sunn. A:tā⁴⁸ .xl. lulgach lemm fria

§4. With that, the woman left him. They got up the following morning and saw the fifty dark grey steeds with gold and silver reins tethered at the entrance to the courtyard, and fifty silver brooches with gold filigree inlays and fifty youths’ tunics with gold embroidery and fifty white, red-eared horses with flowing tails. Their tails and manes were all dyed in crimson, with their silver bridles and a bronze spangle on each horse, and fifty horse-switches made of tinned bronze with tips of gold to hold in their hands.

§5. The king, Echu, rose up then and got dressed. They set out, then, with all that paraphernalia, for Crúachain Aí. They were welcomed then by Ailill and Medb and people were nearly suffocated while gazing and gawking at them. The troop was mighty, it was a fine, great expectation.

§6. ‘Why was I summoned?’ Echu asked Ailill.

‘To see if I may obtain a gift from you,’ said Ailill. ‘For I am in a predicament, namely, feeding the men of Ireland while bringing the cattle from Cooley.’

‘What gift do you desire?’ asked Echu.

‘A gift of dairy cows,’ said Ailill.

‘There are none to spare,’ said Echu. ‘I have forty sons of the kings of Munster in fosterage. It is they who are accompanying me here. I have forty dairy cows to provide

³⁸There is a faint stroke over the first *u*.

³⁹atē] ote, Y.

⁴⁰monga] mungo, MS.

⁴¹crīadumo] sic, MS, credumae, Y.

⁴²mūich[th]i] no muchtais, Y, om. A.

⁴³dúine] daíne, Y, om. A.

⁴⁴n-innaidi] indie, Y, although the suspension stroke is very faint as if erased.

⁴⁵dia-ndom-chomgrad-sa] diandomgomgradsa, MS.

⁴⁶fulāir] fuluair, MS.

⁴⁷A:tā] .2., MS (= *est*).

⁴⁸A:tā] .2., MS (= *est*).

mbiathad 7 a:tāt .uii.xx. laulgach lem-so fēin, et a:tā i ndeth[it]in foruib.’

§7. ‘Co n-ētar dam-so hūait-si,’ ol Ailill, ‘bō gach trepthaig fil fot mám. Cid fort-so do:chorthae ēgin do:biur-siu cobuir duit oco.’

‘Rot:bia-siu⁴⁹ ēm,’ ol Echu, ‘in n-ī sin et taircebat hi llaa-si int [s]ainnriuth.’ Do:gnīther a n-ōeguidect iarum trī laa 7 tēora haidchi la hAilill 7 Meidb. Do:comlāt as iarum dīa tig co comarnac[t]uir fri macu Glaschon do āes hlrruis Domnunn. Sect. xx. lāech i llín-sidi. Feguit for imairicc 7 oc imnaisi chatho. Oc Inse Uu⁵⁰ Conchada a Mide con:rāngatar.

§8. Do:fuit in .xl. mac rīg annsin imm Echaid mBecc. Do:lleth fo thīr nĒrinn in scēl sin. Conid:apudar cetri .xx. mac rīg do maccāemuib Muman oc cāeiniuth na mac sin.

§9. All-aidchi⁵¹ Ailill ino ligi conn:faccu Ailill in n-ī ina cotlud ind ōclāech 7 in mnaī ata hāillium ro:ūātār in hĒriu.

‘Cōichi ib-si?’ ol Ailill.

‘Cosgar ocus Nemchuscar ar n-an[m]unn,’ olsi.

‘Is fochen do chuscūr ēm lem 7 nī fochen do neamcoscūr⁵²,’ ol Ailill.

‘Ō, bid cusccar ēm duit-si cepē cruth,’ olsi. ‘Tiagur hūait,’ [81r] olsi, ‘gu tuctar gabál duit do cetri ō Dartuid⁵³ ingin Echach. A:tā⁵⁴ .xl. lulgach lē 7 is do mac-si charus .i. Ōrlām mac Ailella. Ēirged dīrim socraid di ōcuib maithib 7 .xl. mac

for them and I have a hundred and forty dairy cows myself, and you are responsible for their care.’

§7. ‘May I receive from you,’ said Ailill, ‘a cow for every farmer who is subject to you. Although this might result in hardship for you, I will give you help with it.’

‘You will have that, indeed,’ said Echu, ‘and they will come on this day exactly.’

They were entertained for three days and three nights by Ailill and Medb. They set off then for home and they encountered the sons of Glaschú of the people of Irros Domnann. They numbered one hundred and forty. They started fighting and contending in battle. It was at Inis Ūa Conchada in Mide that they met.

§8. The forty princes fell there along with Echu Bec. That story spread throughout the land of Ireland. And eighty princes from Munster died lamenting those lads.

§9. On another night when Ailill was in bed he saw in his sleep the most beautiful warrior and the most beautiful woman in Ireland.

‘Who are you?’ asked Ailill.

‘Victory and Non-Victory are our names,’ she said.

‘Victory is indeed welcome by me but non-victory is not,’ said Ailill.

‘You will indeed have victory, whatever its form,’ she said. ‘Send out men,’ she said, ‘so that cattle may be seized by you from Dartaid daughter of Echu. She has forty dairy cows and it is your son that she loves, that is, Ōrlām son of Ailill. Let a splendid host

⁴⁹Rot:bia-siu] rotmbiasiu, MS, rotbiasa, Y.

⁵⁰Inse Uu] insena, MS, inseuu Y.

⁵¹ch added above line.

⁵²neamcoscūr] neamccscūr, MS.

⁵³Dartuid] daruid, MS, with t inserted above line.

⁵⁴A:tā] .2., MS (= est).

rīg do macuib rīg Connacht 7 dus:n-icfo hūaim-si i n-ēcusc ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale do:rochrutar isinn imairec aile, eter srīanu 7 ētuigi 7 delcci.’

§10. Tiaguit iarum as 7 tiaguit fo chētōir co Corb Clíach mac Tassich 7 iss ann buí a dūn-sidi ar brū Nem[e] anīartūaith⁵⁵. Lāech amra-sidi do Muimnechuib. Is siritir a lām a ndergēne di ulcc.

Dus:n-aidbiut do suidiu donō.

‘Cia for n-anmunnsi?’ olse.

‘Tecluim 7 Cosgrad,’ olsiat.

‘Is maith ēm in tecluim, is olc in cuscrad,’ ol Corb Clíach.

‘Níba duit-si ēm bus cuscrad 7 con:sgarfa mic⁵⁶ rīg 7 airech.’

§11. ‘Citnē-side⁵⁷?’ al Corb Clíach.

‘Ní ansa,’ olsiat, ‘nach mac rīg 7⁵⁸ rīgno 7 nach rī[g]domno fil la Connachto. Dus:fuil for ndochumm do brith bō as for crích iar tuitim bar mac rīg 7 rīgno lēo. Do:ficfat im trāth nōna imbāruch. Ní sochaidi in fiallach, ar cid óic maithi do:tōegat ann, bid tesorcuin do inchaib Muman⁵⁹ huli mā immairi in gnīm so.’

§12. ‘Cia llín no rīg-si?’ olse.

‘Secht .xx. lāech n-incomluinn,’ olsi. ‘Tiaguim-ni as trā,’ or in ūen, ‘co comairsim im trāt nōnu imbāruch.’

of noble warriors and forty princes of the princes of Connacht rise up and you will obtain from me the [same] attire worn by the other lads who have fallen in the other battle, including reins and garments and brooches.’

§10. They set off then and went immediately to Corb Clíach son of Tassach whose stronghold was on the north-western bank of the Blackwater. He was a famous warrior of Munster. All the evil that he had done was as long as his arm.

They revealed themselves to him as well.

‘What are your names?’, he asked.

‘Gathering and Destruction,’ they said.

‘Good indeed is gathering but destruction is evil,’ said Corb Clíach.

‘Indeed, you will not suffer destruction and you will slaughter the sons of kings and lords.’

§11. ‘Who are they?’ asked Corb Clíach.

‘That is not difficult,’ they said, ‘every son of a king and queen and every prince of the Connachta. They are coming to you to take cattle from your land after they have slain your sons of kings and queens. They will come tomorrow afternoon. The war-band is no army, for although it is noble youths who are coming there, the honour of all of Munster will be saved if this deed succeeds.’

§12. ‘What size of company will I bring?’ he asked.

‘One hundred and forty battle-ready warriors,’ she said. ‘Let us leave now,’ said the woman, ‘until we meet tomorrow afternoon.’

⁵⁵Nem[e] aniartūaith] nemaine artuaidh MS, neime fri aine cliach atuaidh, A, neme antuaid, Y.

⁵⁶mic] sic, MS (*plene*), maccu, Y.

⁵⁷Citnē-side] cid neiside, MS, cuich iad, Y, cuidb iatside, A.

⁵⁸rīg 7] added above line with insertion mark after ‘nach’.

⁵⁹Muman] added above line with insertion mark after ‘inchaib’.

§13. Tráth ba maitin conn:facatar Connachto in ngraid 7 in étuch his:rubartumar i nndorus in dūine Crūachan.

§14. Ba torbad mōr forsna slūaga in ragduis fō nā ragduis. ‘Is mebul,’ ol Ailill, ‘a fēimgeth in maith.’ Tēti Ōrlāim as iarum i cClíu gu rānicc tech nDarta ingini Echach.

§15. Ba failid inn ingen friu. To:scarthar tredam dóib. ‘Nī ainfimm friss,’ or Ōrlām. ‘Tucuit ind oicc lēo fora n-echaib 7 tair-si linn got búaib huilip.’

§16. Do:tiagat ind oic uili timchiull. Dus:berat hi cenn sliged. Dus:n-ārthet mic Tassuig iarum cona .uii. xx.it lāech leō 7 do:rocratar mic rīg Connacht ann 7 in oig do:deochatar lēo acht Ōrlām nōnbur nammā. Rugsaid-sidi lēo iarum inda buu .i. in .xl. lulgach 7 in cāeco darta 7 do:rochuir inn ingen fo cētōir laissin cētcomrac. Is dē atā Imliuch nDarta hi cClíu⁶⁰. Finitt.

§13. In the morning, the Connachta saw at the gate of the fort of Crúachain the horses and equipment that we have mentioned.

§14. The hosts were in great turmoil about whether or not they should go. ‘It is a shame,’ said Ailill, ‘to refuse that which is good.’ Ōrlām went then into Clíu until he came to the house of Dartaid daughter of Echu.

§15. The young woman welcomed them. Three oxen were slaughtered for them. ‘We will not wait for it,’ said Ōrlām. ‘Let the warriors bring [it] with them on their horses and come you with us with all your cows.’

§16. The warriors all circled round [the cattle]. They took them to the road. The sons of Tassach with their hundred and forty warriors fell upon them then, and the sons of the kings of Connacht died there along with the warriors who had come with them save only for Ōrlām and his eight men. They then took the cows, that is, forty dairy cows and fifty heifers. And the young woman fell straight away in the first encounter. Imlech nDarta in Clíu is named from that. The end.

NOTES

Táin bō Dartada: The heroine’s name is most commonly spelled *Dartaid* in translations and scholarly commentary but this occurs only once in the nom. (as ‘Dartuid’) in A 16. We may disregard the forms found only in the placename as these must be taken to reflect a toponymic element rather than the name of the character, and we may also disregard the name in the title in E as it contradicts the form in the text and cannot be taken as original. That leaves four instances of the name occurring in more than one manuscript copy. The nom. appears as Dart in Y 16, but she is not named at that point in E which refers to her simply as the maiden (*ingen*). A second reference to nom. Dart in this paragraph in Y occurs in a line not found in either of the other

⁶⁰Windisch reads *cClíuu* but the second *u* is merely a flourish.

versions. She is called Dartaid at a different point in the same paragraph in a line found only in **A** (*ro:eiridh Dartaid*). Therefore, it seems that the name did not explicitly appear in the archetype in this paragraph and that the two nom. forms in **Y** and **A** are independent additions.

The dat. form appears in 9 only as Dairt (**Y**), and Dartuid/Dartaid (**E**, **A**). The use of the name here clearly goes back to the archetype but the stemma does not help us establish which form that contained. The gen. occurs in 14 and clearly goes back to the archetype, but the forms are very different (Dairthe, **Y**; Dartá, **E**; [D]artad, **A**) and once again the stemma does not help to determine the original form. Finally, the gen. appears again in 11 in **Y** and **A** but she is not mentioned in **E** at this point. While the context is similar in **Y** and **A**, it is clear that **Y** and **E** are closer in general and that **A** has repeated some material about the maiden's love for Órlám from 10. In any case, the stemma does not help to establish the form in the archetype.

The gen. occurs more widely beyond the surviving texts of the tale, either in the title of the tale or the placename. We have Dartá in one tale list (see above p. 178), Darti in one copy of tale list B, and most commonly Dartada (in the *Dindshenchas* accounts discussed above, in tale lists A and B, and in the list of *remscéla*). Thurneysen (1921: 303), noting that the gen. Dartá is almost exclusively used in the tale itself, held that this is the older form and assumed that it had been abstracted from the placename, Imlech Dartá, which he understood as containing gen. pl. 'of yearling calves'. However, he was unaware that there is a distinction between the common nouns *dairt* and *dartaid*, and it now seems clear that the latter is a yearling bullock and that *dairt* (i. f.) is a yearling heifer (see Kelly 1988: 60–61, notes 244, 248).⁶¹ *Dairt* is also used metaphorically of a young girl (see *eDIL* s.v.), and so it is likely that this was her name originally and that it came to be variously represented in the later manuscript tradition.

§1. i ndūon Cuillne: Cuilleann is now the parish of Cullen in the barony of Clanwilliam, Co. Tipperary (*HDGP* vi, 177–8).

-ndigsid: formally this looks like the pres. perfective subj. 2 pl. of *téit* but a 3 sg. is required which necessitates reading the *-d* as non-palatal /d/. The spelling *i* followed by a non-palatal consonant is not uncommon in later MSS; cf. *bīathad fer nĒrinn* 6; *fo thīr nĒrinn* 8.

§2. Cā hairm^m inan:aithgēn-ni: *ca hairm^m inan aithgeuin*, **E**; *Cair inacen sinn*, **Y**. The verb in **E** is formally 3 sg. pret. of *ad-gnin*, but 2 sg. (*-gén*), which may lie behind the peculiar form in **Y**, is required by the context. The latter opens with what appears to be the interrogative marker *cair*. While this makes reasonable sense ('Query, do you recognise us?'), there is no direct answer to this and rather the immediate context seems to require a question regarding

⁶¹Kelly (*ibid.*) notes that Dartaid can be both a male and a female name but the only example that he supplies of the latter is Dartaid from this tale.

location. It is more likely, therefore, that *cair* is a simple error for *cairm* ‘where’ (with loss of an m-stroke) which is rendered *cā hairm* in E.

Ad-gnin means ‘knows, recognises’, but also ‘perceives, becomes aware of’, which suits the current context well. Therefore, the dialogue here is very similar to an exchange in *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó*: ‘*At-chondarc-sa riam*’ *ol Cet*. ‘*Cairm indom-acca?*’ *ol Éogan*. ‘*I ndorus do thige oc tabairt tanae bó hūait*.’ (‘I have seen him before,’ Cet said. ‘Where have you seen me?’ Éogan said. ‘In front of your house, when I took a drove of cattle from you.’ (Thurneysen 1935: 10–11, §11; trans. Koch and Carey 1995: 60).

Ba dōig lem bid ind ogus dūib no:úeinn: Ba doich lim bith in athfocús daib [and] or se nombemis, Y (with *and* added above line in a different hand). Both MSS appear to have the past subj. 3 sg. abs. of the copula (*bid*) (see GOI 489). The abs. occurs after *amal*, *oldaas*, *is cumme*, *doich* and a few other constructions, and survives into Mlr where it is often replaced by *bad* (*eDIL* s.v. 1 is, Subj. Past I (iii), and compare *Dóig leam bád i ndiamraib Slébe Culind no beth*, ‘I fancy that he might be in the recesses of Slíab Cuillinn [sic]’ *TBC* 1, l. 998; trans. p. 153).

Toimdiu lem is comfocús etruinn: Ate is imfocús etruinn, Y. E’s *comfocús* can mean ‘near, neighbouring’ and ‘equidistant’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *com(f)ocús*). On *imfocús* in Y, see *eDIL* s.v. 2 *imm-*. Y’s *ate* ‘indeed’ is not attested much after the OIr period, the latest example possibly being from *Táin Bó Flidais* in LU l. 1599 (= Windisch 1887b: 214, l. 50). *Toimtiu* is found into the later periods and so could have been substituted for moribund *ate* at some stage, although the *u*-ending is preserved.

cēni immo n-acai dūn: cen iman-aci duind, Y. The preverb *imma-* is used with a verb impersonally and with the literal subject expressed by the prep. *do* (see *eDIL* s.v.). The initial *i* of the preverb is frequently elided after *ní* as in Y (read *ceni’ma n-aci*) (see examples in GOI 518) and its retention in E is probably purely orthographic.

-tuidcebuir: tudchobair, Y. From *to-de-com-fed-. Compare *dodechobair* (Mulchrone 1939: l. 1114), *-tudchaibair* (Henderson 1899: 84, l. 7), and *-tuchubuir* (Roider 1979: 46, l. 150).

fout: fott, A. One might expect the 2/3 pl. ‘horses under you/them’, or we could emend to *fou* ‘under it (i.e. the troop)’ if to be taken literally, but the sense is more probably abstract ‘under the control of’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *fó, fa, fá* II (d)).

§3. no rag: ragam, Y; raghuit, A. The particle *no* is used as a relative marker here but is omitted in Y and A. That it was in the archetype is suggested by the usage in the identical phrase at §12 below: *Cīa llīn no rig-si* = *cia lín no rad*, Y, where, it should be noted, E also has the older form of the verb. A appears to be an attempt to rationalise *-rag*, interpreting the reading as 3 pl. with *lín* as subject: ‘how many will go’. Y has essentially the same syntax as E but with fut. 1 pl. conj., lit. ‘How many will we go?’. For the syntax with adverbial use

of *lín* see also *cia lín ludfamar* ‘what number of us shall go?’ (Stokes 1893: 412, §24).

Dot:aircibe [...] *cōeca ngabur ndubglas*: dotairgeba .l. ech ndubglas, **Y**; Dogebha uaimsi amara*c* .l. gabur dubglas, **A**. The verb here is originally the future 3 sg. of *do-airicc* but with influence from the future of *gaibid* (see *eDIL* s.v.). This would have taken the nom., as perhaps in **Y**, but here apparently takes the acc., perhaps suggesting that it was reanalysed as *do:taircibe* by a scribe.

escrimi do escrimmim: *essgrine*, **A**; *timthacht do timtachtaib*, **Y**. *Escrimm* is clearly a neut. *n*-stem (see *eDIL* s.v.) and dat. sg. *escrimim* at 5 below shows that it was still treated as an *n*-stem in this text. However, the first instance here, where it must be gen. pl., looks rather like an *i*-stem as it stands. The corresponding form in **A**, although it contains an *n*-stroke for the *-m-*, suggests that *escrimi* was in their archetype. The word is generally used as a collective but a plural is required here after the numeral. It is plausible that the plural as a count noun was modelled on other *i*-stems such as *aidemm* ‘tool’ with a variant *aidimm* (see *eDIL* s.v. *aidemm*).

congnam: *congnim*, **E**; *cungnum*, **Y**; *cungnam* **A**. *Congnim* in the MS is given as a variant of *comgnim* in *eDIL* s.v., but the only example cited is from here and 1) the form is irregular and 2) the senses ‘cooperation, equal prowess’ are not suitable here. It seems most likely, therefore, that **E** has merely lost a *minim* in the transcription.

§4. inchaib: *eDIL* s.v. 1 *enech* offers a definition ‘Of the outer surface of anything’, although the only example given in that sense is *nói mbuilc co n-inchaib órdaib* ‘nine bags with golden faces’ (from *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*) where the bags are said to hang from the wall of the room of the harpists. However, in the latter case, and probably in our text, it is perhaps better to take *inchaib* as a form of *indech* which is the verbal noun of **ind-fig* ‘weaves’ and is defined in *eDIL* as ‘woof, weft, an interweaving; by extension of meaning, an inlay’. The examples provided there are entirely restricted to cloth, which certainly suits the *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* instance better than an isolated use of *enech*. As regards our text, we may compare the application to inlay on a chessboard in: *a hindech do margarét* ‘its woof (i.e. its inlay) is of pearl’ (of a board for playing *fithchell*) (Meyer 1910: 14, §32). Whitfield (2004: 95) notes the normal terms for inlays are *ecor* and *indlaise* and that ‘gold filigree is always inlaid, attached to minute gold foil trays’.

Y reads *imdenmaib*. *Imdénam* is usually translated as ‘embroidery’ but is also used of metal objects (although not in *eDIL* of a brooch) and possibly therefore also referred to filigree inlay. For *imdénam* in the plural see *cen imdenma* (Stokes 1905: 42, l. 6 = LL 24800 (*Imacallam in dá Thúarad*)). I am grateful to the anonymous reader for drawing this example to my attention.

maclêne: sic **E**, **Y**. This example is the sole example of this compound cited in *eDIL* s.v. 1 *mac*, *macc*. Compare, however, *macbrat* ‘a child’s cloak’ cited *ibid.*, and *maccshlabrae* ‘gift by a parent to a son or daughter’ (Kelly 1988: 121). It

would appear from the fairy woman's promise of *cāeco escriimi do escrimmim sīdi* (§3) that the garments from the *síd* were intended for the retinue of fifty horsemen, not for the company of princes which numbers only forty, but when she later addresses Ailill, she vouches to Ailill's princes the same apparel as worn by Echu's foster sons (*i n-ēcusc ro mbuī fono maccāemu ale*) including clothes and brooches (*eter ... ētuigi 7 delcci*) (§9). There seems to be some confusion in the enumeration of the gifts, therefore, which probably should number forty at this point.

cāeco ech finn n-ouderg: .l. *lurcure find n-oderg*, **Y**. This second set of fifty white, red-eared horses are found here in **E** and **Y** and so must have been in the archetype, despite the fact that the otherworld woman only explicitly mentions the first set of dark grey (*dubglas*) steeds to accompany the fifty horsemen at §3. I take it that the first group of horses in §4 were intended for Echu's retinue, while the second group, which is specifically said in **Y** to be *lurchairi* 'foals', were intended for the forty fosterlings. The number, therefore, should be forty but I have allowed the MS readings to stand as they are in agreement.

cāeco ech finn n-ouderg atē scūaiblipra. Ruissi hi ccorccuir huili a scūabo 7 a monga: .l. *lurcure find n-oderg ote beothruse hingengorm*, **Y**. In reading **E**, I follow the punctuation and the enlarged *R* of the MS. The description is repeated almost verbatim in the *LL* prose recension of *Tochmarc Ferbae*: *coica ech find n-óiderg. It é scuaplebra iarna rusiud i corcair uile .i. a scópa 7 a monga*, 'fünfzig weisse Pferde mit rothen Ohren, die waren langschwänzig, nachdem sie alle in Purpur gefärbt waren, nämlich ihre Schwänze und ihre Mähnen' (*LL* v, 33460–1; trans. Windisch 1897: 463), which offers a slightly different interpretation, perhaps prompted by a misunderstanding of original *oté* (*ate*, **E**, but *ote* in **Y**). *Tochmarc Ferbae* uses a vn. construction *iarna rusiud* from a poorly attested verb *ruisid* 'reddens', but *TBD*'s construction with the verbal adj. of *rondid* is also morphologically and semantically acceptable. I can make no sense of **Y**'s *beothruse* save that it appears to contain the verbal adj. *ruise*. The additional qualifier, *ingengorm*, is not in the other recensions.

urcomal: *urcomla* **Y**; *urchómul*, **A**. According to *eDIL* s.v., *airchomal* was perhaps orig. neut. (and see *comal*). Forms are written in full in both **Y** and **A** but the ending is represented by a suspension stroke in **E**. The sg. is required here.

cennpairtib: *cendimlaib*, **Y**. See *eDIL* s.v. *cennbart* 'capital, architrave' (where this example is cited) but what we have here is likely a separate compound formed from 1 *pairt* 'a small quantity or mass, a lump' (and separate from *cennphairt* 'prelude, introduction'). We find the same word in relation to flails in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*: *fri teora sústa iarnae cona secht slabradaib [...] cona secht cendphartaib iarndaib i cind cecha slabraidí*, 'with three iron flails having seven chains... with seven iron knobs at the end of every chain' (Knott 1936: ll. 1270–2; trans. Stokes 1901: 303). The seven tips (*cennphairt*) would have been the heavy end of the instrument with which, if used in battle as suggested in *Togail Bruidne Da Derga*, enemies were pummelled or, in agriculture, grain

was threshed. The end of a flail is described as a *cenn* in the commentary to *Bretha Étgid* (see Kelly 1998: 481). Horsewhips commonly include a heavy end to inflict pain, and so control, on the horse. We may compare *coíca echlasc findruine co mbaccán órdu for ciunn cach aí*, ‘with a golden hook at the end of each’ (Meid 2015: 41, ll. 22–3), and *coíca echlasc findruini co m-baccánaib óir ina lamaib*, ‘Fünfzig Pferdestecken von weisser Bronze mit Haken von Gold in ihren Händen’ (Windisch 1897: 464, ll. 36–7), where hooks were used rather than weights, and this may have been intended here too. On the practice of flaying, see Sayers (2017) and Bernhardt-House (2022). For *Y*’s *cendimlaib* perhaps we should read, with minim confusion, as *cendmilaib*. Compare *coíca acraann [...] co cennmilaib* ‘Fifty purple saddle-cloths (?) ... with animals at their ends’ (Meid 2015: 41, ll. 21–2; trans. p. 65).

finnbuini: *finnrúine*, *E*; *orda*, *Y*. Although it clearly denotes some kind of precious metal, the exact meaning of *findbruine/finnrúine* has not been ascertained with certainty. It appears to have been thought to be roughly equivalent in value to silver (Toner 2007: 157–8) and I follow here Whitfield’s plausible proposition that it denoted ‘tinned bronze’ (Whitfield 2010). Scott’s suggestion that *findbruine* was a different alloy has not been established (Scott 1981: 156; cf. Hull 1962–64: 100–1).

do brith ina llamuib: This is omitted from *Y* where the reference to whips is found sandwiched between the description of tunics and the foals. Here, *Y* adds the line ‘Tre druidecht uile insin’, explaining away the appearance of the horses as a work of sorcery.

§5. At:raig in rī iarum int-ī Echu 7 gaibid immi: 7 roerídh an rí .i. Eochaid, *A*; Gaibther arathugud co mor inni sin 7 adfetsam a aislinge dia muintir, *Y*. Here, *Y* omits any reference to Echu’s rising, which is placed there at the beginning of §4, and instead states that he now related his dream to his people. I am not sure how *arathugud* is to be understood but it would seem to be a response to news of the arrival of the horses and accoutrements from the *síd*. We might tentatively read *ar a[l]tugud* ‘(one) starts giving thanks/rejoicing’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *attlugud*).

mūich[th]i: *muichi*, *E*; *no muchtais*, *Y*. I follow Windisch in reading *muichthi*, which we must take as a byform of 3 pl. pret. pass. of *múchaid* as demonstrated by the identical construction *bec nad:múchtha doini impu* (Meid 2015: 46, l. 225). That there was an early byform with palatal stem is suggested by *múichthea* (vll. *muichthia*, *múich dia*, *muchtea*, *muichthea*, *muichte*, etc.) in the Prologue to *Amrae Coluimb Chille* which Bisagni takes as gen. sg. of the vn. (Bisagni 2019: 285).

ba caín n-allmur n-innaid: *ba cain n-allmar n-indie*, *Y*. The nasalisation after *cain* clearly goes back to the archetype. We might read this as a substantive form of the adj. *caín* which could be neut. in OIr (see *GOI* 164 and *eDIL* s.vv. *amrae* ‘wonderful thing’, *fír* ‘truth’, *mór* ‘much’, etc.). For the construction substantivised adj. + gen. of thing, see *eDIL* s.v. *amrae* II (a). However, while this is grammatically plausible, it is semantically awkward. Kelly (1973: 6–7)

notes that in archaic Old Irish verse, where a noun and adjective are inverted, the noun is nasalised if neuter, e.g. *ba cain n-am*, but the same feature is found at least as late as the ninth century (see *Cáin n-ard n-ordan n-adamra*, ‘a fair noble marvellous dignity’, Breatnach 1989: 25, §8). In later MSS, the nasalisation is sometimes inserted hypercorrectly, as in *ba cain mbetha* where *bethu* is masc. (Kelly 1975: 83, §13). However, this structure seems otherwise confined to verse and we would have to assume that this is a rendering of an original verse description of the band. I tentatively take *innaidi* to be for *indnaide* ‘waiting; expectation’, which is an old neuter, with simplification of *-ndn-* to *-nn-*. For the Y reading, Windisch compares *inde .i. dluith* (see *eDIL* s.v. 2 *inne*). Cf. also *innide* ‘worthy’ which is only attested once elsewhere in the poem beginning ‘Dúthracar, a Maic Dé bí’ (Murphy 1998: 30, §5) and might well be read *innaide*.

§6. Cid dia-ndom-chomgrad-sa: Cid dan-ingartar, Y; Cidh ma-tuc ale, A. E has pret. pass. sg. of *con-gair* ‘summon’ with an inf. pron. 1 sg.

fulāir: fuluair, E; furail, A; forcid, Y. The restored form is Mlr for earlier *foróil*, *furóil*. The unmetathesised form found in A survives well into the ModIr period and so is not necessarily earlier. For Y, Windisch reads *forraid* ‘excess, superfluity’; this was probably intended there but the *ra* is not in the MS.

cetrachu daltau: .l. mac dalta, Y. The number of foster-sons is consistently given in E as forty as here and again at §1 (and with forty cows feeding them on each occasion). At §8, forty sons of kings (*mac rig*) are said to have died in Echu’s company. The number is given in Y as fifty here but as forty in §1 and §8, so E seems to be correct here. Y becomes further confused regarding the number of cattle feeding his retinue. It gives forty (*xl. bo*) for himself (*frim biathad*) and wrongly 140 (*.uii. .xx.et lulgach*) for the fosterlings.

a:tā i ndeth[it]in foruib: ata indethin foruib, E; ata .l. didiu andetitin for suidib, Y. The reading *detitin* in Y is closest in form to *deithiden* (ā, f.), later *deithitiu* (n, f.), ‘care, concern, solicitude, attention’ (*eDIL* s.v.). I take .l. to stand for *laíg* ‘calves’ and *suidib* must refer back to the 140 cows in the preceding sentence.⁶² *Deithiden* is most commonly used with the genitive of the thing cared for, or with the prepp. *di/do/imm*, but we do find examples of *i ndeithitin* as early as *Fís Adomnáin*.⁶³ Thus, I would construe Y’s reading as ‘calves are in their [the cows’] care’, which would explain why Echu cannot offer them to Ailill for the *Táin*. E seems have amended an original reading similar to Y but it makes grammatical sense in its own right. Original *for suidib* seems to have been altered, perhaps after the loss of reference to calves, to *foruib*, so that the syntax is changed and we must read *i* as the poss. adj., *a ndeithitin*, ‘their care’. I take it that Echu is invoking Ailill’s protection of his cattle either

⁶²For a discussion of the use and semantics of *suide* in classical Old Irish, see Griffith 2013.

⁶³*i ndeithidin a colla* ‘preoccupied with the body’ (Carey 2019: 96, l. 4); *Cia dethitiu i faili-siu don bargin út*, ‘Why do you trouble yourself about that loaf’ (Nowlan 1904: 134–5); *i snimh no i ndeit[h]itin* (Stokes 1909: l. 3337), where it has the later sense ‘anxiety’.

in general or specifically while he is on this diplomatic expedition. **Y** probably better reflects the archetype here.

§7. Co n-ētar: con[e]rthar, **Y. E** is consistent with the pres. subj. 3 sg. pass. prot. of *ad-cota* ‘obtains’ (see *-ētar* 6, particularly *conn-ētar* in **Y**), and I take *con-* as an example of the conjunction used in wishes (*eDIL* s.v. 3 *co* 9). However, this construction arises only in late Mlr (Murphy 1998: 255). The reading of **Y** is now unclear and I follow Windisch’s transcription. Morphologically, this could be pres. subj. 3 sg. pass. of *con-ern* which, however, is attested only once in the somewhat inappropriate sense ‘bestows mutually’. It is more likely that it was intended as pres. subj. 3 sg. pass. of *ernaid* ‘bestows’ with the same conjunction *con-* found in **E**. Thus, neither MS may accurately preserve the original reading.

do:chorthae: roferad, **Y**; om. **A**. The absence of palatalisation in the past subj. pass. sg. is noteworthy. According to Thurneysen, in verbs containing *-cuirethar*, the root vowel became *-o-* in the subj. and the *-r-* was palatalised where the *-ā-* of the subj. was syncopated but remained non-palatal where it was retained, thus *friscoirthe* (*ML* 95a1) and *fris-coirter* (Stokes 1891: 201, l. 1), but pres. subj. 3 sg. *-corathar*; past subj. *-corad* (*GOI* 385). However, we would not expect palatalisation after syncope of *-ā-* and the palatalised forms must be explained by analogy (cf. *SnaG* 154). The older forms without palatalisation are found in more archaic texts, for example, *-aurcorthar* (*CIH* 1465, l. 9) and *fo:c[h]orthar* (Moran 2019: 198, §511, first stratum).

hi llaa-si int [s]ainnriuth: do lo airithi, **A**; om. **Y**. One might have expected some further qualifier specifying which day the cattle would arrive (cf., for example, *a lla-sa i cind mís*, ‘a month from today’, O Daly 1975: 40, l. 58). Echu does not leave for three days and even if we suppose that messengers were sent ahead, it seems unlikely, even in fanciful literature, that they would have been thought to be gathered from each farmer in the province and dispatched to Crúachain within a single day. I take it as an elliptical expression for ‘this very day [next year]’.

co comarnac[t]uir: coconrangatar, **A**; cotric, **Y**. Pret. 3 pl. of *con-ricc* with expected quality of post-syncope consonants (see McCone 1997: 54). **A** shows the influence of the deuterotonic.

Feguit for imairicc 7 oc imnaisi chatho: Fegaid animar [...], **Y**; om. **A**. The verb (*feguit*) could represent the pres. ind. 3 pl. of *fichid* ‘fights’, but the use of the preposition *for* and the additional clause are problematic. The prep. *for* is used to mark the person/thing that is vanquished, and the syntax *Feguit [...] oc imnaisi chatho* would be syntactically peculiar. It seems more likely that the verb was understood as *feccaid* ‘begins’ with the /k/ erroneously represented as g, possibly through the influence of the 3 pl. of *fichid* or *féchaid* ‘sees’. It is noteworthy that **Y** omits the awkward prep. *for* from the first part of the sentence. Furthermore, there is no space in **Y** for *7 oc imnaisi chatho*, which must have been omitted, suggesting, perhaps, that this phrase was not compatible with the scribe’s understanding of the verb. **Y** seems to take the

verb here as 3 sg. which would rule out *fichid*, but we might read its *fegaid* as *fechait* with lenited *g* for original *ch* and *d* for /d/. *Féchaid/fégaid* ‘sees’ may otherwise be intended.

Inse Uu Conchada a Mide: insena Conchada amide, **E**; inseuu Conchada amidi **Y**. The first part of the name must comprise the element *inis* (ī, f.) ‘island’. I take **Y**’s *inseuu* as superior to **E**’s *insena* (which shows confusion of *u* and *n*), and conclude that *uu* most probably stands for *ú* or *úa* ‘descendant of’. Hogan does not list any name corresponding to the placename given here. He gives separately *Insenna* which, however, turns out to be a variant spelling of the name *na teora Uinsenda Ua n-Ailella* which was given to three rivers in Co. Sligo (Hogan 1910: 677, 690). Kevin Murray (pers. comm.) draws my attention to an *Inis Conchada* in Mide which is mentioned in *Betha Cholmáin meic Lúacháin*: Téitt [...] siar a nÚib Tigernáin [...] Togaid [...] Indsi Conchada cona Cnoc Domnallán, ‘he goes westward into the land of Ui Thigernáin... He chooses... Inis Conchada with Cnoc Domnallán’ (Meyer 1911: 64–5, §§61–2). Walsh (2003: 268) cautiously identifies this as the island now known as Big Island or Dysart Island on Lough Ennel. *Betha Colmáin* omits the *úa* but it would be relatively straightforward for it to be elided following the vowel of *Inse*. Windisch and Thurneysen do not interpret *amide*, presumably because they thought it improbable that Munstermen returning home from Crúachain would have gone through Mide. Nevertheless, in the absence of any other satisfactory explanation, that seems to be how it was interpreted in the archetype. We might postulate that some similar name stood in the original *TBD* and this was misunderstood by a later scribe as the place in Mide.

§9. All-aidchi: Da mbai Ailill ann agaid, **Y**; Dala .vero. Ailella, **A**. See *GOI* 248, 309 and *eDIL* s.v. 1 *aile* C.I. (a). For use of (*al*)*la* with fem. nouns cf. *cech’la* (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *aile* C.I. (d)).

Cōichi ib-si: coich sibh, **A**; cia bar n<...>, **Y**. *Cóich* ‘whose, who’ appears to have been declinable in the plural, although it is not widely attested. In *TBC LL*, we find older *cóchit* (l. 1149) alongside *cóichi* (l. 1158) within a few lines of each other. It seems to be the latter form that is intended here, along with a late form *ib* of the stressed independent pronoun *sib* which starts to appear at the end of the twelfth century (*SnaG* 274). However, this is likely to be a reinterpretation of an otherwise unattested 2 pl. **cóichib* (cf. *cichib*- ‘what’, Meid 2015: 49, l. 334) which was reinterpreted as pl. *cóichi* + an independent pronoun. **A** has taken this modernisation a stage further. The **Y** reading probably stands for *cía bar n-anmann* ‘what are your names?’.

Cosgar ocus Nemchuscar: all three MSS agree in the form of the phantoms’ names here. *Coscar* can mean ‘triumph, victory’ and occasionally ‘slaughter’ (see *eDIL* s.v.) and I suggest that the text is playing with the senses here. Ailill clearly understands it in the more common sense of ‘victory’ and dismisses its opposite (*Nemchuscar*). The phantom then asserts that Ailill will, indeed, have *coscar* (*bid cusccar ēm duit-si*), but with an ominous rider, *cepē cruth* ‘whatever its form’, which seems to deliberately invoke the ambiguity in the word. More

particularly, she does not say on what side of the ‘victory’ (victor or fallen) the Connacht band will be. This seems to explain why the other phantom is named *Nemchuscar*: its sense is clear only when the true sense of *coscar* has been divined.

§10. Corb Cliach mac Tassich: Co<rp Li>at<h mac T>aisig, **Y**; Coirpri Cliach mac Taisuigh, **A**. All three MSS are internally consistent in their naming of this individual but differ from each other. **Y** and **E** present his given name as Corb/Corp, which is likely therefore to have stood in the archetype, while **A** has Coirpri/Cairpri. On the other hand, **E** and **A** agree in giving his epithet as *Cliach* against **Y**’s *Liath*. Thurneysen (1921: 305n.) took the **Y** reading *Liath* to be the correct one (so in full in **Y** 11, 16) as the text places him on the banks of the Blackwater (see next note) and so is too far south to be in Clíu. Alternatively, we might postulate that the epithet was originally Clíath ‘of the hurdles’, which was confused with *Cliach* < *Clíu* in **E** and **A** and reinterpreted as ‘Liath’ in **Y**. *TBC* 1, l. 3956 lists *trí Coirpre Cliach* in the mustering of the men of Ireland which may have motivated **A**’s change from Corb to Coirpre.

Corb’s patronymic is consistently given, with some variation in spelling, across all three MSS. This is an extremely rare name and is given only to a single individual in O’Brien’s *Corpus Genealogiarum*, namely, Tassach or Ailill Tassach, son of Echu Liatháin from whom the Uí Liatháin in east Cork, south of the Blackwater, were descended (O’Brien 1962: 151b5; and p. 229; see map in Byrne 1973: 173). The Uí Thassaig were descended from this (Ailill) Tassach (O’Brien 1962: 229) and his son, Bressal, was claimed to have been king of Munster (Byrne 1973: 177). The synchronisms would place Tassach about the fourth century CE and so too late for an Ulster Cycle context but it seems possible that the character in *TBD* was forged from the same material as the ancestor of the Uí Thassaig. It may be no coincidence, therefore, that Tassach supposedly had a brother, Corp, from whom the sept of Uí Chuirp descended (O’Brien 1962: 229). A certain Tassach, apparently from T’Assach, was St Patrick’s craftsman (see Bieler 1979: 222).

Nem[e] aníartuaith: Nemaine artuaith, **E**; Neime fri Aine Cliach atuidh, **A**, Neme antuaid, **Y**. Nem is an old name for the River Blackwater in Cos. Kerry and Cork (*HDGP* i, 5, s.n. Abha(nn) Mhór (3)) and is clearly supported by **A** and **Y** on separate branches of the stemma. **E**’s *nemaine* could be read as a *n*-stem inflection which does not appear to be otherwise attested (see *oc Neim*, *AU* s.a. 858). The *-n-* for *-nn-* is not particularly problematic but if it were to be accepted as a genuine form it would have to be taken as a later innovation in the **E** branch. However, the rendering of *antuaid* as *artuaith* makes little sense and I think that it represents the end of the adverb *aníartuaith* (for *aníartuaid*) ‘north-west (of)’ (see *eDIL* s.v. *aníar*) and that [*ani*] has mistakenly become attached to the name of the river. I emend accordingly. In **A**, the detached *ani* was taken as the placename *Áine* and the whole reanalysed as the placename *Áine Cliach*, the hills in the townland and parish of Knockainy, Co. Limerick, in the territory of Clíu where much of the action of the tale is set. **Y**’s *antuaid*

appears to be a good OIr form and may well be original but it is more likely that it is a simplification of *aniartuaid*.

Cia for n-anmunn-si: Cia *bur* n-anmand sa, **A**; Ciasu annann bai for suidiu, **Y**. Both **E** and **A** offer the same reading in direct speech. **Y**'s transformation into indirect speech, as if it were an authorial interjection, makes little sense within the following dialogue.

Tecluim: Tecmall, **Y**; Teclamha, **A**. This means 'collecting, gathering' (vn. of *do-ecmalla*) but also substantively 'collection, band'. **Y** has the older, pre-metathesis form while **A** seems to have a reduced form of the later vn., *teclamad*. It could refer to the mustering of an army but a purely non-military sense is more commonly associated with it and it is rendered 'Sammeln' by Thurneysen (1921: 305). The pairing with *cosgrad* suggests a military sense but I have adopted the deliberately ambiguous translation 'gathering'.

Cosgrad: Coscrad, **Y**, **A**. This echoes the name given previously (*Cosgar*) but here it is a vn. 'act of overthrowing, destroying; hacking, tearing apart; disturbing'. The fact that Corb rejects *cosgrad* in favour of *tecluim* suggests that he has identified the ambiguity of the former that we have seen in relation to *coscar* (§9) and he does, indeed, return as victor in the battle with the princes of Connacht.

Níba duit-si ēm bus cuscrad 7 con:sgarfa mic rīg 7 airech: Níbadsidsi b̄ coscrad macu ri 7 airech, **A**; Ni bo coscur duidseo or si 7 bid tecmallad. Cia nesam dun de suidiu. Ni *ansa*. Tecmall lat maccu rig 7 rigdamna *con* scailfeam maccu rig 7 rigdam<na 7> airech, **Y**.

A contains several errors, including the loss of the verb *con:sgarfa* which would have governed the apl. *macu* (for **E**'s *mic*). As it stands in **E**, Corb's rejection of destruction (*cuscrad*) is granted by the otherworld woman who, rather than promising *tecluim* as might be expected, instead assures him that he will be a destroyer. As this is repeated in **A**, despite some garbling in the extant MS copy, it clearly made sense to at least two separate scribes. However, **Y** appears to have desired greater clarity and I would suggest that it has expanded the text for that purpose (see above p. 188). It drops the reference to the destruction of the youths and introduces a stated preference for *tecmallad*. Although this is a later formation than *tecmall* (the name given to the phantom in **Y**), it is attested as early as *Wb.* (see *eDIL* s.v.), but it seems to be telling that the scribe chose to deploy a different form of the same word. The remainder of the additional material is also found in §9 from which it may have been copied. It is noteworthy that *con:sgarfa* has been replaced by a similar verb (*scaillid* 'scatters') with *con* in the sense 'that'. The juxtaposition *maccu rig 7 rigdam<na 7> airech*, if correctly read, seems erroneous. If not for *maccu rig 7 airech* as in **A** and **E** (with orthographic variation), then the second 7 might be omitted.

§11. -immairi: pres. subj. 3 sg. of *imm-airicc* (see *eDIL* s.v.)

§12. -comairsim: pres. subj. 1 pl. of *con-ricc* for expected *-comairsem* (e.g. at *Wb.* 33a9) but we find non-palatal consonants elsewhere in this text immediately following *i*. See note to **-ndigsid**, 1.

§14. torbad: MS *torb-*; *torbath*, **Y**. See *eDIL* s.vv. *torbad* and *torbaid*.

feimgeth: See *eDIL* s.v. *fěimded* ‘refusing, rejecting, renouncing’.

i cCliu: A territory approximately coterminous with the diocese of Emly in Cos Limerick and Tipperary (*HDGP* v, 71). The earliest rhyming example that I know of occurs in the poem beginning ‘Clann Ailella Auluimb uill’ among the early genealogies of *Sil Ébir* where we find the rhyme *Chliu:fīu* (O’Brien 1962: 194, l. 3). See also the rhyme with *eu/heo* (dat. sg. of *éo* ‘tree, yew’) in *Cath Maige Mucraime* (O Daly 1975: 58, ll. 311, 315) and in *Scéla Mošauluim* (ibid. 78, l. 597; 80, l. 630) which O Daly, surely correctly, emends to expected *iu* (from *iwū).

§15. tredam: *tri daim*, **Y**; *tri daim*, **A**. **E** has the *lectio difficilior*. This compound is not attested elsewhere. We may compare *cethardam* ‘(a team of) four oxen’, but there do not seem to be references to teams of three oxen. On teams of two, four and six oxen, see Kelly 1998: 473–7. Prof. Ó hUiginn draws my attention to what appears to be a team of three horses (*tre ech*) mentioned in a poem attributed to Bricne (Bricriu) in a marginal note in the earlier recension of *Táin Bó Flidais* in *LU* (p. 56). The poem is repeated with slightly different wording in the Early Modern recension (*Bidham tre-each asa iath*, ‘We will have a team of three horses from his estate’, Ní Mhaoláin 2025: 100, §49) where Bricriu explains the sense: *Ionann sin agus trí eich do thabhairt do gach aon duine dá dtáinig liom-sa, agus carbad fionnruine for gach tre-each díbh sin*, ‘That means that he will give three horses to every single person who came with me, with a chariot of white-bronze on every team of three horses of them’ (ibid. §50). Here, the *tre-each* is explicitly associated with a chariot. Teams of three horses, known as *trigae*, are known from chariot racing in ancient Rome and we are reminded of the Russian *troika* which comprised three horses.

Tucuit ind oicc lēo fora n-echaib: *Tucaid inn oic leo a mbiad forsna hechaib* **Y**. An object of the verb is missing in **E** as it stands but this is not uncommon in *Ml*r texts. I take the verbal form as a jussive subjunctive 3 pl. which is demanded by the context of **E**. However, **Y** has reinterpreted it as pres. ind. and supplied an object (*a mbiad* ‘their food’).

§16. Dus:n-ārthet: *dos-autat*, **Y**; *nus-n-airgét*, **A**. This is pres. ind. 3 pl. of *do-airret* ‘overtakes, comes up with; attacks, falls on’. **Y** has the rarer verb *do-autat* ‘comes (upon), catches, affronts, assails’ (*eDIL* s.v. *do-autat*) but it is noteworthy that the 140 warriors are not along with Corb, as in **E**, but are the Connachta (*Dos-autat Corb [...] secht fichit laech ar a cend*). **Y** is not consistent with itself here for at §9 it states that there were forty men in the Connacht force, so I take *dos-autat* as an error. If **E** preserves the original reading, as seems likely, then the change in the ancestor of **Y** is likely to have

happened at an early stage in its transmission. A appears to take the verb as *oirgid* ‘slaughters’ although this is out of sequence here for, in the next clause, they launch the attack.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMC *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne*, edited by K. H. Jackson (Dublin 1990).

HDGP *Historical Dictionary of Gaelic Placenames / Foclóir Stairiúil Áitainmneacha na Gaeilge*, edited by Pádraig Ó Riain, Diarmuid Ó Murchadha, Kevin Murray and Emma Nic Cárthaigh (London 2003–).

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THE TEXTUAL HISTORY OF *TRIOEDD Y MEIRCH* (THE TRIADS OF THE HORSES)

ABSTRACT

Trioedd y meirch (the triads of the horses) make up a coherent sub-group within the corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, or the Triads of the Island of Britain. Ten texts of *trioedd y meirch* survive from between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries; this article seeks to better understand the transmission and development of these texts. It identifies five main versions of *trioedd y meirch* which circulated within Wales during the medieval period and argues that the corpus as it survives today represents the contributions of the many scribes and copyists who encountered this material over a period of centuries and must be understood in its written context. This article also considers *trioedd y meirch*'s relationship to *Canu y Meirch*, a poem which survives in the Book of Taliesin (NLW Peniarth 2) and develops a relative chronology for the development of the expanded narrative triad *Tri marchlwyth Ynys Prydain* ('Three horse-burdens of the Island of Britain', *TYP* no. 44).

WHILE THE TRIADIC FORM is not unusual anywhere in the world as a literary or organizational device, triads seem to have been a particularly popular and fruitful way to organize and transmit cultural inheritance in medieval Wales (and, to a lesser extent, its neighbour Ireland).¹ Triads in medieval Welsh survive in manuscripts from the thirteenth century onward pertaining to a wide variety of disciplines and subjects. Questions about the origin and purpose of these triads persist but it is clear that the form was integral to scholarship in medieval Wales and to the Welsh learned class. Collections of triads survive from the earliest manuscripts onward pertaining to the fields of law (*trioedd cyfraith*), poetic composition (*trioedd cerdd*), proverbs or gnomes (known in later medieval Wales as *trioedd Taliesin*), and medicine, as well as in a text known as *Y Trioedd Arbennig* ('the Principal Triads'), which lists the 'three principal ones' (*tri un arbennig*), 'three principal twos' (*tri dau arbennig*), 'three principal threes' (*tri thri arbennig*), and so on up to the 'three principal tens' (*tri deg arbennig*).²

¹On the triadic form overall, see Fergus Kelly, 'Thinking in threes: the triad in early Irish literature', *PBA* 125 (2003), 1–18 and Morfydd E. Owen, 'Welsh triads: an overview', *Celtica* 25 (2007), 225–50.

²For an edition and discussion of the legal triads, see Sara Elin Roberts, *The Legal Triads of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 2011); for an edition and discussion of the proverbial and gnostic triads, see Morfydd E. Owen, 'Trioed hefut yw yrei hynn', *Ysgrifau Berniadol* 14 (1988), 87–133; for an

One subset of these triads in medieval Welsh is the collection of closely-related texts known as *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. This collection is one of the richest sources of storytelling material, or *cyfarwyddyd*, that survives from medieval Wales. Although this corpus is well known, its development and transmission are not well understood. This article attempts to rectify that by re-visiting the medieval corpus of *trioedd y meirch* (the triads of the horses), one of the most studied and best understood sub-groups within the corpus.³ I hope, in doing so, to demonstrate how much can be gleaned about *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* from a granular reading of all its surviving versions.⁴

To date, *trioedd y meirch* are the only part of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* that have been discussed as a coherent sub-section with its own transmission history.⁵ Horse triads appear in ten medieval texts of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* where, with only a few exceptions, they are always grouped together.⁶ In three texts, these triads are marked off with their own heading.⁷ In other cases, however, *trioedd y meirch* are simply included as a block in the collection without any indication

edition and discussion of *Y Trioedd Arbennig*, see Morfydd E. Owen, 'Y trioedd arbennig', *BBCS* 24 (1972), 434–50. For a discussion of the poetic triads, see Paul Russell, 'Poetry by numbers: the poetic triads', in Deborah Hayden and Paul Russell (eds), *Grammatica, Gramadach, and Gramadeg: Vernacular Grammar and Grammarians in Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Amsterdam, 2016) and cf. Ann Matonis, 'The concept of poetry in the Middle Ages: the Welsh evidence from the bardic grammars', *BBCS* 36 (1989), 1–12. There is a dearth of scholarship on the medical triads, but Diana Luft has cautioned that they are likely the work of the nineteenth-century forger Iolo Morgannwg (*Medieval Welsh Medical Texts*, vol. I: *The Recipes* (Cardiff, 2020), 7).

³For the purposes of this project, I have constrained myself to texts of *trioedd y meirch* and *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* dating to up to c. 1600; this is what I mean when I refer throughout this article to 'the corpus' or 'the medieval corpus'. *Trioedd y meirch* and the rest of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* continued to be copied into manuscripts into the nineteenth century, however. These early modern and modern texts are discussed in Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff, 2014), xxxi–lii. Like their medieval counterparts, they deserve a detailed reconsideration, which I hope to return to in the future.

⁴I use the terms 'text(s)', 'version(s)', and 'manuscript(s)' to refer to various aspects of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus throughout this article. Since these are easily elided it will be useful to define them here: I use 'manuscript(s)' to indicate whole books, which survive in archives today (e.g. the Red Book of Hergest or NLW Peniarth 16) and 'text(s)' to refer specifically to the parts of those manuscripts which contain material pertaining to *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* and/or *trioedd y meirch*; individual texts survive within individual manuscripts. 'Version(s)', on the other hand, indicates a group or family of multiple texts which share a line of transmission (e.g. Version 1, Version 2, etc. and similar to Rachel Bromwich's use of 'Early Version' and 'White and Red Version', discussed presently).

⁵This is almost entirely the work of Rachel Bromwich. See Rachel Bromwich, 'Triads of the horses,' in Sioned Davies and Nerys Ann Jones (eds), *The Horse in Celtic Culture: Perspectives from Medieval Wales* (Cardiff, 1997), 102–20 and Rachel Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein: Triads of the Island of Britain*, 4th ed. (Cardiff, 2014), lxxx–lxxxvii. Marged Haycock's comments on *trioedd y meirch* are cited below, pp. 234–5, especially n. 48.

⁶The exceptions to this grouping are some witnesses to the expanded triad *Tri Marchlwyth* ('Three horse-burdens', *TYP* no. 44), which in a few cases appears mixed in with other triads (see below, p. 241), the witnesses to *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ('Three sprightly steeds', *TYP* no. 42) which appear at the end of the texts in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, BL Add 15047, and NLW 6434 (see below, pp. 232–3), and Cardiff Central Library 2.26's witness to *Tri rhoddedigfarch* ('Three bestowed horses', *TYP* no. 38), which appears without other horse triads. Cardiff 2.26 does not otherwise contain horse triads.

⁷These headings appear at NLW Peniarth 4 (White Book of Rhydderch), fol. 57r; Oxford, Jesus College 111 (Red Book of Hergest), fol. 146r; and NLW Peniarth 47, p. 24.

that they are different from the other triads. Modern scholarship has tended to imbue them with gravitas and a patina of antiquity, owing, at least in part, to the fact that a fragment of four horse triads survives in the thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW Peniarth 1), the earliest surviving manuscript written entirely in Welsh. Another obvious reason why *trioedd y meirch* have been seen as a cohesive unit is that they are clearly related to each other on thematic grounds – with a few exceptions, the triads of the horses are indeed about horses. While it was possible for *trioedd y meirch* to circulate independently from the rest of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, they remain a subset of that larger triadic type, which was designed to transmit *cyfarwyddyd*, and should not be considered their own triadic genre.⁸

Nothing can be written about *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* without acknowledging the work of Rachel Bromwich, whose volume *Trioedd Ynys Prydain: The Triads of the Island of Britain* comprises an edition and textual analysis of the corpus.⁹ It is the most complete and influential work on these triads to date. That being said, Bromwich's approach now seems rather dated from our vantage point over sixty years after the volume's initial publication. Bromwich emphasized the origin and early history of the corpus in her work – subjects that, at best, can only be discussed with educated guesses. As a consequence, the later transmission and development of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* have received considerably less notice.

This is not to say that Bromwich paid no attention to this subject. Indeed, she identified two primary strands of transmission for the corpus, which she called the 'Early' version and 'White and Red' version respectively. Unfortunately, the situation is more complicated than Bromwich fully reckoned with and these versions are somewhat inadequate for explaining the transmission of the corpus in the later medieval period.¹⁰ Still, these terms remain useful for discussing texts that survive in manuscripts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Indeed, as I will discuss below, there are clear differences between texts of *trioedd y meirch* found in NLW Peniarth 16 and those which descend from it (i.e. the 'Early' version or what I call Version 2 of *trioedd y meirch*) and the versions found in the White Book of Rhydderch, Red Book of Hergest, and manuscripts descended from them (i.e. the 'White and Red' version or what I call Version 3).

THE TRANSMISSION HISTORY OF *TRIOEDD Y MEIRCH*

I have identified three types of triads within the larger corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*: 'epithet + three names' formula-type triads, partially expanded triads, and fully expanded triads.¹¹ The horse triads are united by a slight alteration

⁸It follows from this that I differentiate in this article between *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, which is a title and a proper noun, and *trioedd y meirch*, which I treat as a common noun.

⁹This volume was first published by the University of Wales Press in 1961, with subsequent editions in 1978, 2006, and 2014. Citations throughout this article are to the fourth (2014) edition.

¹⁰I hope to publish my work on this issue in the future.

¹¹While the 'epithet + three names' formula is very strict, defining 'partially expanded' and 'fully expanded' triads is not an exact science. Broadly, I define 'fully expanded' triads as those

to the 'epithet + three names' formula, which usually consists of a title and three limbs containing only three personal names and their patronyms without any padding or supplemental narrative information.¹² In *trioedd y meirch*, by contrast, we are given the personal name of each horse as well as the name and patronym of its owner, so the formula becomes '[horse's name] *march* [owner's personal name] *mab* [owner's patronym]'.¹³ For the most part, *trioedd y meirch* adhere strictly to this formula, though there is certainly room for expansion and innovation. One example of innovation is the long, expanded triad *Tri marchlwyth* ('Three horse-burdens,' *TYP* no. 44), which I will discuss at length in the second part of this article.

In one version of *trioedd y meirch* – Version 2 – *Tri marchlwyth* is followed by the two triads within the *trioedd y meirch* corpus which diverge from the horse theme: *Tri phrif ychen* ('Three principal oxen', *TYP* no. 45) and *Tair prif fuch* ('Three principal cows', *TYP* no. 46). These triads may not be about horses, but they do not stray from the topic of beasts of burden. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a substantive difference between these final three triads in this version of *trioedd y meirch* and those that precede them in Version 2, all of which conform to the *trioedd y meirch* formula. This difference, combined with the fact that *Tri phrif ychen* and *Tair prif fuch* do not appear in manuscripts associated with the other strands of transmission – namely, Versions 1 and 3 – leads to the conclusion that these three triads are later innovations which were not written until after the divergence of these two strands. Furthermore, two more additional, otherwise unknown triads appear in NLW Peniarth 47.¹⁴

This variation makes it clear, therefore, that *trioedd y meirch* were not seen as sacred or untouchable by scribes of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and that at least some of these men had no more compunctions about making changes and additions to them than any other part of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*.

which are long enough to be considered short prose passages in their own right and contain a substantial amount of narrative material (examples include *Tri gwddfeichiad* ('Three powerful swineherds', *TYP* no. 26) and *Tri chyfor* ('Three levies', *TYP* no. 35)). 'Partially expanded' triads are the most varied in form of the three types – they are any triads which diverge from the strict 'epithet + three names' formula but do not rise to the level of 'fully expanded' triads (examples include *Tri unben Deifr a Brynaich* ('Three lords of Deira and Bernicia', *TYP* no. 10) and *Tri thaleithiog cad* ('Three diademed battle leaders', *TYP* no. 21). I hope to publish my work on these triad types in the future.

¹²I use the term 'epithet' to describe the words appearing in the title of each triad, following Bromwich, who defined and translated these often archaic and obscure words in her volume (she uses 'epithet' throughout, for instance, at *TYP* lxxviii). I use Bromwich's translations of these epithets as well as her numbering system (ie. *TYP* no. 38, *TYP* no. 39, etc.) to identify triads throughout this article.

¹³Compare, for instance, the 'epithet + three names' formula-type triad *Tri hael* ('Three generous men', *TYP* no. 2): '*Tri hael enys Prydein: Nud hael mab Senyllt, Mordaf hael mab Seruan, Ryderch hael mab Tudwal tutclyt*' (quoted from NLW Peniarth 16, fol. 50r, cf. Bromwich, *TYP* 5) to the *trioedd y meirch* formula in *Tri roddedigfarch* ('Three bestowed horses', *TYP* no. 38): '*Meinlas march Caswallon mab Beli, Melyngan mangre march Llew llaw gyffes, a Lluagor march Caradog freichfras*' (quoted from NLW Peniarth 16, fol. 52v, cf. Bromwich, *TYP* 103).

¹⁴These are *Tri roddedigfarch* ('Three bestowed horses', *TYP* no. 46A; not to be confused with the identically named and better-attested *TYP* no. 38) and *Tri rydegfarch* ('Three coursing horses', *TYP* no. 46B). For both see Peniarth MS 47, pp. 24–5 and cf. Bromwich, *TYP* 127.

That being said, it remains an open question how many of these changes can be credited to creative choices made deliberately and consciously by individual scribes in *trioedd y meirch*'s transmission history as opposed to simply being differences that came about naturally through the process of transmission, such as eyeskip or spelling errors. This is especially the case for names, which tend to be less familiar to and more difficult for scribes than other types of words. I will pay special attention to these questions in what follows.

Questions about the transmission history of *trioedd y meirch* are only intensified by the fact that the various versions of the horse triads, as they have come down to us in the surviving manuscripts, are especially fluid and variable, as Bromwich has noted, writing:

A comparison of the variant manuscript readings indicates that a considerable degree of confusion has taken place in transmission of these triads. Both the forms of the horses' names and the names of their owners are liable to differ in various versions of each triad. This in itself suggests that the confusion goes far back into the oral stage of transmission, and that the extant texts may be based on variant oral versions.¹⁵

I am inclined to agree with her that *trioedd y meirch* is likely to have initially circulated orally. If any text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* is derived directly from oral tradition, the fragment of *trioedd y meirch* in the Black Book of Carmarthen is the likeliest candidate.¹⁶ I am led to this conclusion by this text's fragmentary nature, the fact that all of its four triads adhere to a strict 'epithet + three names' formula, which is indicative of a mnemonic device, and the significant difference in content between this and other versions of these triads, discussed below.¹⁷ Daniel Huws notes that the scribe probably drew from a mix of written and oral sources for his compilation.¹⁸

¹⁵Bromwich, *TYP* lxxxi.

¹⁶On the Black Book of Carmarthen, see Daniel Huws, 'Five ancient books of Wales,' in *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff, 2000), 65–83 at 70–2, Daniel Huws, *A Repertory of Welsh Manuscripts and Scribes, 800–1800*, 3 vols (Aberystwyth, 2022), i, 332–3, and the section by E. D. Jones on the manuscript in A. O. H. Jarman, *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin* (Cardiff, 1982), xiii–xxiv).

¹⁷On mnemonic devices in medieval rhetoric and education, see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990). The type of mnemonic device she describes at pp. 80–107 is especially reminiscent of 'epithet + three names' formula-type triads (see above, pp. 216–17, nn. 11, 12, 13). However, an argument against the conclusion of an oral source could be mounted from the fact that the text breaks off in the middle of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* and an unrelated text begins on the following folio. If these triads were written from memory, not copied from an already incomplete source, it is difficult to imagine the scribe stopping dead in the middle of a triad and moving on to another text. On the other hand, in light of Huws's points about the book's oversized script and its compilation over a long period, it becomes possible to imagine the scribe running out of room on the page – perhaps in the manner familiar to anyone who has ever written a 'happy birthday' card – wandering away, and coming back later with a mind to start in on a new poem, triads forgotten. Since these triads appear only on a recto and verso of a single manuscript leaf, it is also possible that pages which once held additional triads have been lost. Erased text beneath the triads on this page appears to be a comment by a later reader and not a continuation of the triads, see Myriah Williams, 'Studies in the Black Book of Carmarthen,' unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 175.

¹⁸Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts*, 72: 'And if the sources [of the Black Book compiler] were

That being said, I see no reason why these variations must go ‘far back’ into the oral tradition, as Bromwich claims. Indeed, it is possible to track the patterns of these differences in the surviving (written) corpus of *trioedd y meirch*; I have indicated those patterns in Table 1 (p. 220). The table shows which versions of each triad appears within which text.

The version from which each manuscript’s individual triads originated are indicated by the number (V1–V7) given for each. It may be useful to refer back to this table throughout the next part of this article. I have named the versions as follows:

- Version 1 = version found in the Black Book of Carmarthen
- Version 2 = version found in Peniarth 16 and related texts
- Version 3 = version found in the White Book of Rhydderch, the Red Book of Hergest, and related texts
- Version 4 = version found in Peniarth 47
- Version 5 = version found in Peniarth 27ii
- Version 6 = innovation made in the (b) text of Cwrtmawr 3
- Version 7 = innovation made in the (b) text of *Y Diarebion Camberaec*.

Given this large degree of variation, it is not difficult to see why Bromwich wrote that there was a ‘great deal of confusion’ when it came to *trioedd y meirch*, and maybe ‘confusion’ is one word for it. However, as I will discuss in the next section, it belies the fact that the differences which appear are consistent and correspond along lines of transmission.

THE VARIOUS TEXTS OF *TRIOEDD Y MEIRCH*

As the table above demonstrates, there were five written versions of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus in circulation by the fifteenth century, which I have called Versions 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Two further versions – Versions 6 and 7 – represent more minor innovations in the late medieval or early modern period. I will briefly outline the five major versions before delving into all seven in more detail. Version 1, the version of *trioedd y meirch* found in the mid-thirteenth-century Black Book of Carmarthen (NLW Peniarth 1), is the earliest of these. The only surviving ‘pure’ version of Version 2 is found in NLW Peniarth 16, which is slightly later than the Black Book. It was clearly influential – horse triads derived directly from Version 2 continued to be copied throughout the sixteenth century.¹⁹ Versions 1 and 2 presumably share a common ancestor,

many, none of them yielding a large haul of poems, it is fair to ask: were they all written sources? Of our [five ancient books of Wales], the Black Book seems likeliest to contain a substantial proportion of poems which might derive directly from oral tradition. This likelihood is increased by the presence in the Black Book of several abbreviated texts and ‘floaters’, fragments of poems, some of them known elsewhere in fuller versions.’ This text of *trioedd y meirch* certainly falls into the ‘floater’ category.

¹⁹On Peniarth 16, see Bromwich, *TYP* xvi–xviii; Rachel Bromwich, ‘The historical triads: with special reference to Peniarth MS. 16’, *BBCS* 12 (1946), 1–5; Huws, *Repertory*, i, 340–1.

	BBC	P16	WBR	RBH	P47	P50	P51	P27ii
<i>Tri rhoddedigfarch</i> (TYP no. 38)	V1	V2	V2	V2	V4		V2	V5
<i>Tri phrif eddystr</i> (TYP no. 39)		V2	V2	V2	V2		V2	V5
<i>Tri anrheithfarch</i> (TYP no. 40)	V1	V2	V2	V2	V4	V2	V2	V5
<i>Tri gordderchfarch</i> (TYP no. 41)		V2	V3	V3	V4	V2	V3	V5
<i>Tri gohoyw eddystr</i> (TYP no. 42)	V1	V2	V3	V3	V4		V3	V5
<i>Tri thom eddystr</i> (TYP no. 43)	V1	V2			V4			V5
<i>Tri marchlwyth</i> (TYP no. 44)		V2		V3	V2	V2	V3	V5
<i>Tri phrif ychen</i> (TYP no. 45)		V2			V2	V2		
<i>Tair prif fuch</i> (TYP no. 46)		V2			V2	V2		
<i>Tri rhoddedigfarch</i> (TYP no. 46A)					V4			
<i>Tri rhydegfarch</i> (TYP no. 46B)					V4			

	Cwrt. 3(a)	Cwrt. 3(b)	DC(a)	DC(b)	BL(a)	BL(b)	NLW 6434	C 2.26
<i>Tri rhoddedigfarch</i> (TYP no. 38)	V2		V2		V2		V2	V2
<i>Tri phrif eddystr</i> (TYP no. 39)	V2		V2		V2		V2	
<i>Tri anrheithfarch</i> (TYP no. 40)	V2		V2		V2		V2	
<i>Tri gordderchfarch</i> (TYP no. 41)	V3		V2		V2		V2	
<i>Tri gohoyw eddystr</i> (TYP no. 42)	V3		V2	V7	V2	V7	V2	
<i>Tri thom eddystr</i> (TYP no. 43)			V2		V2		V2	
<i>Tri marchlwyth</i> (TYP no. 44)	V3	V6	V7		V2		V2	
<i>Tri phrif ychen</i> (TYP no. 45)			V2		V2		V2	
<i>Tair prif fuch</i> (TYP no. 46)			V2		V2		V2	
<i>Tri rhoddedigfarch</i> (TYP no. 46A)								
<i>Tri rhydegfarch</i> (TYP no. 46B)								

Table 1

which we may call Version *X. This is evident from the fact that all four triads found in the Black Book text also have witnesses in the Peniarth 16 text, though in all cases they show a great degree of textual variation.²⁰ Version 1 cannot be wholly unrelated to Version 2. Version *X may have circulated orally. As a written text, it may date as far back as the early thirteenth or late twelfth centuries.²¹ Subsequently, further innovations were made to Version 2 in manuscripts associated with the ‘White and Red’ version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* (first extant in White Book of Rhydderch, written in the mid-thirteenth century, and the Red Book of Hergest, written c. 1400), creating what I have called Version 3. This version contains three triads which are identical to Version 2 and three which appear in substantially different forms than they do in Version 2.

²⁰See discussion below, pp. 221–3.

²¹I can offer no concrete evidence for these dates, and they should be considered tentative, but I consider it likely that some version of *trioedd y meirch* was in circulation around this time on the basis that both the Black Book and Peniarth 16 date to around the middle of the thirteenth century. Since Peniarth 16 must have had a written exemplar (Bromwich, *TYP* xix), it seems likely that Version 2 was first written down by the second quarter of the thirteenth century. *Trioedd y meirch* were, presumably, circulating orally prior to that but, of course, the grounds for an earlier date become shakier and shakier the farther back one goes.

Two unique versions occur in NLW Peniarth 47 and NLW Peniarth 27ii, which I call Version 4 and Version 5, respectively. Both of these were written around the middle of the fifteenth century.²² The Peniarth 47 text represents a compilation of two earlier *trioedd y meirch* texts, one descended from Version 2 and the other a combination of Versions 1 and 3. The Peniarth 27ii text, on the other hand, does not seem to derive from Version 2 and appears to represent an otherwise-unknown version of *trioedd y meirch* descended from Version *X. The fact that the triadic text in Peniarth 27ii does not contain any non-horse triads lends even further interest; apparently it was possible, even as late as the middle of the fifteenth century, to find versions of *trioedd y meirch* circulating without their cousins in the larger corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* and in texts not directly related to Versions 2 or 3. Further, it is clear that it becomes more common for single horse triads to appear in books written in the sixteenth century, either amidst non-horse triads (as is the case in the text of Cardiff Central Library 2.26)²³ or as alternate versions of horse triads that appear elsewhere in the text (as is in the case in NLW Cwrtmawr 3, *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, and BL Add 15047).²⁴ A close reading of *trioedd y meirch* will demonstrate how I determined these relationships.

Version 1 (Black Book of Carmarthen) and Version 2 (NLW Peniarth 16)

There are two types of variations present in the *trioedd y meirch* corpus. The first type, in which the order of the names or limbs varies, is relatively common. Take, for instance, the case of *Tri anrheithfarch* ('Three horses of plunder', TYP no. 40):

TYP no. 40 Version 1 (BBC):

Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:

Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien,

a Bucheslum Seri march Gugaun Cletywrt,

a Tauautir Breichir march Kadwallaun filius²⁵ *Katuan*.²⁶

²²On Peniarth 47, see Bromwich, *TYP* xxv–xxvi and Huws, *Repertory*, i, 356–7; on Peniarth 27ii, see Bromwich, *TYP* xxx and Huws, *Repertory*, i, 346–7.

²³On Cardiff 2.26, see Bromwich, *TYP* xxxii and Huws, *Repertory*, i, 537–8. See above, n. 6.

²⁴On Cwrtmawr 3, see Bromwich, *TYP*, xlix–l and Huws, *Repertory*, i, 21–2; a version of *Tri marchlwyth* ('Three horse-burdens', TYP no. 44) appears amidst non-horse triads on p. 55 and again on pp. 93–4; see discussion below, p. 245. On *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, see Bromwich, *TYP* xxxi–xxxviii (because this is a printed book, Huws does not include it in his *Repertory*); a version of *Tri gohoyw eddystyr* ('Three sprightly steeds', TYP no. 42) appears amidst non-horse triads on pp. 61–2. It is notable that this is the final *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* triad in this manuscript's text; it is immediately succeeded by *trioedd cerdd*. The same triad appears in the same position on fol. 63r of BL Add 15047. On BL Add 15047, see Bromwich, *TYP* xxxviii and Huws, *Repertory*, i, 645.

²⁵This and the example in *Tri thom eddystyr* ('Three steeds of burden', TYP no. 43), also in the Black Book and discussed presently, are the only times the Latin *filius* is used as a substitute for Welsh *mab* in the corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*.

²⁶The transcriptions and translations throughout this article are my own unless otherwise noted. I have endeavoured to reproduce each text exactly as it appears in its manuscript with the original orthographical conventions and any spelling errors intact. Corrections or additions by later hands appear in brackets with italics; any places I have made my own editorial interventions are noted by brackets without italics. Expansions of abbreviations are noted by italics without

‘Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:
 Carnaflog horse of Owain son of Urien,
 and Bucheslwm *Seri* [? ‘of the causeway’]²⁷ horse of Gwgon
Cletywrut [‘ruddy sword’],
 and Tafawtir *Breichir* [‘long arm’] horse of Cadwallon son of
 Cadfan.’

TYP no. 40 Version 2 (P16):

Tri anreinŏarch Enys Prydein:
 Carnaŏlaŏc march Ewein mab Vryen,
 a Thauaŏthir march Catwallaŏ[n] mab Catuan,
 a Bucheslom march Gwgawn Gledyfrud.

‘Three horses of plunder²⁸ of the Island of Britain:
 Carnaflog horse of Owain son of Urien,
 and Tafawtir horse of Cadwallon son of Cadfan,
 and Bucheslom horse of Gwgon *gledyfrud* [‘ruddy sword’].’

When one looks past the orthographic differences, it becomes apparent that although the names appear in different orders, these two versions of the triad contain substantially the same material aside from the fact that Version 1 provides Bucheslom with the epithet *seri*, which Version 2 omits.

The second type of variation occurs when the name in one of the limbs has been entirely swapped out with a different name. In these cases the material contained within the triad has been substantially altered. This is the case, for instance, in *Tri thom eddystr* (‘Three steeds of burden,’ *TYP* no. 43):

TYP no. 43 Version 1 (BBC):

Tri t[h]om etystir Inis Pridein:
 Arwul Melin march Passcen filius Vrien,
 a Du Hir Terwenhit *march* Selyw mab Kynan Garrvin,
 a Drudluid *march* Ryterch Hael.

(Three pack-horses of the Island of Britain:
 Arfwl²⁹ *Melin* [‘Huge the yellow’] horse of Pasgen son of
 Urien,

brackets. I have, however, added modern punctuation and capitalization. In terms of translation, I have made an effort to give as literal a translation of the Welsh as possible while presenting readable English. Welsh names have been modernized, but epithets that are often associated with particular figures are presented in the original Middle Welsh with translation in brackets.

²⁷The meaning of *seri* is uncertain. See Ifor Williams, ‘Nodiadau cymysg: *seri*,’ *BBCS* 11/3 (1944), 148–9; Bromwich, *TYP* 107–8; and *GPC* s.v. *seri*.

²⁸This is the translation of this triad’s epithet given by Bromwich (*TYP* 107) but it should be noted that this manuscript reads *anrein*, a nonsense word, and not the more usual *anreith* (‘plunder, spoils, treasure’).

²⁹On the meaning of *arfwl*, see Bromwich’s note at *TYP* 113.

and Du *Hir Terwenhit* ['tall Black the fierce'] horse of Selyf
 son of Cynan Garwyn,
 and Drudlwyd ['Bold brown'] horse of Rhydderch *Hael* ['the
 generous'].)

TYP 43 Version 2 (P16):

Tri thom edystyr Enys Prydein:

Du march Brwyn mab Kynadaf,
 ac Arŵl Gelyn march Pasken mab Gryn,
 a Rudlwyd march Rydderch Hael.

'Three generous steeds of the Island of Britain:

Du horse of Brwyn son of Cynaddaf,
 and Arfwl *Gelyn* ['Huge the yellow'] horse of Pascen son of
 Urien,
 and Rhuddlwyd ['Red brown'] horse of Rhydderch *Hael* ['the
 generous'].

While these two versions of *Tri thom edystr* have enough in common that there can be no doubt they are the same triad, the differences between the names preserved within each of them effectively mean that they refer to different versions of the tradition. Both Selyf fab Cynan Garwyn and Brwyn fab Cynaddaf, who are mentioned in the alternate versions of *Tri thom eddystr*, are also attested elsewhere in medieval Welsh *cyfarwyddyd*, especially in genealogies, and either one would have been a fine addition to the body of *trioedd y meirch*.³⁰ If we assume that *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* were meant to accurately preserve and transmit the storytelling material of medieval Wales, this kind of alteration could be seen as a clear example of their failing at their primary objective. On the other hand, it allows modern readers to see the process of transmission in action.

Version 3 (White Book of Rhydderch and Red Book of Hergest)

Both of these types of variation – that of order as well as content – between Versions 2 and 3 can be seen again in the comparison of the texts of *Tri gorderchfarch* ('Three lovers' horses', *TYP* no. 41) and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ('Three sprightly steeds', *TYP* no. 42) in Peniarth 16 (Version 2) and the White Book (Version 3), respectively:

TYP no. 41 Version 2 (P16):

Tri gorderchŵarch Enys Prydein:

Ferlas march Dalldaf eil Cunin Cof,
 a Rudurych march Rahaŵt eil Morgant,
 a Gwelwgan Gohoeuwein march Moruran eil Tegit.

³⁰For Selyf fab Cynan Garwyn, see Bromwich, *TYP* 497. For Brwyn fab Cynaddaf, see Bromwich, *TYP* 294.

‘Three lovers’ horses of the Island of Britain:
 Fferlas horse of Dalldaf son of Cunin Cof,
 and Rhuddfrych horse of Rhahod son of Morgant,
 and Gwelwgan *Gohoewgein* [‘the splendidly beautiful’] horse
 of Morfran son of Tegid.’

TYP no. 41 Version 3 (WBR):

Tri gorderchuarch Ynys Brydein:
 Ferlas march Dalldaf eil Kunin,
 a Gwelwgan Goheŷgein march Keredic ap Gŷallaŷc,
 a Gŷrbrith march Raaŷt.
 Tri penuarch Ynys Brydein a dugant y tri marchlŷyth y mae
 eu henwi dracheuyn.

‘Three lovers’ horses of the Island of Britain:
 Fferlas horse of Dalldaf son of Cunin,
 and Gwelwgan *Goheŷgein* [‘the splendidly beautiful’] horse
 of Ceredig son of Gwallog,
 and Gwrfriith horse of Rhahod.
 Three packhorses of the Island of Britain who carried the three
 horse-burdens are those named above.’

TYP no. 42 Version 2 (P16):

Tri gohoew edystyr Enys Prydein:
 Llwyd march Alser mab Maelgwn,
 a Gŷineu Godwf Hir march Kei,
 a Chethin Carnaŷlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gŷent.

‘Three sprightly steeds of the Island of Britain:
 Llwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwn,
 and Gwinau *Godwf Hir* [‘long-necked’] horse of Cai,
 and Cethin *Carnaŷlaw* [‘the cloven-hoofed’] horse of Iddon
 son of Ynyr Gwent.’

TYP no. 42 Version 3 (WBR):

Tri thom edystyr Ynys Brydein:
 Gŷineu Gŷdŷf Hir march Kei,
 a Grei march Edwin,
 a Llwyd march Alser ap Maelgŷn.

‘Three steeds of burden of the Island of Britain:
 Gwinau *Gŷdŷfhir* [‘the long-necked’] horse of Cai,
 and Grai horse of Edwin,
 and Llwyd horse of Alser ap Maelgwn.’

It is clear that Version 3 of these triads has a very different transmission history from Version 2. Some of the differences are probably due to scribal misreadings or other types of corruption somewhere along the line of written transmission.

Others are more difficult to account for. Both triads substitute alternative names in at least one limb: Version 3's *Tri gordderchfarch* gives *Keredic uab Gôawllaôc* where Version 2 reads *Moruran eil Tegit* and *Gôrbrith* where Version 2 reads *Rudurych*; Version 3's form of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* gives *Grei march Edôin* where Version 2 reads *Cethin carnôlaw march Idon mab Enyr Gwent*. This later triad is alternatively titled *Tri thom eddystr* in Version 3, itself a significant difference.

It is possible that the scribe who expanded Version 2 to create Version 3 drew on written versions of *Tri godderchfarch* and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* which ultimately derived from oral tradition – I am thinking here of seemingly arbitrary differences, like the substitution of *Gôrbrith* for *Rudurych* or *Grei* for *Cethin carnawlaw*, which *could* have arisen from oral transmission – but I see no reason to conclude that they came wholesale, and exactly as we have them, from oral tradition. Indeed, as I have already noted, other differences between Versions 2 and 3 may be put down to scribal errors, indicating written transmission. Elsewhere in the 'White and Red' version, triads have often been discreetly expanded, not completely re-written; the changes made to triads in Version 3 do not follow this pattern.³¹ It is possible to speculate, though no concrete evidence is likely to come to light, that Version 3 represents the melding of Version 2 with another, otherwise unattested version we may call Version *Y. Even if this hypothetical exemplar is not accepted, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that the 'White and Red' version of *trioedd y meirch* (that is, Version 3) was compiled, re-written, and/or developed by a different individual from the one who expanded triads elsewhere in the 'White and Red' version.

It is notable, furthermore, that the two triads that I already identified above as departing from the other *trioedd y meirch* on stylistic grounds – *Tri phrif ychen* ('Three principal oxen', *TYP* no. 45) and *Tair prif fuch* ('Three principal cows', *TYP* no. 46) – do not appear in Version 3.³² Therefore, Versions 2 and 3 must have diverged before the composition of these triads, that is, before Peniarth 16 was written around the middle of the thirteenth century.

Version 4 (NLW Peniarth 47) and Version 5 (NLW Peniarth 27ii)

The already complex situation becomes even more complex when we turn to the unique versions of *trioedd y meirch* found in Peniarth 47 (Version 4) and Peniarth 27ii (Version 5). Both of these manuscripts date from the mid-fifteenth century. Each presents its own problems. It becomes clear that there was no 'standard' version of *trioedd y meirch* by this period, and that the texts in circulation were extremely fluid.

At first glance, Version 4 appears to be the more straightforward of the two; it agrees with Version 2 in four of its ten triads (these are *Tri phrif eddystr* ('Three chief steeds', *TYP* no. 39), *Tri marchlwyth* ('Three horse-burdens', *TYP*

³¹See my discussion of this phenomenon in Celeste L. Andrews, 'Three Powerful Swineherds of the Island of Britain: the development and transmission of *Tri gwrddfeichiad Ynys Prydain* (*TYP* 26)', *CMCS* 87 (Summer 2024), 79–104, at 96–7.

³²See discussion above, p. 217.

no. 44), *Tri phrif ychen* ('Three principal oxen', *TYP* no. 45), and *Tair prif fuch* ('Three principal cows', *TYP* no. 46)) while the rest are unique either in their order or their content, or both. This leads naturally to the initial conclusion that Version 4 represents a substantially reworked version of *trioedd y meirch* which was ultimately descended from Version 2. However, a closer look at the text's unique triads shows that they are much closer to either Versions 1 or 3 and that none of these triads seem to derive from Version 2. This can be demonstrated by comparing two triads from Version 4 to their counterparts in Versions 1, 2, and 3. First, take the example of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ('Three sprightly steeds', *TYP* no. 42):

TYP no. 42 Version 4 (P47):

Tri gohoyó edestyr Ynys Prydein:

Meinlas march Kaswallaón mab Beli,

a Grei march Etwin,

a Llóyt march Alsych mab Maelgón.

'Three sprightly steeds of the Island of Britain:

Meinlas horse of Caswallon son of Beli,

and Grai horse of Edwin,

and Llwyd horse of Alsych son of Maelgwn.'

TYP no. 42 Version 1 (BBC):

Tri gohoev etystir Inis Pridein:

Guynev Godvffhir march Kei,

Ruthir Ehon Tuthbleit march Gilbert mab Kadgyffro,

a Keincaled march Gualchmei.

'Three sprightly steeds of the Island of Britain:

Gwinau *Godvffhir* ['long-necked'] horse of Cai,

Rhuthr *Ehon Tuthbleid* ['fearless Rhuthr trotting-wolf'] horse

of Gilbert son of Cadgyffro,

and Ceingaled horse of Gwalchmai.'

TYP no. 42 Version 2 (P16):

Tri gohoew edystyr Enys Prydein:

Llwyd march Alser mab Maelgwn,

a Góineu Godwfhir march Kei,

a Chethin Carnaólaw march Idon mab Enyr Góent.

'Three sprightly steeds of the Island of Britain:

Llwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwn,

and Gwinau *Godwfhir* ['long-necked'] horse of Cai,

and Cethin *Carnaflaw* ['cloven-hoofed'] horse of Iddon son of

Ynyr Gwent.'

TYP no. 42 Version 3 (WBR):

Tri thom edystyr Ynys Brydein:
 Góineu Góðófhir march Kei,
 a Grei march Edwin,
 a Lluyd march Alser ap Maelgón.

‘Three steeds of burden of the Island of Britain:
 Gwinau *Góðófhir* [‘long-necked’] horse of Cai,
 and Grai horse of Edwin,
 and Llwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwn.’

It is clear that Version 4 of this triad is more closely related to Version 3 than it is to Versions 1 or 2. Indeed, there is virtually no overlap in either content or order between Version 4 and Version 1. On the other hand, despite the incongruous substitution of *Meinlas* for *Góineu*, who appears in every other version of this triad, Version 4 agrees with Version 3 over Version 2 in its order and its use of *Grei*, Edwin’s horse, in the second limb.³³ The opposite is the case, however, when we turn to *Tri anrheithfarch* (‘Three horses of plunder’, *TYP* no. 40):

TYP no. 40 Version 4 (P47):

Tri anreithuarth Ynys Prydein:
 Canaóthar march Catwallaón mab Catuan,
 a Bacheslóm Serch march Gógaón Gleifrud,
 a Charnaflaóc march Owein mab Vryen.

‘Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:
 Canawthar horse of Cadwallon son of Cadfan,
 and Bacheslwm *Serch* [? ‘of desire’]³⁴ horse of Gwgon *Gleifrud*
 [‘ruddy-sword’],
 and Carnaflog horse of Owain son of Urien.’

TYP no. 40 Version 1 (BBC):

Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:
 Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien,
 a Bucheslum Seri march Gugaun Cletywrut,
 a Tauautir Breichir march Kadwallaun filius *Katuan*.

‘Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:
 Carnaflog horse of Owain son of Urien,
 and Bucheslwm *Seri* [? ‘of the path’]³⁵ horse of Gwgon
Cletywrut [‘ruddy-sword’],

³³One difference between Versions 4 and 3 – Version 4’s reading of *Allych* where Version 3 has *Alser* – seems likely to be due to a scribal error or another form of textual corruption.

³⁴This appears to be a misreading or error for *seri*; *serch* is a much better attested word in Middle Welsh than *seri*.

³⁵See above, n. 27.

and Tafodir *Breichir* ['long-arm'] horse of Cadwallon son of Cadfan.'

TYP no. 40 Version 2 (P16):

Tri anreinŏarch Enys Prydein:

Carnaŏlaŏc march Ewein mab Vryen,
a Thauaŏthir march Catwallaŏ[n] mab Catuan,
a Bucheslom march Gwgawn Gledyfrud.

'Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:

Carnaŏlog horse of Owain son of Urien,
and Tafawtir horse of Cadwallon son of Cadfan,
and Bucheslom horse of Gwgon *Gledyfrud* ['ruddy sword'].'

TYP no. 40 Version 3 (WBR):

Tri anreithuarch Ynys B[ry]dein:

Karnaŏlaŏn march Ywein ap Vryen,
a Thauaŏt Hir march Katwallaŏn ap Ka[t]uan,
[a Buch]eslom march Gŏgaŏn Kledyfrud.

'Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:

Carnaŏlon horse of Owain son of Urien,
and Tafod Hir ['long tongue'] horse of Cadwallon son of
Cadfan,
and Bucheslom horse of Gwgon *Kledyfrud* ['ruddy-sword'].'

Again, Version 4 differs to some extent from every other version of this triad. No other version gives this reading of the horse's name in the third limb – a *Charnaŏlawc march Owein mab Vryen*, as opposed to the more usual *a Thauaŏthir* or other variants that start with *T-* and end in *-tir/thir*. However, Version 4 follows the order of Version 1 over the alternative order seen in Versions 2 and 3. Even more strikingly, Version 4 follows Version 1 in its reading of *Buchelsum serch* (> *Bucheslum seri*). As Bromwich notes, this is a tell-tale sign that it must be related to Version 1, the only other text to describe Bucheslwm thus.³⁶

To sum up, then, Version 4 seems to be closely related to Versions 1, 2, and 3 in turn. How can this puzzle be resolved? One part of the solution comes when we zoom out and examine the order in which the *trioedd y meirch* triads appear in Peniarth 47. The final four triads in the text are *Tri marchlwyth* (which we will return to presently), *Tri phrif eddystr*, *Tri phrif ychen*, and *Tair prif fuch* – the four triads that are derived from Version 2. This leads to the conclusion that the compiler of Version 4 (either the scribe of Peniarth 47, Siancyn ap Dafydd,³⁷ or one of his predecessors) added material from Version 2 after he had finished copying another exemplar. This other exemplar, which we may call Version *Z, appears to have been a compilation in its own

³⁶Bromwich, *TYP* 108.

³⁷On Siancyn, see Huws, *Repertory*, ii, 157.

right of Versions 1 and 3. *Tri rhoddedigfarch* ('Three bestowed horses', *TYP* no. 46A) and *Tri rhydegfarch* ('Three coursing horses', *TYP* no. 46B), the two *trioedd y meirch* unique to Version 4, appear to have been part of Version *Z. This exemplar compilation may have taken its Version 1 triads from a longer text than survives in the Black Book of Carmarthen, which included those two otherwise-unknown triads, although this can only be speculative. The proposed stemma of Version 4 is illustrated in Figure 1, below:

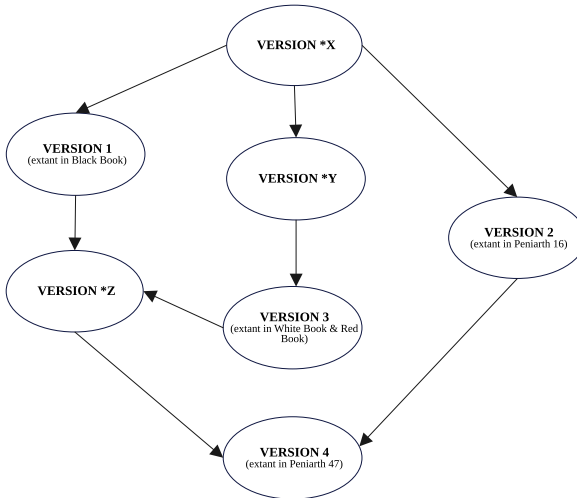


Figure 1: Stemma of Version 4 of *trioedd y meirch*

Interestingly, the unique version of *Tri marchlwyth* in Version 4 is more closely related to Version 3 in its first limb but more closely related to Version 2 in its second and third limbs. This may suggest that the scribe's Version *Z exemplar broke off in the middle of that long triad and he copied the rest from another text he had handy.³⁸ He may have noticed that this second exemplar (belonging to Version 2) included some triads not included in *Z and chose to supplement his new text with them. This not only suggests that the scribe of Version 4 had access to multiple exemplars of *trioedd y meirch* but also that Version 1 was circulating in writing at the time of this compilation.³⁹ Furthermore, Figure 1 above effectively illustrates that these manuscripts were being transmitted in what was effectively a closed, circular system. Versions of *trioedd y meirch* develop, diverge, and converge again but there is only so much material in circulation.

The affinities of Version 5 are even more diverse than those of Version 4. As I have already noted, the seven *trioedd y meirch* here make up the entirety of

³⁸Another implication of this observation is that, unlike Version 3 of *trioedd y meirch* found in the White Book and the Red Book, *Z would have included *Tri marchlwyth* among the other horse triads, instead of intermingled within non-horse *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* triads, as in the Red Book.

³⁹When exactly that time was is difficult to determine. The *terminus ante quem* is the middle of the fifteenth century, when Peniarth 47 was written, but how long before that manuscript's creation its version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* dates remains, for me, an open question.

Peniarth 27ii's text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. None of the triads in Version 5 are unique to Version 5; versions of them all can be found in other texts of *trioedd y meirch*. What makes Version 5 a confounding member of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus, however, is that every triad in it differs in some way from its cousins in other manuscripts. Different aspects of Versions 1, 2, and 3 seem to appear in these triads, often in puzzling ways. Two, *Tri rhoddeddigfarch* ('Three bestowed horses', *TYP* no. 38) and *Tri phrif eddystr* ('Three chief steeds', *TYP* no. 39), contain all three of the names found in the other versions of these triads but appear in Version 5 in orders that do not match any other known texts of *trioedd y meirch*. Two others, *Tri thom eddystr* ('Three steeds of burden', *TYP* no. 43) and *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ('Three sprightly steeds', *TYP* no. 42), follow the order of Version 2 but give an alternate name in their third limbs. Meanwhile, the version of *Tri anrheithfarch* ('Three horses of plunder', *TYP* no. 40) found here follows the order of Version 1 and *not* the order of Version 2. Indeed, orthographic differences aside, Version 5 of *Tri anrheithfarch* is very similar to its counterpart in Version 1, except that Version 5 omits the adjectives Version 1 uses to describe the horses in its second and third limbs:

TYP no. 40 Version 1 (BBC):

Tri anreith march Inis P[ri]dein:

Carnawlauc march Owein mab Vrien,
a Bucheslum Seri march Gugaun Cletywrut,
a Tauautir Breichir march Kadwallaun filius *Katuan*

'Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:

Carnolog horse of Owain son of Urien,
and Bucheslom *Seri* ['of the path'] horse of Gwgon *Cletywrut*
['ruddy sword'],
and Tafodir *Breichir* ['long-arm'] horse of Cadwallon son of
Cadfan.'

TYP no. 40 Version 5 (P27ii):

Tri anrreithuarch Ynys Brydain:

Karnavlaw march Ywain ap Vrien,
a Bvchesdom march Gwgon Glededyfrvdd,
a Thauawyr march Gydwallawn ap Kadvan

'Three horses of plunder of the Island of Britain:

Carnaflo[g] horse of Owain son of Urien,
and Buches[l]om horse of Gwgon *Glededyfrvdd* ['ruddy
sword'],
and Tafo[t]ir horse of C[a]dwallon son of Cadfan.'

Finally, there is Version 5's *Tri gordderchfarch* ('Three lovers' horses', *TYP* no. 41). The second and third limbs of this triad both include names which are not found in any other version of this triad, *Arwlvrith* in the second limb where other versions read *Rudurych* or a variant and *Cornach arwch* in the

third limb where other versions read *Guelwgan gohoewgein* or a variant. Still, other elements of this triad remain relatively stable, sometimes appearing closer to Version 2 and sometimes appearing closer to Version 3:

TYP no. 41 Version 5 (P27ii):

[...] Arwlvrith march Kahawt ail Morgan, a Chornach Arwch
march Morvrynn ail Tegid.

‘[...] Arflfrith horse of [Rh]ahod son of Morgan, and Cornach
Arwch [‘of wrath’] horse of Morfryn son of Tegid.’

TYP no. 41 Version 2 (P16):

[...] a Rudurych march Rahaót eil Morgant, a Guelwgan Gohoew-
gein march Moruran eil Tegit.

‘[...] and Rhuddfrych horse of Rhahod son of Morgant, and Gwel-
wgan *Gohoewgein* [‘the splendidly beautiful’] horse of
Morfran son of Tegid.’

TYP no. 41 Version 3 (WBR):

[...] a Gwelwgan Goheógein march Keredic ap Góallaóc, a Górbri-
th march Raaót [...]

‘[...] and Gwelwgan *Goheógein* [‘the splendidly beautiful’] horse
of Ceredig son of Gwallog, and Gwrbrith horse of Rhahod
[...]

Version 5, then, appears to be a hodgepodge of Versions 1, 2, and 3. As is the case with Version 4, it seems likely that Version 5 was compiled from all three earlier versions of *trioedd y meirch*. The differences between Version 5 and its cousins are not as straightforward as additions or expansions of the sort an individual scribe would make for creative reasons; some triads in Version 5 have seen multiple accretions that probably took place over a long period of time, as several individuals brought their own knowledge of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus to bear on the text. The proposed stemma for this version is illustrated in Figure 2, below, which again demonstrates the circular nature of the transmission.

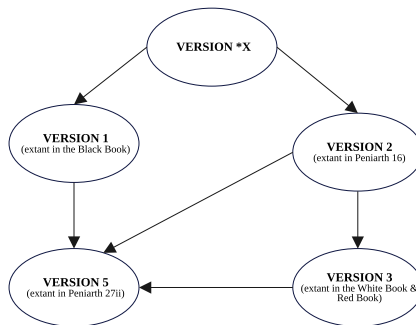


Figure 2: Stemma of Version 5 of *trioedd y meirch*

Perhaps the fact that Version 5 of *trioedd y meirch* escaped the clutches of the larger corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* allowed these changes to continue over a longer period of time than those that became part of the homogenizing process of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*'s transmission. No text that survives seems to be directly related to the one found in Peniarth 27ii, and so it stands alone as a reminder of the great variety and fluidity that was possible between versions of *trioedd y meirch* by the fifteenth century.

Version 6 (NLW Cwrtmawr 3(b)) and Version 7 (BL Y Diarebion Camberäec (b))
As the sixteenth century dawned in Wales, bringing with it the upheaval of the Reformation, the Dissolution, and the ultimate disintegration of the Welsh bardic order, a fundamental change occurred. *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* passed into the hands of humanist antiquarians who sought to preserve the *cyfarwyddyd* they had inherited; the scribes of triadic texts at this time were no longer active members of the community of *cyfarwyddiaid*. Two such mid-sixteenth-century texts of *trioedd y meirch* – the early printed book known as *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and NLW Cwrtmawr 3 (both compiled by William Salesbury) – contain duplicate triads which act as clues to their provenance. In the case of Cwrtmawr 3, the triad in question is the expanded triad *Tri marchlwyth*, discussed below.⁴⁰ I have designated this innovation as Version 6.

The relevant triad in *Y Diarebion Camberäec* is *Tri gohoyw eddystr* ('Three sprightly steeds', *TYP* no. 42). The first version of *Tri gohoyw eddystr* found in this book, like almost all the horse triads within *Y Diarebion Camberäec*, is basically identical to Version 2 and is straightforwardly descended from it:⁴¹

TYP no. 42 Version 2 (P16):

Tri gohoew edystyr Enys Prydein:

Llwyd march Alser mab Maelgwn,
a Góineu Godwf Hir march Kei,
a Chethin Carnaólaw march Iddon mab Enyr Góent.

'Three sprightly steeds of the Island of Britain:

Llwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwn,
and Gwinau *Godwf Hir* ['long-necked'] horse of Cai,
and Cethin *Carnaólaw* ['cloven-hooved'] horse of Iddon son
of Enyr Gwent.'

TYP no. 42 Version 2 (YDC #21):

Tri gohoivv eddestyr Ynys Brytain:

Llwyd march Alser 'ap Maelgwn,
Gwineu Gwddwhir march Syr Cei,
Cethin Carnawlaw march Iddon 'ap Eynyr Gwent.

⁴⁰See below, p. 245.

⁴¹I say 'basically identical' because the orthography in *Y Diarebion Camberäec*'s text has been modernized and Cai is referred to with the honorific 'Syr', which is not present in the Peniarth 16 text. The still later text in BL Add 15047 also refers to Cai as 'Syr Cai' and adds that he is *o Warrwig* ('from Warwick').

‘Three sprightly steeds of the Island of Britain:
 Llwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwn,
 Gwinau *Gwddwhir* [‘long-necked’] horse of Sir Cai,
 Cethin *Carnaflaw* [‘cloven-hooved’] horse of Iddon son of
 Ynyr Gwent.’

This triad appears a second time, however, away from the other horse triads in the text as its final *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* triad.⁴² This second witness to *Tri gohoyw eddystr* is what I call Version 7 or *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (b) in Table 1.⁴³ It follows Version 3 with a slight variation of the proper names in the triad’s second and third limbs. This variation is probably due to a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century scribe being more familiar with the name *Gregar* than *Grei* and mistaking a *Lluyd* (‘and Lluyd’) for a single word.⁴⁴ In the first limb, the epithet *hir* (‘tall’) has been attributed to Cai. It is not clear whether Version 7 followed Version 3 in titling this triad *Tri thom eddystr* (‘Three steeds of burden’)⁴⁵ – Salesbury omits the adjective modifying *eddestyr* in his title and *hoyw* (‘splendid’) has been added by a correcting hand. This innovation also appears in the sixteenth-century text of NLW MS 6434, which is a copy of *Y Diarebion Camberäec*.⁴⁶

TYP no. 42 Version 3 (WBR):

Tri thom edystyr Ynys Brydein:
 Góineu Góððf Hir march Kei,
 a Grei march Edwin,
 a Lluyd march Alser ap Maelgón.

‘Three steeds of burden of the Island of Britain:
 Gwinau *Góððf Hir* [‘long-necked’] horse of Cai,
 and Grai horse of Edwin,
 and Llwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwn.’

TYP no. 42 Version 7 (YDC #37):

Tri [*hoyw*] eddestyr Ynys Britain.
 Gwinau Gwddw-hir march Cai Hir,
 Gregar march Edwin,
 Ellwyd march Alser ap Maelgwyn.

⁴²Six *trioedd cerdd* follow before the text breaks off (on *trioedd cerdd*, see above, p. 214); the final page(s) of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* have been lost.

⁴³See above, p. 220.

⁴⁴To be clear, these two changes are not necessarily the work of William Salesbury himself and are more likely to have been in Salesbury’s exemplar. Along those same lines, both changes need not have been introduced by the same scribe or at the same time.

⁴⁵Not to be confused with *TYP* no. 43.

⁴⁶See Table 1 above, p. 220. On the relationship between *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and NLW 6434, see Bromwich, *TYP* xxxiv.

‘Three splendid steeds of the Island of Britain:
Gwinau Gwddw-hir [‘long-necked’] horse of Cai Hir [‘the tall’],
Gregar horse of Edwin,
Ellwyd horse of Alser son of Maelgwyn.’

Below, in Figure 3, I have set out a proposed stemma of all the surviving texts of *trioedd y meirch*. This is not meant to be exhaustive but is intended merely to illustrate how the surviving texts of *trioedd y meirch* are related to each other. Intervening ‘generations’ have almost certainly been lost along some or all of the lines. I have included exemplars that do not survive in the stemma only when it is necessary to account for a version’s relationship to two or more other versions. On a few occasions, involving the hypothetical Versions *Y and *Z, I have used dotted lines to indicate that I consider these connections to be more speculative than others.

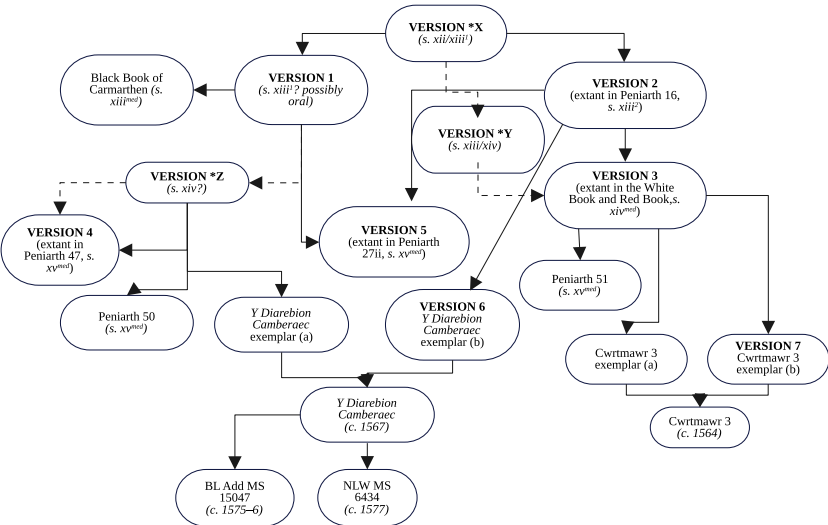


Figure 3: Stemma showing the relationship of the texts of *trioedd y meirch*

CANU Y MEIRCH (‘SONG OF THE HORSES’)

The final element to be discussed regarding *trioedd y meirch* is their relationship to the poem known as *Canu y meirch* (‘Song of the horses’), which survives in the thirteenth-century Book of Taliesin (NLW Peniarth 2). This poem is quite corrupt and difficult to understand, but it includes a list of horses’ names, many of which overlap with the names in *trioedd y meirch*. Bromwich writes that ‘a triadic arrangement is discernable throughout’ the list of names and that ‘obviously there exists a close connection between the poem and the extant versions of *Trioedd y Meirch*.⁴⁷ However, Marged Haycock, who has edited

⁴⁷Bromwich, *TYP* lxxxiv.

the poem, disputes this argument, noting that although quite a few names do overlap between the poem and triads, the names of the horses and the names of their owners usually do not correspond between the two.⁴⁸ For my part, I will chart a path between these two opposing stances. In my view, the degree of overlap between names which appear in *trioedd y meirch* and those which appear in *Canu y meirch* is too great to be dismissed out of hand, especially in this run of lines towards the end of the horse list (all of the emphasized names appear in at least one text of *trioedd y meirch*):

... a march Taliesin, a march **Lleu** lletuegin, a 'Phebyrlllei' llwynin a '**Grei**' march Cunin, '**Kornan**' kynheiwawc, '**Awyd**' awydawc. '**Du Moroed**' enwawc, march **Brwyn** Bron Bradawc, a'r tri '**Carna-flaw**' nyt ant hynt hilaw. '**Kethin**' march Keidaw, **karn aflaw** arnaw, '**Yscwydurith**' yscodic gorwyd llemenic, march Ryderch rydic, '**Llwyd**' lliw cellëic, a 'Llamrei llam elwic...'⁴⁹

'... and Taliesin's horse, and **Lleu**'s nurtured horse, and well-hung 'Strong Dun,' and Cunin's horse '**Grey**', '**Cornan**,' the supportive, '**Awydd**' the eager, Famous '**Black of the Seas**',⁵⁰ **Brwyn** Crafty-Breast's horse, and the three '**Clefted**' [geldings] who'll never go out to stud. Ceidio's horse '**Cethin**' with a cloven hoof, skittish '**Dappeled Withers**', a bounding steed, wrathful Rhydderch's horse, '**Grey**', stag-coloured, and 'Grey Leaper' with useful leap...'⁵¹

I find it difficult to believe that it is a complete coincidence these names appear in both *trioedd y meirch* and *Canu y meirch*. Haycock's point that the horse names rarely correspond to owners which are attributed to them in *trioedd y meirch* is well taken, however. I am therefore led to the conclusion that the names of these horses were 'in the aether,' so to speak, of early thirteenth-century *cyfarwyddyd*. It seems unlikely that the triads were directly derived from the poem, or vice versa, but it seems very likely that *cyfarwyddiaid* of this period had access to a list of horse names – perhaps, as Bromwich thought, the names of the horses of Welsh legendary heroes, or perhaps merely names

⁴⁸Marged Haycock, *Legendary Poems from the Book of Taliesin*, no. 15 (Aberystwyth, 2007), 387–8: 'The comparisons above do not suggest that our poet was necessarily drawing on the horse triads rather than on his own store of names. It is hard to discern the 'triadic arrangement' perceived in parts of the poem by Rachel Bromwich [...] Neither is it possible to fully endorse the view that 'obviously there exists a close connection between the poem and extant versions of *Trioedd y Meirch*. The triad-makers did not avail themselves of horse names in the poem [...] and conversely, neither did our poet make use of the information found in the extant triads. Where the same name occurs, the match between owner and horse does not correspond. It is also difficult to see how the assumed antiquity of the horse triads can be backed up by the Book of Taliesin poem which has no telling archaisms which require it to be dated before the twelfth or thirteenth century.' Cf. her concordance of the names between the poem and the *trioedd y meirch* corpus on the same pages.

⁴⁹Haycock, *Legendary Poems of the Book of Taliesin*, 15.35–51.

⁵⁰On this name, see Bromwich, *TYP* 119–20 and cf. below, p. 239, n. 60.

⁵¹Translation by Bromwich, *TYP* lxxxii.

that were typical for Welsh horses – and that both the poet of *Canu y meirch* and the author of the *trioedd y meirch* drew from the same source or similar sources.

Trioedd y meirch thus stands as a coherent sub-section of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* with thematic integrity and a unique transmission history which can – indeed, should – be discussed separately from the transmission history of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* overall. It seems likely that these triads circulated orally in their distant past, and the possibility of oral versions being passed in parallel to the written counterparts cannot be discounted, but the written transmission of *trioedd y meirch* dates back to at least the mid-thirteenth century and evidence of alternate spellings, scribal errors or otherwise, points to a robust history of copying.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF *TRI MARCHLWYTH YNYS PRYDAIN*

I have referred on several occasions already to the long, expanded horse triad *Tri marchlwyth* ('Three horse-burdens', *TYP* no. 44). In what follows, I will discuss this triad in more depth. It stands out from its fellow *trioedd y meirch* in two major ways: first, by virtue of being an expanded triad and, second, the fact that it appears apart from the other horse triads in manuscripts associated with the 'White and Red' version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* (that is, those texts which include Version 3 of *trioedd y meirch*). These facts alone make it worthy of further scrutiny and, when scrutiny is applied, it becomes clear that *Tri marchlwyth* has a transmission history that is distinct from that of its fellow *trioedd y meirch*. This study is very granular, focusing on how the details of the triad changed over time. These details are often tiny and, in the scheme of things, rather unimportant. However, by tracing the development of this expanded triad through its eleven surviving witnesses over ten manuscripts, certain patterns emerge which allow us to establish a relative chronology for its development and determine how the eleven versions of the triad are related to each other.

Tri marchlwyth belongs to the category of triads I call 'expanded narrative triads,' or those triads which diverge entirely from the 'epithet + three names' formula I discussed above.⁵² To recapitulate, 'expanded narrative triads' are very long (at least by triadic standards), contain a substantial amount of *cyfarwyddyd* relating to the figures named within the triad, and can be considered short prose passages in their own right. I have argued elsewhere that, unlike 'epithet + three name' formula-type triads, these expanded triads cannot have functioned as a mnemonic devices and are firmly tied to the written transmission of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. Furthermore, I argue, these triads should be considered authored texts.⁵³ *Tri marchlwyth* certainly demonstrates these characteristics.

⁵²See above, pp. 216–17, n. 11.

⁵³For this argument, see Andrews, 'Three Powerful Swineherds,' 81.

The earliest witness to *Tri marchlwyth* is the mid-thirteenth century text in Peniarth 16. Several additions have been made to the text when it re-appears, about a century and half later, in the Red Book of Hergest. These two versions of the triad read as follows:

*TYP no. 44 *X text (P16):*

Tri meir[*ch*] a dugant y tri marchlwyth:

Du Moro march Elidir Mwynôaŕ, a duc a[r]naŕ seith nyn a hanner o Benllech yn y Gogled hyt ym Penllech y Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidir Mwynôaŕ, a Eurgein y wreic, merch Ewein Gwyned, a Gôynn Da Gyŕet, a Gôyn Da Reinyat, a Mynach Naomon y gyghorwr, a Phrydelaŕ Menestyr y walloŕyat, ac Aryanôagyl y was, a Gelbeineuin y goc a n[o]uyes a'e dwylaŕ ar bedrein y march, a hōnnŕ ŕu hanner y dyn.

Er eil marchlwyth a duc Cornan march meibyōn Elifer, a duc Gŕrgi a Pheredur arnaŕ, a Dunaŕt ŕwr, a Chynŕelyōn Drwsgyl, y edrych ar ŕygedorth Gŕendoleu Arderyd.

E trydyd marchaŕelwyth [*sic*] a duc Heich march meibyōn Gŕerthmŕl Wledic, a duc Gŕeir, a Gleis ac Arthanat yn erbyn allt ŕaellwr yg Keredigyaŕn yn dial eu tat.

'Three horses who carried the three horse-burdens:

Du Moro [Black of the seas?], the horse of Elidir *Mwynôaŕ* ['the wealthy'], who carried upon himself seven and a half men from Penllech in the North as far as Penllech in Anglesey. These were the seven people: Elidir *Mwynôaŕ*, and Eurgain his wife, the daughter of Owain Gwynedd, and Gwyn the good companion, and Gwyn the good cup-bearer, and Naomon the monk his counsellor, and Prydelaw the cupbearer his server, and Arianfagl his servant, and Gelbeinefyn his cook, who swam with both his hands on the crupper of his horse, and that was the half man.

The second horse-burden, which Cornan carried, the horse of the sons of Eliffer, who carried Gwrgi and Peredur upon him, and Dunod ŕwr ['the stout/strong'], and Cynfelyōn *Drwsgyl* ['the clumsy'], to look at the battle-fog of Gwenddolau [in] Arderydd.

The third horse-burden, which Haich carried, the horse of the sons of Gwerthmwl *Wledig*, who carried Gwair, and Glais, and Arthanad up the hill of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.'

TYP no. 44 C² text (RBH):

Tri marchlŕyth ynys Prydein:

Du y Moroed march Elidyr Mŕynuaŕ, a duc seith nyn a hanner arnaŕ, o Bennllech Elidir yn y Gogled, hyt ym Pennllech Elidyr ym Mon. Sef seith nyn oedynt: Elidyr Mŕynuaŕ, ac Eurgein uerch Vaelgŕn y wreic, a Gŕynn Da Gyued, a Gŕyn Da Reiniat, a Mynach Naŕmon y gynghorŕ, a Phetryleŕ Vynestyr y wallonyat, ac Aran Uagyl y was, ac Albeinyn y goc, a noeues a'e dŕylaŕ ar bedrein y

uarch, a hōnnō uu hanner y dyn.

A'r eil marchlōyth a duc Coruann march meibon Eliffer gosgorduaōr, a duc Gōrgi a Phered[ur] arnaō, ac nys gordiwedaōd neb namyn Diuogat [sic] uab Kynan Garwynn y ar y Kethin Kyflym ac aruidiaōt ac aglot a gauas yr hynny hyt hediw, a Dunaōt Wr uab Pabo, a Chynuelyn Drōsgyl y edrych ar vygedor[t]h llū Gōendoleu yn Arderyd.

Y trydyd marchlōyth a duc Erch march meibon Grythmōl Wledic, a duc arnaō, Achleu ac Arthanat, yn erbyn riō Uaelaōr yg Keredigyaōn y dial eu tat.

‘Three horse-burdens of the island of Britain:

Du [Black] of the Seas, the horse of Elidyr Mōynuaōr, who carried seven and a half men upon himself from Penllech Elidyr in the North as far as Penllech Elidyr on Anglesey. These were the seven men: Elidyr *Mwynuawr*, and Eurgain daughter of Maelgwn his wife, and Gwyn the good companion, and Gwyn the good distributor(?)⁵⁴ and Nawmon the monk his counsellor, and Pedrylew the cupbearer his server, and Aranfagl his servant, and Albeinyh his cook, who swam with two hands on the crupper of his horse, and that was the half man.

And the second horse-burden, which was carried by Corfan the horse of the sons of Eliffer *Gosgorduawr* [‘of the large warband’], who carried Gwrgi and Peredur upon himself, and he did not overtake anyone except Di[n]ogad son of Cynan Garwyn on Cethin *Kyflym* [‘the swift’] and he received censure⁵⁵ and dishonour from then until today, and Dunod Fwr [‘the stout/strong’] son of Pabo, and Cynfelyn *Drōsgyl* [‘the clumsy’] to watch the battle-fog of Gwendoleu’s host in Arderyd.

The third horse-burden, which was carried by Erch the horse of the sons of Grythmwl *Wledic*, who carried upon himself Achlau and Arthanad, up the slope of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.’

These are only two of the eleven total extant texts of *Tri marchlwyth* and they exist as the beginning and end, respectively, of a centuries-long process. A few of these differences – for instance, the change between *a duc a[r]naō seith nyn a hanner o Benllech* and *a duc seith nyn a hanner arnaō o Bennllech* – can be regarded as non-substantive changes that occurred during the normal processes of copying and re-copying. However, several other differences are substantial, adding to the content of the *cyfarwyddyd* being transmitted and, occasionally, altering it. In what follows, I will establish a relative chronology of this triad’s development through a comparison of all eleven of these versions. I will argue for the existence of several exemplars (which I have called *X, *Y,

⁵⁴See Bromwich’s note on this name at *TYP* 395.

⁵⁵Here I follow Bromwich in my translation of *aruidiawt*, an otherwise unattested word whose meaning is uncertain. See Bromwich, *TYP* 122.

*Z, *C¹, and *C², respectively) from which the surviving texts of *Tri marchlwyth* are descended.

The texts of the *X family are Peniarth 16 (s. xiii²), as well as *Y Diarebion Camberäec* (s. xvi^{med}) and BL Additional MS 15047 (s. xvi²). These two later texts of *Tri marchlwyth* are the only ones to agree with Peniarth 16, the earliest manuscript in the corpus, in almost all cases without showing any of the various changes which would be implemented down the line. Given that three centuries separate Peniarth 16 from the other *X-family texts, it seems likely that other texts preserving *X were created which have not survived.⁵⁶

Peniarth 16 must have belonged to a slightly different branch from that of *Y Diarebion Camberäec* and BL Add 15047, however. It is the only manuscript to claim that Elidir *mwynfawr*'s wife Eurgain was the daughter of the twelfth-century king Owain Gwynedd.⁵⁷ Every other version of this triad refers to Eurgain as 'the daughter of Maelgwn' (this is presumably the sixth-century king Maelgwn Gwynedd).⁵⁸ The genealogical text *Bonedd y Saint* also states that Eurgain was Maelgwn's daughter.⁵⁹ In light of all this, it seems likely that Peniarth 16's reading of *Owein Gwyned* reflects a mistake on the part of a copyist somewhere along the chain of transmission, perhaps because a scribe was familiar with the twelfth-century king Owain but not his legendary predecessor Maelgwn and made an effort to 'correct' the text.

Peniarth 16 also gives a unique reading of the name of the horse in the triad's first limb. In this manuscript, the horse's name is rendered *Du moro* while all other manuscripts give *Du moroedd*. I agree with Bromwich that the reading *Du moro* should be considered a corruption or mistake.⁶⁰ A comparison with the other surviving texts of *Tri marchlwyth* makes it clear that Peniarth 16's reading of the name is the outlier; every other text calls this horse *Du moroedd*.

Next, we come to the *Y text of *Tri marchlwyth*. This family saw a few changes made to the triad's text but has only one definite member, the text of Peniarth 27ii (s. xv^{med}).⁶¹ Apart from *X-family texts, every manuscript containing *Tri marchlwyth* adds the name *Elidir* to the placenames in the first sentence of the second limb, two places called Penllech Elidir, one *yn y Gogledd* ('in the North') and the other *y Mon* ('on Anglesey').⁶² This is presumably a

⁵⁶Note that these are the same texts of *trioedd y meirch* which belong to Version 1.

⁵⁷For this historical figure, see R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063–1415* (Oxford, 1991), especially 48–9 and Chapter 3.

⁵⁸For Maelgwn Gwynedd, see Bromwich, *TYP* 428–32.

⁵⁹The relevant section of that text reads *Eurgein uerch Uaelgwn Gwyned m. Catwallawn Llawir m. Einiawn Yrth m. Cuneda Wledic* (Barry J. Lewis (ed.), *Bonedd y Saint: An Edition and Study of the Genealogies of the Welsh Saints* (Dublin, 2023), §57 (pp. 319–20)). It should be noted that *Bonedd y Saint* can often be found alongside *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*; it appears in Peniarth 16, Peniarth 45, the White Book of Rhydderch, and Peniarth 27ii.

⁶⁰Bromwich, *TYP* 119. She also includes a long note on the meaning of this name ('Black of the Seas') at 119–20.

⁶¹The second, condensed version of *Tri marchlwyth* found in Cwrtmawr 3 may also be descended from *Y but it is hard to be certain; this will be discussed in more detail below, p. 245.

⁶²This is the (Y) Benllech on Anglesey. Bromwich suggests (citing personal correspondence from Idris Foster) that 'Elidir' here could be derived from a borrowing of Irish *leitir* 'side of a hill,

reference to Elidir *Mwynfawr*, the owner of the horse in this limb.⁶³ *Y also sees the addition of the epithet *gosgorddfawr* ('great/large warband') to Eliffer, the man carried on the horse's back in the triad's second limb.⁶⁴

Two further changes were made in *Z, from which the text of Peniarth 47 is descended. Interestingly, both of these changes would remain somewhat fluid and not achieve their 'final form' until the *C² exemplar, still farther down the line. The first of these is the insertion of the preposition *yn* into the final sentence of the triad's second limb. All texts prior to *Z read *y edrych ar ōygedorth Gōendoleu Arderyd* (lit. 'to look at the battle-fog of Gwenddolau of Arderydd').⁶⁵ These are references to the battle of Arderydd and to Gwenddolau, a lord of the Old North who died in this battle.⁶⁶ As it stands in these early versions, this sentence is somewhat ambiguous and difficult to understand. It is not clear, unless one is already familiar with the story, that *Gwendoleu* is the name of the lord and *Arderyd* the name of the battle. *Z makes the small but important change of adding the preposition *yn*: *y edrych a'r vygedorth Gwendoleu mab Keida6 yn Aryfderyd* ('to look at the battle-fog of Gwendoleu

steep ascent or descent,' but, in my view, this is unnecessary given the fact that it is obviously derived from the personal name *Elidir mwynfawr* in this context.

⁶³For Elidir *Mwynfawr*, see Bromwich, *TYP* 345. This is the only triad in which Elidir is named, but he does appear in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, §12, which reads: '*Elidir Mōyna6r m. Gorust Prioda6r m. Dyfynwal Hen*' (Ben Guy (ed), *Medieval Welsh Genealogy* (Woodbridge, 2020), 428). Perhaps the most significant place Elidir appears in the medieval *cyfarwyddyd* is in *Breintiau Gwŷr Arfon*, which is extant today in NLW Peniarth 29 (Black Book of Chirk). The connection between this text and *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* deserves more attention than it has been given. See Bromwich, *TYP* 491–2 and Morfydd E. Owen, 'Royal propaganda: stories from the law-texts,' in T. M. Charles-Edwards, Morfydd E. Owen, and Paul Russell (eds), *The Welsh King and His Court* (Cardiff, 2000), 224–54, especially 238–46.

⁶⁴Eliffer is not an unknown figure, but he does not seem to have made much of a mark outside the corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. Apart from *Tri marchlwyth*, this figure appears in *Tri lledyf unben* ('Three prostrate/humble lords', *TYP* no. 8), where he is said to be the father of Peredur and the grandfather of Gwgon Gwron. This genealogy is echoed in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, §5 (Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 428). Eliffer also appears in *Tair prif fuch* ('Three chief cows', *TYP* no. 46). One suspects, given their close textual relationship, that Eliffer may have been introduced to *Tair prif fuch* under the influence of *Tri marchlwyth*. Outside of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, an allusion to Eliffer appears in the poem *Ymddiddan Myrddin a Thaliesin*, extant in the Black Book of Carmarthen; the reference reads: *seith meib Eliffer* ('seven sons of Eliffer') (see A. O. H. Jarman, (ed), *Llyfr Du Caerfyrddin*, no. 1.29; a new edition of this poem by Llywelyn Hopwood is available at <https://myrddin.swansea.ac.uk/poem/001/>, accessed 13 May 2025). Given the vagueness of this reference, it is unclear to me if the same Eliffer is meant. Eliffer may also be the figure intended for the *Eliser* named in a stanza of *Englynion y Beddau*, see the discussion in Patrick Sims-Williams, *Englynion y Beddau*, 223–5).

⁶⁵This is the text of Peniarth 16.

⁶⁶See Bromwich, *TYP* 375–6. Other allusions to Gwenddolau in *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* are in *Tri tharw cadug* ('Three bull-protectors', *TYP* no. 6), *Tri anniwair deulu* ('Three unfaithful warbands', *TYP* no. 29), and the related triads *Tri unben Deifr a Brynaich* ('Three lords of Deira and Bernicia', *TYP* no. 10) and *Trywyr a wnaeth y tair mad gyflafan* ('Three men who performed the three fortunate slaughters', *TYP* no. 32). He is also mentioned in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (§6, Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 428) and *Tri thlws ar ddeg* (§12, Bromwich, *TYP* 260). Gwenddolau also plays an important role in the 'Myrddin cycle' of early Welsh poetry. Cf. A. O. H. Jarman, 'The Merlin Legend and the Welsh Tradition of Prophecy' in Rachel Bromwich, A. O. H. Jarman, and Brynley F. Roberts (eds.) *The Arthur of the Welsh* (Cardiff, 1991), especially 120–1, 125; Celeste L. Andrews, 'What did Cynddelw know about the Old North?', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 39 (2020), 39–52, at 45–7.

son of Keidaó *in* Aryfderyd'), thus helping to clarify that Gwenddolau was *in* Arderydd, not *from* Arderydd.⁶⁷ Still, though, the phrase is somewhat difficult to parse. It was not until later, in the *C² family, that someone added the word *llu* between *fygoderth* and Gwenddolau – 'the battle-fog of Gwenddolau's *host*,' finally making it clear that it was the warband led by Gwenddolau, not the man alone, who caused such an uproar as to leave battle-fog on the field.

Moving on from *Z, we come next to the *C family and its two sub-groups, *C¹ and *C². This family is associated with texts that belong to the 'White and Red' version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* and they are the texts associated with Version 3 of *trioedd y meirch*, discussed above. The two version of *Tri marchlwyth* found in Cwrtmawr 3 (s. xvi^{med})⁶⁸ are members of the C¹ sub-group while the versions found in the Red Book of Hergest (c. 1400) and Peniarth 51 (s. xv^{med}) are the members of the C² sub-group. It is in manuscripts associated with the *C family, or Version 3 of *trioedd y meirch*, that *Tri marchlwyth* appears outside of the usual confines of *trioedd y meirch* and, instead, can be found in amongst the more general triads of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*.

C¹ introduces two superficial changes. The first is in the alternate reading of the name of Elidir *Mwynfawr*'s cook: the *X, *Y, and *Z texts all give this cook the name *Gelbeineu*.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the second version in Cwrtmawr 3, as well as the version in the Red Book, read *Albeiny*.⁷⁰ This difference is likely due to a copying error, in which a *Gel-* was collapsed into *Al-*. This seems to indicate that Elidir's cook was not a well-known character and it was possible for his name to be miscopied (I suspect, in fact, that this cook and his fellows are the inventions of *Tri marchlwyth*'s original author; none of these figures appear elsewhere in medieval *cyfarwyddyd*).

*C¹ also sees the substitution of the phrase *allt Vaelwr* ('the hill of Maelor') for *riw Vaelwr* ('the slope of Maelor') in the triad's final phrase. This change is interesting, given that the semantic difference between these two words is so slight as to be arbitrary. It seems unlikely that this could arise from a misreading of the text. In another case it might be argued that this difference is reflective of oral transmission, in which the sense was transmitted with a

⁶⁷This is the text of this phrase in Peniarth 47, the only text directly descended from *Z. Apart from the insertion of *yn* it also demonstrates a few quirks of this manuscript's text of *Tri marchlwyth*. It is the only text of the triad to give Gwenddolau the patronymic *mab Keidaw*; this was probably added within the text of Peniarth 47 itself, or one of its immediate predecessors, under the influence of *Tri tharw catug* and *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd*, both of which identify Ceid[i]o as Gwenddolau's father. For the alternate spelling of Arderydd with an *f* in the first syllable see Nerys Ann Jones, 'Hengerdd in the age of the Poets of the Princes,' in Alex Woolf (ed.), *Beyond the Gododdin: Dark Age Scotland in Medieval Wales*, St. John's House Papers 13 (St Andrews, 2013), 41–80, at 46.

⁶⁸The second version of *Tri marchlwyth* found in Cwrtmawr 3 will receive little notice in the discussion of the *C family that follows. I discuss this version in more detail below, p. 245.

⁶⁹This is the spelling of the name in Peniarth 16; the spelling varies throughout the corpus but it remains constant that texts in these first three families use a spelling beginning with *Gel-* or *Gil-* while *C texts (with the exception of Peniarth 51, see n. 78 below) give a name beginning in *A-*.

⁷⁰Peniarth 51 gives the cook the alternate name *Blinwyn*. Since this name is confined to this text, this change (a misreading or scribal error?) must have originated in the work of this manuscript's scribe, Gwilym Tew, or one of his immediate predecessors.

slightly different wording, but in the context of such a clearly *written* triad that seems unlikely. I can offer no satisfying explanation here, other than to speculate that some scribe along the way simply liked one word better than the other.

The changes discussed thus far have all been relatively minor differences which, mostly, came about through the normal processes of copying and re-copying a text over a few centuries. A word has been added here or there, but many of these differences can be explained by minor scribal errors or the corruption of exemplars. This is the case for one of the two changes made in the final family of *Tri marchlwyth* texts, the *C² sub-group, but not with the second. To take the simpler change first, the texts in Peniarth 51 and the Red Book are the only two to give Dunod *Wr* the patronym *fab Pabo* ('son of Pabo'). This addition was probably made under the influence of another triad, *Tri phost cad* ('Three pillars of battle', *TYP* no. 5), in which Dunod consistently appears with this patronym across the manuscript corpus.⁷¹

More substantially, *C² adds an entire phrase to the second limb. Whereas the *X, *Y, *Z, and *C¹ texts simply list the men whom Cornan carried, going directly from Gwrgi and Peredur to Dunod, the Red Book interjects *ac nys gordiwedaôd neb namyn Diuogat* [sic] *uab Kynan Garwynn y ar y Kethin Kyflym ac aruidiaôd ac a glot a gauas yr hynny hyt hediw* ('and no one overtook him except Di[n]ogat son of Kynan Garwynn on Kethin Kyflym ('the quick'), and he received censure(?)⁷² and shame on account of that up until today'). As Bromwich notes, Peniarth 51 inserts this phrase at the end of the limb, not as an interjection within the list of names. Bromwich believes that the Red Book's reading is corrupt and that Peniarth 51 is following the (now missing thanks to a lacuna) text of the White Book.⁷³ This may well be the case, though I would not entirely discount the possibility that the scribe of Peniarth 51, Gwilym Tew, or one of his predecessors edited the text in order to improve

⁷¹He is not, however, given the epithet *wr* ('the stout/strong') in any text of *Tri phost cad*. Peniarth 47 comes closest, reading *Dunaôd* [mab Bwr]r *Pabo*. This appears to be a corrupt reading, with the insertion of the epithet *wr* (perhaps under the influence of *Tri marchlwyth*?) confusing a subsequent scribe who mistook it for a patronym and making a correction. Interestingly, as a consequence, Peniarth 47's text of *Tri phost cad* has four limbs.

On Dunod, see Bromwich, *TYP* 335–6. Apart from in *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*, he is probably best known from saga *englynion* associated with Llywarch Hen, in which his name appears three times (see Jenny Rowland, *Early Welsh Saga Poetry* (Cambridge, 1990), 415, 419, 424 and 106–7). His death is noted in the year 595 in the *Annales Cambriae* (see John Morris, (ed and trans) *Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals* (London, 1980), 86) and he appears in the Harleian genealogies (§11, Guy, *Medieval Welsh Genealogy*, 335), in the Jesus College MS 20 genealogies (ibid, 343), in the Llywelyn ap Iorwerth genealogies (ibid, 336), and in *Bonedd Gwŷr y Gogledd* (§4, ibid, 428 and cf. Bromwich, *TYP* 256).

⁷²See above n. 55.

⁷³Bromwich, *TYP* 121: 'The last sentence ... has plainly been given in the wrong order in the text of [the Red Book] ... the sense requires that it should come at the end, and not in the middle of the names listed as constituting the second *marchlwyth*'. It should also be noted that while Bromwich states here that 'it may be presumed' that Peniarth 51 is following the White Book, she states elsewhere (*TYP* xxix) that 'The text is so inaccurate it seems impossible that it could have been taken down directly from either [the White Book] or [the Red Book]:'

the flow.⁷⁴ It is most likely, however, that this sentence began as a marginal note in the *C² exemplar and was treated differently by subsequent scribes who incorporated it into the body of the text.

One more change to the text of *Tri marchlwyth* remains to be addressed. This is the gradual change that took place within the final phrase of the triad's third limb. Again compare the two ends of the spectrum, the texts of Peniarth 16 and the Red Book:

*TYP no. 44 *X text (P16):*

E trydyd marcha⁶elwyth a duc Heich march meibyon G⁶erthm⁶l Wledic, a duc G⁶eir, a Gleis, ac Arthanat yn erbyn allt ⁶aellwr yg Keredigya⁶n yn dial eu tat.

'The third horse-burden, which Haich horse of the sons of Gwerthmwl *Wledic* carried, who carried Gwair, and Glais, and Arthanad up the hill of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.'

*TYP no. 44 *C² text (RBH):*

Y trydyd marchl⁶yth a duc Erch march meibon Grythm⁶l Wledic, a duc arna⁶ Achleu ac Arthanat, yn erbyn ri⁶ Uaela⁶r yg Keredigya⁶n y dial eu tat.

'The third horse-burden, which Erch horse of the sons of Grythmwl *Wledic* carried, who carried Achlau and Arthanad upon himself, up the slope of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.'

The three sons of Gwerthmwl wledig which the horse carried in Peniarth 16 (*X) have become two by the time of the Red Book (*C²), Peniarth 16's *G⁶eir* having been completely lost from the text. The name of Gwerthmwl's second son, *Gleis/Achleu*, has also been altered significantly. An examination of the other texts shows that the names of Gwerthmwl's sons is the most fluid element of *Tri marchlwyth*; no two texts of the triad share an identical reading of these names, as can be seen by these examples:

*TYP no. 44 *Y text (P27ii):*

A'r trydydd, march meibion Gwrthmwl Wledic a dduc arnaw Gwair a Chlais ac Arthenad yn erbyn yr allt Vaylwr yn Geredig-awn i ddial i tad.

'And the third, the horse of the sons of Gwrthmwl *Wledic*, who carried Gwair and Clais and Arthanad upon himself up the hill of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge his father.'

*TYP no. 44 *Z text (P47):*

Trydyd marchl⁶yth a duc Heid march meibon Gyrthu⁶l Wledic a duc Gweir a Gleis ag Archegnat yn erbyn allt Vaeloa⁶r yn Keredigya⁶n y dial eu tat.

⁷⁴On Gwilym, see Huws, *Repertory*, ii, 44.

‘Third horse-burden, which Haidd horse of the sons of Gyrthmwl Wledic carried, who carried Gwair and Glais and Archanad up the hill of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.’

*TYP no. 44 *C¹ text (C3):*

Trydydd marchlwyth, a ddûc Erch march meibion Drychniwl⁷⁵ Wledic, a dduc arnaw Gwaw a Chlaû ac Arllanad yn erbyn y rhiw i ddial y’w tad.

‘Third horse-burden, which Erch horse of the sons of Dyrchniwl Wledig carried, who carried Gwaw and Claû and Arllanad up the slope⁷⁶ to avenge their father.’

*TYP no. 44 *C² text (P51):*

Trydyd marchlwyth, a ddug [*Erch*]⁷⁷ march [*meibion*] Gyrthmwl Wledig [*a dduc arnaw*] Gwaw ac Archeu Arthanad yn erb[yn] rriw Gaelawr yn [*G*]heredigion i ddial e6 tad.

‘Third horse-burden, which [*Erch*] horse of [the sons of] Gyrthmwl Wledig carried, [*who carried upon himself*] Gwaw and Archau [and] Arthanad up the slope of Maelor in Ceredigion to avenge their father.’

It is clear that the *G* in *Gleis* was mistakenly read as a *C* and, from there, received aspirate mutation triggered by the conjunction *a* (‘and’) and thus rendered *a Chlais*. This error happened more than once, as we can see from a comparison of the *Y and *Z texts, the earlier of which contains this error while the latter does not, despite otherwise being the next step in the triad’s development. From here the name of Gwerthmwl’s second son continued to evolve, from *a Chlais* to *a Chlaû* in *C¹ and then to *Achleu* in the *C² text Peniarth 51, where the conjunction came to be understood as the first letter of the name.⁷⁸

The name of Gwerthmwl’s two other sons also evolve throughout these texts. The first son, Gwair, is only dropped entirely in the text of the Red Book; no other version of the triad only names two sons (this is a triad, after all – everything comes in threes). It is also worth noting that the name of the horse in this limb changes from *Heich/Heid* to *Erch* only in the relatively late *C¹ sub-group. This degree of fluidity, as we saw above with the case of Elidir’s cook, probably indicates that these characters were not well known to the

⁷⁵This name – a variant of Gwerthmwl/Gyrthmwl – does not appear in any other text of this triad. It is likely due to scribal error.

⁷⁶Uniquely, this version of the triad does not give the place name *Maelor* for this slope/hill.

⁷⁷The proper name *Erch* is missing from the text written by Peniarth 51’s main, fifteenth-century scribe, Gwilym Tew, indicating that it may have been missing in his exemplar (that being said, see below n. 78). This and the other italicized words in brackets here were added in the hand of the seventeenth-century antiquarian scholar and manuscript collector Robert Vaughan, who made corrections throughout.

⁷⁸The Peniarth 51 text of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* is often problematic (Bromwich has called it ‘very confused and corrupt,’ *TYP* xxii), this perhaps mistaken reading is characteristic of the kinds of changes/differences/mistakes found in this text.

scribes who copied and recopied this triad. Furthermore, again as in the case of Elidir's household, the sons of Gwerthmwl are otherwise unknown and are likely to have been the invention of the triad's initial author. It was therefore up to subsequent scribes to decipher and interpret these unknown names as they saw fit.

All that is left is to consider the case of Cwrtmawr 3's second version of *Tri marchlwyth*, which I have not given much attention to throughout this discussion. Much like the other *C family versions of *Tri marchlwyth*, it appears away from the text's other horse triads at the tail end of the manuscript's *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* material. It reads:

Tri marchlwyth ynys Brydain:

Dû 'r Moroedd Eilidr Awynvawr, a ddûc saith nyn arno o Benllech yn y Gogle[dd] y Mhenllech Elidr ym Mon. Yr ail [march]lwyth vû Gorvûan march meibion Oli[ffer] Gosgorddvawr. Y trydydd marchlwyth vû Erth march meibion Grithmwl Wledic.

'Three horse-burdens of the island of Britain:

Du [Black] of the Seas of Eilidr Awynvawr ['great reined'], who carried seven men upon himself from Penllech in the North to Penllech Elidr on Anglesey. The second burden was [that of] Corfan, the horse of the sons of Eliffer Gosgorddvawr ['of the great warband']. The third horse-burden was [that of] Erth of Grithmwl Wledic.'

This version is noticeably shorter and more bare than other texts of *Tri marchlwyth*. The first limb has lost its distinctive list of the seven men Du carried and the second and third limbs have been stripped of almost all of their *cyfarwyddyd* and give only the bare minimum of information in a format which is remarkably close to the *trioedd y meirch* variant of the 'epithet + three names' formula discussed above.⁷⁹ This must have been a deliberate creative choice on the part of some scribe, though his motivation for it remains obscure. These changes make it difficult to plot its placement on the chronology of the triad's development, since many of the diagnostic details have been dropped. Luckily, however, the horse in the third limb is given the name *Erch*, indicating that it cannot have been shortened earlier than the *C¹ exemplar.

Below, I have included a stemma summarizing the processes described above. As with the stemma describing the relationship of the *trioedd y meirch* corpus, it shows only the surviving witnesses to this triad and is not meant to be exhaustive. It is likely that intervening exemplars have been lost throughout this network. Indeed, it is striking that *Y, *Z, and *C¹, not to mention Peniarth 16's cousins in *Y Diarebion Camberäc* and BL Add 15047, are all represented only by copies which must have been made centuries after their earliest exemplars.

⁷⁹See above, pp. 216–17, n. 11.

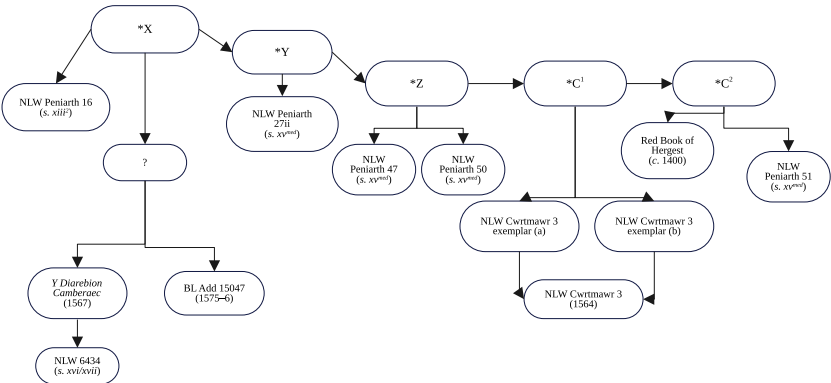


Figure 4: Stemma showing the development of *Tri marchlwyth*

Two fifteenth-century manuscripts associated with Rachel Bromwich’s ‘White and Red’ version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* – the Red Book and Peniarth 51 – appear at the end of a spectrum that begins with Bromwich’s flagship ‘Early version’ text, Peniarth 16. I have argued elsewhere that the ‘White and Red’ version of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain* has been altered in discrete, isolated places and that it does not represent a large-scale rewrite of the corpus.⁸⁰ Here, in the case of *Tri marchlwyth*, we can see these discrete alterations happening. The differences which present themselves when the Peniarth 16 text of this triad is read side-by-side with its counterpart in the Red Book happened gradually over a prolonged period of time, not all at once, and were the result of many small changes made, often by accident but sometimes by design, in the work of several scribes through whose hands *Tri marchlwyth* passed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I offer the following as a summary of the main points I have argued in the preceding pages:

1. *Trioedd y meirch* constitute a clear and coherent sub-group within the larger corpus of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. These triads are united on thematic grounds but, more to the point, also have their own development and transmission history that is distinct from other parts of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. *Trioedd y meirch* are contained in manuscripts as early as the Black Book of Carmarthen (s. xiii^{med}) and continued to be copied through the sixteenth century and beyond.
2. *Trioedd y meirch* display an especially large amount of textual variation compared to other parts of *Trioedd Ynys Prydain*. While many of these variations can be chalked up to eyeskip, spelling mistakes, or other scribal errors, many more indicate that the triads have been deliberately expanded, re-worked, or edited to a greater or lesser extent. This illustrates that

⁸⁰See Andrews, ‘Three Powerful Swineherds,’ 96–7.

Welsh scribes in the later Middle Ages did not view *trioedd y meirch* as untouchable or unalterable but instead felt free to make changes where they saw fit.

3. While it is possible and even likely that *trioedd y meirch* had their origin in the oral tradition, the corpus as it survives today is deeply indebted to its written transmission history. In many ways, a major implication of my argument has been that this written history is worthy of study in its own right and that getting bogged down in searching for an 'oral origin' is a mistake. That being said, I consider it likely that the fragment of *trioedd y meirch* found in the Black Book of Carmarthen was drawn from their oral tradition, perhaps directly, by the scribe of that manuscript.
4. I have identified five main strands of transmission (or 'versions') of *trioedd y meirch*, which I call Versions 1–5. Further, more minor, innovations are identified as Versions 6 and 7. The contents of these strands are summarized in Table 1. *Termini ante quem* for these strands can be derived from the dates of their earliest manuscript witnesses – the middle of the thirteenth century for Version 1 (found in the Black Book of Carmarthen), the second half of the thirteenth century for Version 2 (found in Peniarth 16), the middle of the fourteenth century for Version 3 (found in the White Book of Rhydderch), and the middle of the fifteenth century for both Version 4 (found in Peniarth 47) and Version 5 (found in Peniarth 27ii).
5. I have spent a great deal of space laying out the relationships between each extant version of *trioedd y meirch*; a proposed stemma of *trioedd y meirch* can be found in Figure 3. Very briefly, I have proposed an original, common exemplar (called Version *X) which predates all the surviving versions. Versions 1, 2, and the lost *Y all descend directly from *X. Version 3, in turn, descends from a compilation of Versions 2 and *Y. Versions 4 and 5 both represent fifteenth-century compilations of these earlier versions; their pedigrees are illustrated in Figures 1 and 2. Duplicate triads in both Cwrtmawr 3 and *Y Diarebion Camberaec* make it possible to trace further innovations in these sixteenth-century manuscripts.
6. As to the relationship between *trioedd y meirch* and the poem *Canu y meirch* (extant in the Book of Taliesin), it seems to me that the degree of overlap of names in these two sources is too great to be put down entirely to coincidence, but neither can a direct textual link be demonstrated. I propose that both *trioedd y meirch* and *Canu y meirch* drew on an earlier list of horses and their owners, which would have been in circulation during the thirteenth century.
7. I have undertaken a close study of the long, expanded triad *Tri marchlwyth* ('Three horse-burdens,' *TYP* no. 44) and established a relative chronology of the various changes and accretions to the triad over its ten manuscript witnesses. This chronology is illustrated in Figure 4. A short version of *Tri marchlwyth* survives in the sixteenth-century Cwrtmawr 3, which must

be the work of a single individual who shortened the triad for his own creative reasons. I have also noted that several otherwise-unknown figures named in this triad are likely to be the invention of the triad's original author and were not part of the larger body of *cyfarwyddyd* circulating in medieval Wales.

Although the identities of most of the men who copied and developed *trioedd y meirch* have been lost to time, we cannot and should not discount their contributions to the body of medieval *cyfarwyddyd* that survives in manuscripts today. I will close by once again emphasizing that while *trioedd y meirch* are valuable to modern scholars as a record of that *cyfarwyddyd* dating back to the mid-thirteenth century, their utility and interest do not end with their earliest witnesses. Later versions of *trioedd y meirch* and texts like them can provide us with valuable information about the manuscripts, stories, and information available to the scribes who inherited them and who were closer to and more familiar with the living body of medieval *cyfarwyddyd* than we can hope to be today.

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THE GENEALOGIES IN KING'S INNS LIBRARY MS 11

ABSTRACT

King's Inns Library MS 11 is a small genealogical manuscript of ten folios, written in Leinster, probably in the 1520s. It is closely related to a number of other genealogical manuscripts, from Leabhar Donn of c. 1430–35 to O'Clery's Genealogies of c. 1660, and so part of a very formative textual tradition of Irish genealogical recording in the later Middle Ages and afterwards. MS 11 contains an updated section on Leinster families, notably Mac Murchadha, and sections that are (nearly) unique on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe, Mac Quillin and de Burgh. This points to a northern provenance of the exemplar of its contents.

INTRODUCTION TO KING'S INNS MS 11

THE HONORABLE SOCIETY of King's Inns in Dublin is in possession of about thirty manuscripts in the Irish language, most of them of uncertain provenance.¹ This also applies to a small vellum manuscript of ten folia, measuring 21.5 × 15.5 cm, which is solely dedicated to the genealogies of Gaelic and a few non-Gaelic families. It was described in 1972 by Gearóid Mac Niocaill,² who thought that none of the pedigrees went beyond the last quarter of the fifteenth century, and hence he dated both text and manuscript to c. 1500.³ The manuscript has rarely been discussed, and even then mainly with brief comments in overviews of Irish genealogical manuscripts.⁴ However, it will

¹The abbreviations used in this article are: KI = King's Inns Library MS 11 (unedited); LD = Leabhar Donn, RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233) (unedited); LMG = Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, Leabhar Mór na nGenealach, UCD Additional MS 14 and other manuscripts, see LMG = Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies. Compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh*, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003–4); OC = Cú Coigriche Ó Cléirigh, Genealogies, RIA MS 23 D 17 (790), see OC = Séamus Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951); S = TCD MS H 1.12 (1286), pp. 1–42 (unedited); T = TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), pp. 810–58 (unedited). For the spelling of names, the Early Modern Irish standard is used, as found in the translations in LMG.

²Cited in Pádraig de Brún, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in King's Inns Library, Dublin* (Dublin, 1972), vii.

³de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

⁴Kenneth Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies: their value and defects', *The Irish Genealogist* 5/2 (1975), 256–61, at 258–9 (see below), repeated in the three (almost identical) lists in Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *The Celebrated Antiquary: Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh (c. 1600–1671): His Lineage, Life and Learning* (Maynooth, 1996), 155; idem (ed. and trans.), LMG i, 12–13; idem, *The Irish Genealogies: Irish History's Poor Relation?*, Irish Texts Society, Occasional Lecture Series, 3 (London, 2016), 44 no. 12 (which will be referred to henceforth). Donnchadh Ó Corráin, *Clavis Litterarum Hibernensium: Medieval Irish Books & Texts (c. 400–c. 1600)*, Corpus Christianorum, 3 vols (Turnhout, 2017), ii, 1001 no. 762. The only article that has a transcribed pedigree from the

be argued here that it is an important witness of Irish genealogical recording from the late Middle Ages and is closely related to a number of genealogical manuscripts from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

King's Inns MS 11 (henceforth KI) consists of a bifolium (fols 1 and 10) that now forms the cover of three gatherings of which the last (fols 8–9) is misplaced and reversed, so that fol. 9 in the catalogue is fol. 2 in the original sequence, and fols 2–8 in the catalogue are fols 3–9 in the original sequence.⁵ Reference will be made to the foliation with recto and verso of the original sequence,⁶ as also used in the digitised version published on the website Irish Script On Screen (ISOS).⁷ Each page is outlined in four columns of around 40 to 60 lines each, and in its original state the manuscript must have recorded over four thousand names, although many figure more than once in the genealogies.

As fol. 1r functioned as a cover, it has been so much worn that the text is almost totally illegible with the naked eye. Fol. 1v begins with a Mac Suibhne pedigree, and continues with those of families belonging to the Northern and Southern Uí Néill, Uí Bhriúin and Uí Fhiachrach of Connacht, of a few non-Gaelic families, and subsequently of families of Uí Mhaine and Oirghialla, Leinster, Ulster and Connhaicne, and of other families held to descend from Íor son of Míl of Spain. The final pedigree is that of Ó Deóráin. After that nothing is missing. The back cover is blank. The genealogies of the descendants of Éibhear son of Míl, including those of Mac Cárthaigh, Ó Súilleabháin and Ó Briain, are missing, and there is no indication that they were once part of the manuscript, unless they were written down in a separate gathering which is now lost.

According to Mac Niocaill the manuscript was 'probably written by a single hand throughout; apparent changes of hand [are] to be attributed to changes of pen and variations in surface quality'.⁸ While there seems to be one main scribe, the differences in the lettering in, for example, the pedigrees on fol. 4rc and 4rd are so marked that this can hardly be attributed to the reasons Mac Niocaill mentions. Occasionally other persons may have written contributions, which is a custom familiar from other medieval Irish codices,⁹ or the scribe wrote in a highly inconsistent fashion, regardless of the quality of the parchment or his quills.

manuscript I know of is Tomás G. Ó Canann, 'Ua Canannáin genealogies in the Irish manuscript tradition', *Studia Hibernica* 30 (1998/9), 167–229, at 220, with discussion at 195 and 197–8.

⁵de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

⁶In the list of contents in de Brún's *Catalogue* there is no reference to recto and verso, the columns are indicated by letters a–h for the eight columns on each folium. I refer to recto and verso, so that, for example, fol. 6a–h in the catalogue is now fol. 7ra–d and 7va–d according to the original sequence. In the counting of the lines, blank lines are included.

⁷https://www.isos.dias.ie/KINGS/KINGS_MS_11.html; accessed on 11 January 2025.

⁸de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

⁹The extent to which this happened is debated, see, for example, Elizabeth Duncan, 'The Book of Ballymote: a reappraisal of the hand formerly attributed to Maghnus Ó Duibhgeannáin', in Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *Book of Ballymote*, Codices Hibernenses Eximii, 2 (Dublin, 2018), 273–300.

PROVENANCE

There is little information about the manuscript's origin. On fol. 8r, in different ink from the main text, is a note in Irish ending in 'misi Di[arm]aid occ mac Tuileacna dosgraibhe sin' (cf. fol. 3v in the lower margin). Mac Niocaill holds the name Tuileagna to be peculiar to the Ó Maoil Chonaire family of scholars, so he assigns the scribe to that family, although he did not find the Diarmuid in question in their genealogies.¹⁰

Mac Niocaill thinks that the scribe may have worked from a defective exemplar, as he leaves blanks at the beginning of certain genealogies, and that this exemplar may have been from Leinster. He bases this on the detailed records for Mac Murchadha and Ó Tuathail – although he notes that those for Mág Raghnaill, Ó Fearghail (both of the Connhaicne in north-east Connacht) and Ó Ceallaigh (of Uí Mhaine in south-east Connacht) are equally detailed. The manuscript also ends with a lengthy genealogy of the Ó Deóráin family, hereditary jurisconsults to the Meic Mhurchadha, which goes all the way to Míl of Spain; it ends with the note 'A Lebur na hUagabala an geinealach so hI Deorain'.¹¹ Mac Niocaill presumes this refers to the Book of Leinster, also known as *Leabhar na Nuachongbhála*, but adds that there is no Ó Deóráin genealogy in that manuscript.¹² It may be noted that the Irish title *Leabhar na Nuachongbhála* is not attested in the Book of Leinster itself, only in manuscripts that contain later copies of it when it was in Oughaval (near Stradbally, Co. Laois). The earliest manuscript copies in which the Irish title occurs date from around 1400 and the 1620s. Mícheál Ó Cléirigh copied texts from the Book of Leinster in the 1620s, it served as a source of James Ware's 'Commonplace book' (c. 1627–48),¹³ and it is included in the list of the sources that were used to produce the Ó Cléirigh recension of *Leabhar Gabhála* written in 1631.¹⁴ If indeed we have to read 'Lebur na hUa[chon]gabala' in KI, this is the earliest post-medieval reference to the Book of Leinster with that title, and testifies to the reputation the twelfth-century manuscript had gained in the early sixteenth

¹⁰de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25. For the main lineage of Ó Maoil Chonaire, see OC §844; LMG i, 402 (§180.7), in which no Tuileagna occurs. Paul Walsh, 'The learned family of O Maelconaire', in Colm Ó Lochlainn (ed.), *Irish Men of Learning: Studies by Father Paul Walsh* (Dublin, 1947), 34–48, at 43, gives only one example of the name (in the early seventeenth century, see Bernadette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin, 2010), 263–7). For Tuileagna son of Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire, who lived around 1600, see Damian McManus, 'Niall Frosach's "act of truth": a bardic apologue in a poem for Sir Nicholas Walsh, chief justice of the common pleas (†1615)', *Ériu* 58 (2008), 133–68, at 135–6. This Tuileagna was the *seanchaidh* of Mac Murchadha, the most prominent Gaelic ruler in Leinster, and perhaps a descendant of or related to the scribe of KI. The name Tuileagna was also current among Muintir Duaine of Monasterboice in Breagha; see OC §2047, where there are three examples.

¹¹de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25. KI fol. 9vc23–4 (*aleb~ nahgab~a*).

¹²de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25.

¹³LL vol. 1, xi–xvii; RIA MS B iv 2 (1080), and BL Add. 4821, respectively.

¹⁴R. A. S. Macalister and John Mac Neill (eds), *Leabhar Gabhála: The Book of Conquests of Ireland. The Recension of Mícheál Ó Cléirigh*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1916), 4–5; Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 52–3.

century, if not earlier, even if the reference to the Ó Deóráin genealogy appears to be spurious.¹⁵

An Ó Deóráin genealogy is also in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar na nGenealach* (c. 1645–66) but it does not depend on the one in KI.¹⁶ There is indeed a good case to be made for a Leinster provenance of KI, but partially for different reasons than Mac Niocaill gives, and the writing of the manuscript probably happened in c. 1520–30, as will be discussed below. The blank spaces preceding certain genealogies are not always due to a defective or unreadable exemplar. As we shall see, they are found in other genealogical manuscripts, and were usually meant to leave room for updates, even if these were rarely added afterwards.

A number of marginal notes show that by the end of the seventeenth century the manuscript was in the hands of two members of the Keogh family, Farrell and Miles. The first writes on fol. 2v 'Ffarroll Keoghe his book, 1695', and essentially the same in pseudo-Gaelic letters on fol. 6v 'Ffariel Mac Hoe is leas an loue soe'. Similarly, his relative writes 'Miles Keoghe his hand and seal' on fol. 9v, and 'Mil More Mac Thoe is e soe a laue' on fol. 7r.¹⁷ The name Mac (T)hoe, (Mac) Kehoe or Keogh, which derives from Mac Eochaidh,¹⁸ can be located in Leinster. Mac Eochaidh and Ó Deóráin attended the inauguration of Meic Mhurchadha as kings of Leinster during reign of Elizabeth I,¹⁹ and the former also inaugurated the Ó Broin (O'Byrne) rulers of north-eastern Leinster.²⁰ The links between Mac Eochaidh and Ó Broin are also reflected in

¹⁵For a correct reference to 'Leabhar na hUachongmhala', see *RIA Cat*, facs. xix, 2343, at *RIA MS 23 F 15* (759), p. 2 (eighteenth century), cf. *LMG* ii, 269 (§481.1), *LL*, vol. 6, 1327–8.

¹⁶de Brún, *Catalogue*, 25, points to the overlap of the earlier Ó Deóráin generations in KI with those in the Book of Leinster as published in M. A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, vol. 1 (Dublin, 1962, repr. 2001), 215 (*LL* p. 321b21), i.e. the genealogy of Ó Súilleabháin of Munster. He also refers to the genealogy in Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's work, see now *LMG* ii, 574 (§622.3), and iii, 662 (§1318.4). The genealogy there runs from Muircheartach Buidhe son of Uilliam to Suilleabhán; the version in KI begins with Uilliam, adds or omits a few names, and runs until Míl of Spain. *LMG* ii, 574 (§622.4) contains an update six generations removed from Muircheartach Buidhe. There are two persons named Uilliam Ó Deóráin mentioned as *ollamh* in the annals, in 1404 and 1447, and as the name is quite current within the family, they cannot be identified with certainty in the genealogies.

¹⁷My readings may differ slightly from Mac Niocaill's. The *loue* or *laue* in both references is *leabhar* 'book' in Irish.

¹⁸Mac Niocaill transcribes the marginal note at fol. 9v as: 'Ag so leabar Domhnuill mic [...] / Mic Eochadha arna thabairt (?)'.

¹⁹John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees: Or, The Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, 2 vols, 5th ed. (Dublin 1892, repr. 1999), i, 506; see also Conchubhar Ó Cruaioich, 'The identification of Leac Mhic Eochaidh in north Wexford as a possible site for inauguration of the lord of Uí Chinnsealaigh, and some evidence for its use as an assembly site in 1592', *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Chinnsealaigh Historical Society* 32 (2016), 52–72, at 65–6; Nerys Patterson, 'The O'Doran legal family and the sixteenth-century recensions of the Pseudo-Historical Prologue to the "Senchas Már"', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 6 (1986), 131–49, at 139. At *AFM* s.a. 1417.1 Ó Deóráin is called 'brehon of Leinster' (*breithemh Laighen*), who, as was rumoured, was poisoned together with Art Mac Murchadha, king of Leinster.

²⁰Christopher Maginn, 'Civilizing' *Gaelic Leinster: The Extension of Tudor Rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole Lordships* (Dublin, 2005), 7–8 note 12. See also A. Martin Freeman (ed. and trans.), *Annála Connacht, A.D. 1224–1544: The Annals of Connacht, A.D. 1224–1544* (Dublin, 1944), s.a. 1534.2.

the manuscript, for a note on fol. 9v reads 'Peter Byrne his Book of Genealogy written ...'

This Peter Byrne was the brother of Major Charles Byrne, and both are known from a letter they wrote in 1688 to their father, James (Séamus) Byrne of Ballinakill (Co. Laois). Charles, who died in the battle of Aughrim in 1691, had a son named Michael Byrne (Micheál Ó Broin), who possessed the manuscript now known as British Library, MS Egerton 1782; he also transcribed the Book of the O'Byrnes (Leabhar Branach) in 1722 from a manuscript made in 1622 by Brian Mac Giolla Phádraig.²¹ Leabhar Branach contains mainly poetry about the Ó Broin family of Leinster composed by poets of the Mac Eochaidh (Keogh) family.²² We know that Michael Byrne had access to KI from or after his uncle Peter, because he made a copy of it in a manuscript which is now Dublin, National Library of Ireland, MS G 61.

In NLI MS G 61 we find on p. 6 a title page that reads: 'A Book of the Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Milesian Race Interspers'd with several remarkable occurrences. Compiled by John Conry Lord Chronologer of the Kingdom of Ireland. Written by Michael Byrne out of the Original: Dublin MDCCX'. Until p. 32 there are excerpts from *Forus Feasa ar Éirinn* by Geoffrey Keating (died c. 1644) and Egerton 1782, followed by genealogies of Ó Broin, Ó Tuathail and some other material. On p. 33 begins a section with the genealogies of Mac Suibhne of Connacht, with which KI begins on fol. 1v.²³ With minor differences it gives the same genealogies in the same order and with the same headings as in KI,²⁴ ending on p. 103 with that of Ó Deóráin, which duly concludes with *Lebar na hUagabala an geinealach so hÍ Deorain 7c*, as in KI. There follows on p. 104 a genealogy of the Ciarraighe, which precedes that of Ó Deóráin in KI, but which is there difficult to read due to damaged parchment.²⁵ After a brief account of the descendants of Íor son of Míl of

²¹T. F. O'Rahilly, 'The O'Byrnes of Baile na Coille', *JRSAI* 8/2 (1938), 278–80. On Egerton 1782, see also Benjamin James Hazard, '“Gaelic political scripture”: Uí Mhaoil Chonaire scribes and the Book of Mac Murchadha Caomhánach', *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 23 (2003), 149–64.

²²Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University, Houghton Library MS Ir 6. See Seán Mac Airt (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Branach. The Book of the O'Byrnes* (Dublin, 1944), who at xiv and 444 also suggests a family relationship between Peter and Michael, and at xvi–xvii links Michael to the Ó Neachtain scholars in Dublin. For the possibility that Leabhar Branach was for a part indebted to the Book of Leinster, see Neil Buttimer, 'The Book of Leinster and the Book of the O'Byrnes', in C. Breatnach, M. Ní Úrdail and G. Ó Riain (eds), *Lorg na Leabhar: A Festschrift for Pádraig A. Breatnach* (Dublin, 2019), 113–38.

²³It begins with: 'Geinealach Mic Siubhne [sic] Conacht. Toirrdhelbach mac Eoghain mic Dhubhghaill mic Mailmuire...'. In KI this pedigree has no heading and begins with 'm. Eoghain'. Michael Byrne added the heading and also Toirdhealbach, who is named as Eóghan's father in the next entry. For the rest G 61 is a somewhat careless copy of KI, and O'Byrne has taken over a number of errors and scribal mistakes also found in KI.

²⁴When comparing the heading of the genealogies, it should be noted that not all pedigrees have a heading and that Mac Niocaill overlooked the headings to the pedigrees of Ó Conchabhair Failghe at KI fol. 6c59 (here 7rc59) and Ó Broin at fol. 6e17 (7va17), and does not record headings of subdivisions such as Gabhal Echach at fol. 6e10 (7va10). These headings are recorded for NLI G 61 in Nessa Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the National Library of Ireland*, fasc. ii (Dublin, 1961), 86–8.

²⁵KI fol. 9va30–6; NLI MS G 61, p. 104a7–b8 has a longer pedigree (followed by later added

Spain there are further transcripts of Egerton 1782. At p. 186 begins a section with genealogies of the main Irish rulers, taken from the genealogical section appended to *Forus Feasa* in various manuscripts, and with further excerpts from that text, interspersed with some other genealogical material.²⁶

There can be no doubt that Michael Byrne copied the genealogies on pp. 33–104 from KI, and thus we have identified the source of this section in NLI MS G 61.²⁷ It does not necessarily follow that KI was compiled by John Conry, 'Lord Chronologer of the Kingdom of Ireland'.²⁸ His 'Book of the Genealogies of the Principal Families of the Milesian Race Interspers'd with several remarkable occurrences' more likely applies to the sections on pp. 25–8, which list the principal Irish families from the various sons of Míl and other remote forefathers, which follow excerpts from *Forus Feasa* and other sources. This is small fry compared with the complete copy of KI on pp. 33–103, but Byrne may not have known beforehand that he would include this extensive source with the rest.

The history of KI thus has a sequence of Ó Deóráin, Mac Eochaidh and Ó Broin that reflects the bonds between these learned and ruling families of Leinster. After Michael Byrne, the trail runs cold, but it is possible that KI travelled the same road as Egerton 1782. Both manuscripts ended up in the hands of the Dublin scholar Edward O'Reilly (1765–1830), who copied texts from Egerton 1782,²⁹ and owned a number of manuscripts that were acquired by King's Inns Library, very probably including KI.³⁰ In 1858 a number of Irish manuscripts of William Mon(c)k Mason (1775–1859) were auctioned, including Egerton 1782, which was bought by the British Museum (now the British Library).³¹ King's Inns MS 11 was not listed in the auction, and seems to have been among the manuscripts O'Reilly had 'disposed' to William Monk Mason in 1825. Mason's brother, Henry Joseph Monk Mason (1778–1858), was at that point chief librarian of King's Inns, which he remained until 1851. There is evidence that by 1852 the library had acquired several Irish manuscripts that

remarks), and comes from a different source. G 61 also omits the section at KI fol. 9rd42–9va29 (Sogain), which is difficult to read in KI, as the whole of fol. 9va is badly smudged. This was apparently already the case in Michael Byrne's day.

²⁶Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue NLI*, facs. ii, 89–90.

²⁷Cf. de Brún, *Catalogue*, xiv: 'some of the material in NLI G 61 seems to derive from King's Inns 11'; cf. Ó Canann, 'Ua Canannáin genealogies', 197.

²⁸As presumed in Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1008, no. 777, and Bernadette Cunningham and Raymond Gillespie, 'Muirheas Ó Maoilchonaire of Cluain Plocáin: an early sixteenth-century Connacht scribe at work', *Studia Hibernica* 35 (2008–09), 17–43, at 26. For John Conry, see Ní Shéaghdha, *Catalogue NLI*, facs. ii, 84, citing William Nicholson, *The Irish Historical Library* (Dublin, 1724), 243–6, where it is recorded that John Conry (Seán Ó Maoil Chonaire) owned a number of important Irish manuscripts, including annalistic ones; hence, apparently, the lofty title given to him by Michael Byrne. See further Ó Muraile, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 306 and 309; Richard Sharpe (ed.), *Roderick O'Flaherty's Letters to William Molyneux, Edward Lhwyd and Samuel Molyneux, 1696–1709* (Dublin, 2013), 170–8.

²⁹Robin Flower, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 vols (London, 1926–53) ii, 263, and iii, 31, where Flower states that Egerton 1782 was owned by O'Reilly in 1808 and by Mason in 1820.

³⁰de Brún, *Catalogue*, xiii–ix.

³¹Flower, *Catalogue BM* ii, 262–3.

were kept under lock and key. An inventory made in 1867 lists 37 manuscripts, King's Inns MS 11 among them. Pádraig de Brún concludes that Henry Joseph, who had an interest in the Irish language and antiquities, had acquired a collection of manuscripts from his brother, and perhaps a number of them directly from O'Reilly.³² In this way our genealogical manuscript travelled from scholar to scholar until it was finally lodged in King's Inns Library.

THE CONTENTS OF KING'S INNS MS 11

The first to investigate and publish about KI after Mac Niocaill's description in 1972 was Kenneth Nicholls. Three years later he remarks:

The earliest inclusion of a Norman family in an Irish genealogical collection of which I am aware is that of the de Burgos in a fragmentary manuscript in the Benchers' Library at King's Inns, Dublin (MS.G.11); this collection, from the latest generations occurring in it, must have been compiled around 1500, but much of the material, including the de Burgo genealogy referred to, seems to be some thirty or forty years earlier.³³

This is in summary repeated in the lists of Irish genealogical manuscripts by Nollaig Ó Muraíle.³⁴ Donnchadh Ó Corráin in his *Clavis* adds a couple of details and says that it was 'probably copied from a defective exemplar, perhaps of Leinster origin',³⁵ thus repeating Mac Niocaill's explanation about the spaces left open before certain pedigrees. None of these scholars have remarked on other aspects or distinctive features of KI. One can conclude that the manuscript has received only cursory attention so far, but since the publication of digitised scans of the complete manuscript on ISOS, its accessibility has been greatly enhanced.

We can divide KI into seven sections, although the manuscript itself has only a few and undistinctive sectional headings:

1. fols 1va1–3rd2: Northern and Southern Uí Néill, beginning (acephalous) with Mac Suibhne, *galloglass* from Scotland (held to be related to Ó Néill), and showing an erratic order, especially in the genealogies of the various branches of Ceinéal Conaill and Ceinéal Eóghain which are placed quite at random.
2. fols 3rd3–5rc32: Connachta, with most entries reserved for the ruling dynasts of Ó Ruairc and Ó Raighilligh and collateral branches.³⁶

³²de Brún, *Catalogue*, viii–xi.

³³Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 258–9. Séamas Pender, 'A guide to Irish genealogical collections', *Analecta Hibernica* 7 (1934), 1–167, refers to KI (as KI, MS, XI), but at p. i says he relies on a catalogue provided by Brigid O'Byrne and does not appear to have consulted the manuscript himself.

³⁴Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 44 no. 12 (see further at note 4 above). He refers to Nicholls's publication.

³⁵Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1001, no. 762. He does not refer to Nicholls's publication.

³⁶At fol. 4vb11–vc26 (10 entries) and fol. 4vd15–5ra40 (14 entries, but actually 16, as one, at fol. 5ra4–11, is a conflation of three entries into one; compare OC §§1501–3).

3. fols 5rc33–5rd35: Five entries on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe (Ó Néill of Clandeboey): the descendants of Muircheartach Ruadh (lord 1425–68) and his father Brian Ballach (†1425).
4. fols 5rd37–5vc40: Non-Gaelic genealogies. Pedigrees of Mac Quillin (Mac Uidhilín) and de Burgh or Burke (Mac Uilliam), including those of the lords of Lower Connacht and the earls of Clan Ricard, and several other branches.
5. fols 5vc41–7ra46: Oirghialla, introduced with *Slicht na Colla*,³⁷ with most entries devoted to Ó Ceallaigh of Uí Mhaine, Mág Uidhir of Fir Manach, and Mac Domhnaill, *galloglass* from Scotland.³⁸
6. fols 7ra47–8rc28: Leinster,³⁹ with most attention given to Mac Murchadha (Caomhánach) and Ó Broin.⁴⁰ This section determines the date of the manuscript as a whole, as it contains the most recent updates, which point to a compilation of c. 1520–30, as will be discussed below.
7. fols 8rc29–9va36: Descendants of Íor son of Míl in Ulster and elsewhere. Introduced with *Slicht Ir mic Miled indso*, and with most entries pertaining to Ó Fearghail, lords of Muintir Anghaile, and Mág Raghnaill, lords of Muintir Eolais, both of the Connhaicne of north-eastern Connacht.⁴¹

Apart from the headings in sections 5 and 7, there are no clear divisions within the genealogies as a whole, but the one proposed here shall serve as an analytical tool for our comparison between KI and other manuscripts. What follows below is a discussion of the main divisions of the records in KI, found in sections 1–2 and 5–7, after which the intrusive sections 3 and 4 will be considered. These last two sections are unique or almost unique to KI (apart from the copy in NLI MS G 61), although some overlap exists between the records in section 4 and records in other manuscripts. In the other five sections the situation is reversed: these records can be found in several closely related manuscripts, although some records are unique to KI, or contain different readings or additions. It is to this material we turn first.

THE LEABHAR DONN – O'CLERY (LD-OC) TEXTUAL TRADITION OF GENEALOGICAL RECORDING

A remarkable feature of the combined sections 1–2 and 5–7 is that they mainly deal with pedigrees only. These pedigrees terminate at c. 1520–30 at the latest (in the Leinster section), but mostly in the fifteenth century, or even up to

³⁷For sake of brevity I include the genealogies of the Fotharta and Déisi at fol. 7ra3–46 in this section. They purportedly descend from Feidhlimidh Reachtmhar, a remote ancestor of the Connachta, Uí Néill and Oirghialla.

³⁸At fols 5vd29–6rc6 (25 entries). The Uí Mhaine shared their ancestor with the Oirghialla; fol. 6rd17–va20 (11 entries); fol. 6va42–vb27 (10 entries).

³⁹For sake of brevity I include the genealogies of Dál Fiatach of Ulster at fol. 8rc1–28 in this section. They purportedly descend from Aonghus Tuirmheach, a remote ancestor of the Connachta, Uí Néill and Oirghialla.

⁴⁰At fol. 7ra47–rc58 (21 entries) and fol. 7va17–vc35 (19 entries, excluding the three Uí Fhelmedha genealogies at 7vb22–vc5).

⁴¹At fol. 8rc29–vb33 (31 entries), and fol. 8vb34–vc39 (11 entries).

several centuries earlier. This reflects the various stages in which these records were either updated or became petrified in the textual tradition which gave rise to KI. This textual tradition ultimately starts with the Psalter of Cashel, a compilation of genealogical (and probably related) material that was reputedly formed under or by the learned king of Cashel, Cormac mac Cuilennáin (†908). It seems to have been redacted under Brian Bóroime, king of Munster, around 1000, and partly updated to this period. All the large collections of secular genealogical records until c. 1400 are indebted to the Psalter of Cashel, which was further redacted in Armagh and other places, so that multiple and partially overlapping versions exist in the extant manuscripts. The genealogies of local dynasties and the most powerful Irish royal dynasties elsewhere were usually updated.⁴² In Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502 (Leinster, c. 1130) this is done in four discrete sections, either before (Leinster) or after (the other three sections) the body of genealogies that was mainly copied from a redacted version of the Psalter of Cashel.⁴³ In the Book of Leinster (c. 1160) this is done almost at the end of all the genealogies, which were originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript as a whole, that is, after *Lebor Gabhála*, poetry and regnal lists but before saga literature.⁴⁴ In the Connacht manuscripts TCD MS H 2.7 (1298) (c. 1350),⁴⁵ the Book of Uí Mhaine, Book of Ballymote and Book

⁴²Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Psalter of Cashel: a provisional list of contents', *Éigse* 23 (1989), 107–30; Bart Jaski, 'The genealogical section of the Psalter of Cashel', *Peritia* 17–18 (2003–04), 295–337.

⁴³See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 502, the updated genealogies of Leinster at p. 117 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 10–17); Uí Néill, Connachta and Oirghialla at pp. 143bc39–146g55 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 159–85); Munster (descendants of Éibear son of Míl) at pp. 154a40–155a2 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 250–5); and Ulster (descendants of Íor son of Míl) and Scotland at p. 161b32–e28 (O'Brien, *Corpus*, 322–30). The four sections appear as columns in the manuscript, a lay-out which is for the rest rarely and irregularly used in the secular genealogies. With few exceptions these four sections are the only ones that contain updates beyond c. 1000, usually from the period c. 1050 to 1130. The four sections are editorial interventions that interrupt the main body of genealogical recording that on the whole reflects the core of the Psalter of Cashel, including redactional activities that took place in Armagh, Leinster and perhaps elsewhere.

⁴⁴TCD MS H 2.18 (1339). *LL*, vol. 6, 1477–92, 1463–77 (pp. 337–8, 335–6). Note that the present edition of the Book of Leinster follows the sequence of leaves as found in the facsimile edition published by the Royal Irish Academy in 1880, but this is not the original foliation of the manuscript. The poems on Leinster history at the beginning (*LL*, vol. 1, 202–60; pp. 43–52) used to be followed by the main genealogical section (*LL*, vol. 6, 1327–1463; pp. 311–34), followed by the collection of pedigrees of Irish kings, and finally the Osraige genealogies (*LL*, vol. 6, 1493–1502; pp. 339–42). It then continued with *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (*LL*, vol. 2, 261; p. 53), the first major saga in the codex. On the reconstructed foliation, see William O'Sullivan, 'Notes on the scripts and make-up of the Book of Leinster', *Celtica* 7 (1966), 1–31, especially the overview at 34/35. He has put pp. 323–4 (*LL*, vol. 6, 1394–1463) as one group of folios much further back in the manuscript, after a lost section. However, the end of p. 322 is without doubt continued at p. 323 (*LL*, vol. 6, 1394; see also the corresponding section in Rawlinson B 502, p. 153a1; O'Brien, *Corpus*, 238), so I take them to have formed one section. That pp. 335–6 follow pp. 337–8 is established by O'Sullivan, 'Notes', 19, on codicological grounds, and is supported by the textual evidence: the genealogies of the Cianachta (p. 335a; *LL*, vol. 6, 1463) naturally follow those of the Luighne (p. 338h; *LL*, vol. 6, 1492), as they share the same forefathers. The Book of Leinster misses a good part of the genealogies of the descendants of Éireamhon son of Míl, except those of Leinster.

⁴⁵Pádraig Ó Riain (ed.), *Corpus Genealogiarum Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1985), xxxvii–viii; John Bannerman, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh, 1975), 28–31. TCD MS H 2.7 is a convolute, see also Aisling Byrne, 'Cultural intersections in Trinity College Dublin MS 1298', in Axel and Neele Harlos (eds), *Adapting Texts and Styles in a Celtic Context: Interdisciplinary*

of Lecan (the last three dated to around 1400),⁴⁶ we usually find a mixture of the textual tradition of the Psalter of Cashel interspersed with contemporary updates before or after the records of the royal kindreds, but also in discrete sections. In the last three of these large and extensive codices the genealogies take up a fifth to a quarter of the total number of leaves.

The Ó Cianáin Miscellany (NLI MS G 2–G 3), which modern historians think was probably written in Fermanagh, c. 1345, is a collection of royal pedigrees, genealogical histories, regnal lists, poetry, prose texts and grammatical, wisdom and law tracts.⁴⁷ In the various genealogical sections the emphasis is on the pedigrees of contemporary or earlier rulers, mainly of the Uí Néill, Connachta and Oirghialla. This format may be a forerunner of manuscripts that are completely dedicated to genealogical records and mainly consist of pedigrees in columns, sometimes preceded by the genealogical history of the population group or royal dynasty in question. This is not the place to discuss this new way of genealogical recording in any detail, but it is important to note that KI fits into this textual tradition. KI is particularly closely related to four manuscripts, which are briefly discussed below.

1. Leabhar Donn (LD), RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233), contains the first extant manuscript in the new format.⁴⁸ Leabhar Donn is a composite manuscript of several (remnants of) manuscripts and inserted leaves of different provenance, on various topics including astronomy, religion, narrative literature and medicine. The oldest genealogical manuscript that it includes is at fols 35–47 and covers the Uí Néill, Connachta (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Ó Ruairc), Oirghialla, Laighin, Descendants of Íor and the ruling dynasties of Munster (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Ó Briain), of which the final section is unreadable because fol. 47v functioned as the outer cover of the manuscript. The rest is missing. Most pedigrees terminate in the last decades of the fourteenth century, but the most recent ones can be dated to c. 1430–35.⁴⁹

Perspectives on Processes of Literary Transfer in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Erich Poppe. Studien und Texte zur Keltologie, 13 (Münster, 2016), 289–304, at 288–9.

⁴⁶Descriptions and lists of contents of these three manuscripts can be found in R. A. S. Macalister (ed.), *The Book of Uí Maine* (Dublin, 1941) [facsimile of RIA MS D ii 1 (1225)]; Robert Atkinson (ed.), *The Book of Ballymote* (Dublin, 1887) [facsimile of RIA MS 23 P 12 (536)]; Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *The Book of Lecan* (Dublin 1937) [facsimile of RIA MS 23 P 2 (535)]. The first two are also discussed in detail in Elizabeth Boyle and Ruairí Ó hUiginn (ed.), *The Book of Uí Mhaine, Codices Hibernenses Eximii*, 3 (Dublin, 2023), and Ó hUiginn, *Book of Ballymote*.

⁴⁷Ní Shéaghda, *Catalogue NLI*, facs. i (1967), 12–28 (which is not always accurate); James Carney, 'The Ó Cianáin Miscellany', *Ériu* 21 (1969), 122–47.

⁴⁸Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 257 (he only discusses the later genealogies in the manuscript); Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 44, no. 11; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1000–01, no. 761. David E. Thornton, *Kings, Chronologies, and Genealogies: Studies in the Political History of Early Medieval Ireland and Wales* (Oxford, 2003), 171 (cf. 19) notes that KI and LD share an identical mistake in the Déisi genealogies.

⁴⁹The more recent pedigrees include at fol. 36ra1: Eóghan Ó Néill (reigned with intervals 1410–55); fol. 37ra3: sons of Toirdhealach Ó Domhnaill (†1422); fol. 38vec30: Eóghan Mac Diarmada Ruadh (†1455), son of Maol Eachlainn (†1417); fol. 41rba22: Tadhg Ó Ruairc (reigned 1419–35); fol. 43vc4: Donnchadh Mac Murchadha (reigned 1417–c. 1455); fol. 43ve32: An Calbhach

2. TCD MS H 1.12 (1286) (S) contains a colophon that states that the genealogical tract was copied by Aodh Ó Dálaigh from an old book of Seán son of Muiris Ó Maoil Chonaire, *ardollamh* of Ireland and Scotland. This copying was done in the library of St Patrick's Cathedral in 1744 on the order of Dr Francis Stoughton Sullivan (1715–66), professor at Trinity College Dublin. Nicholls calls it 'a very bad copy', and Ó Corráin 'an indifferent transcript'. There are indeed ample scribal mistakes, but it is written in a fairly legible but constantly changing hand. The date of 1480 that Nicholls assigns to it has been taken over by others, but it is nowhere mentioned in the tract itself.⁵⁰ The genealogical section is in the second part of the manuscript, paged 1–41. It starts with the Munster dynasties of Máig Cárthaigh and Ó Mathghamhna, followed by the records of Ó Briain, which is preceded by a genealogical introduction. Hereafter follow the ruling families of Connacht (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Mac Diarmada), the Uí Néill, Uí Briúin Bréifne (with a genealogical introduction to the records of Ó Ruairc), Oirghialla, Leinster and the Descendants of Íor. On p. 42 is a long pedigree of Mac Uidhílin (Mac Quillin), but crossed out. The sections of Leinster on pp. 43–50 (with the scribe noting the date of 1725) and the Descendants of Íor and Ulster kings on pp. 51–3 are from different manuscript traditions.⁵¹ The pedigree of Eóghan (died 1485), son of Feidlimidh (king of Connacht 1466–74), as head of the Ó Conchabhair Donn branch, seems an indication of its latest date, around 1480.⁵² However, the records of Ó Tuathail and Ó Broin of Leinster are even later, and point to a date of c. 1490 and a Leinster provenance, as will be further discussed below.

3. After KI, written in the period c. 1520–30, as will be discussed below, we find this textual tradition recorded in TCD MS H 3.18 (1337) (T). This is another composite manuscript, which contains a distinctive paper section with genealogical records on pp. 810–58.⁵³ It covers the Uí Néill, Oirghialla,

Ó Conchabhair Failghe (reigned c. 1425–58); fol. 45re20 (*Comarba Caillin*): Matha Ó Roideacháin (†1447), son of Roibeard (†1428), of Connhaicne. The later genealogical section in Leabhar Donn is at fols 13–29. It has detailed records of the Connachta and Oirghialla, updated to around 1480. It ends acephalous. Because of its limited coverage, it will be left out of the subsequent discussion.

⁵⁰Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 257–8; Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 48 no. 28; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1010, no. 781, who gives a transcription of the colophon at the bottom of p. 8c. The same year and place are also at p. 26c.

⁵¹The Leinster section (Uí Bairrche and Uí Fhailge) roughly corresponds to O'Brien, *Corpus*, 46–65 (121a38–123f18), but in a different redaction, and the Ulster section with *ibid.*, 269–77 (156a25–157,10).

⁵²The more recent pedigrees include at p. 11c3: Tadhg Ó Conchabhair (reigned 1439–64); p. 12b31: Eóghan Cáech Ó Conchabhair Donn (†1485); p. 18a21: Enrí Ó Néill (reigned 1455–83); p. 29c1: Eoin Mac Domhnaill (†1503), son of Alexander (†1449); p. 31b26: Conn Ó Conchabhair Failghe (reigned 1458–74); p. 39b27: sons of Cathal Mag Raghnaill (reigned 1462–6). Other pedigrees are similar to the latest in LD, for example at p. 13b12: Eóghan Mac Diarmada Ruadh (†1455), son of Maol Eachlainn (†1417); p. 20a8: sons of Toirdhealbach Ó Domhnaill (†1422); p. 23c6: Tadhg Ó Ruairc (reigned 1419–35); p. 30c32: Donnchadh Mac Murchadha (reigned 1417–c. 1455); p. 40a21 (*Comarba Caillin*): Matha Ó Roideacháin (†1447), son of Roibeard (†1428), of Connhaicne.

⁵³Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 256 (who notes the relationship with OC); Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 46, no. 22; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1005, no. 769, who states that RIA MS 23 O 21 (1130) is of the same paper and the same hand and thus appears to be a fragment of H 3.18. This is not the case, and the contents of the two manuscripts even partially overlap.

Laighin and ends with the Descendants of Ír. This last section is followed by a genealogical introduction to their records (comparable with the last section in S, no. 2 above), and at this point the manuscript breaks off. The Connachta are omitted, although there is nothing missing between the records of the Uí Néill and Oirghialla. In S the records of the Connachta precede those of the Uí Néill, and it is likely that this section was also included in the first part in T but is now missing. The most recent records point to an Ulster provenance and a date of c. 1630 for the manuscript, but there are only a few pedigrees from that period; most of the rest terminate at c. 1600 or earlier.⁵⁴

4. The best-known genealogical source in this textual tradition is the collection known as O'Clery's Genealogies (OC). The autograph manuscript, RIA MS 23 D 17 (790), was written by Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh (*fl.* 1630–64), one of the Four Masters, who lived in Co. Donegal before he resettled in Co. Mayo.⁵⁵ The genealogies were written with several blank lines between the heading and the first name, so that they could be updated. After a list of Irish Franciscan monasteries and the genealogy of the king of Spain, the main sections are devoted to the descendants of Éireamhon son of Míl son of Bile son of Bréoghan (§§5–1792), Ír son of Míl (§§1793–1930), Éibhear son of Míl (§§1931–2048), Lughaidh son of Íth son of Bréoghan (§§2049–2093), and to non-Gaelic (mostly Anglo-Norman) families (§§2093–2337). The focus is clearly on the first group, consisting mainly of the Uí Néill, Connachta and Oirghialla. Some sections have introductory genealogies starting with pseudo-historical ancestors like Niall of the Nine Hostages and his kin, including those found in some or all of the other manuscripts: Ó Briain, Mac Diarmada, Ó Ruairc and Descendants of Ír; all are with some variations also found in one or more of the codices of the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.⁵⁶ The main focus of OC is on the branches of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Genealogical recording took place until about 1660. Updates are often placed in separate sections which can be introduced by the heading *núai fhiadnaisi* (lit. 'new testimony') or the like.⁵⁷ The complete manuscript was edited and published by Séamus Pender in 1951.

All five manuscripts show such a level of agreement in the pedigrees they record, and the order in which they present them, that they clearly belong to the same textual tradition of late medieval genealogical recording in Ireland.

⁵⁴The more recent pedigrees include at p. 810a1: Seaán Ó Néill, Earl of Tyrone (†1641); p. 826a1: Brian Mág Uidhir (†1632), son of Conchabhar (†1625).

⁵⁵Pender, 'O'Clery Genealogies', xi–xii; Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 256–7; Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 46, no. 21; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1004–5, no. 768. The manuscript is unsigned and Cú Coigcríche's authorship is extrapolated from other manuscripts; see in particular Pádraig A. Breatnach, *The Four Masters and their Manuscripts: Studies in Palaeography and Text* (Dublin, 2013), 10–20, 122–4.

⁵⁶For edited versions of the last two, see M. V. Duignan, 'The Uí Briúin Bréifni genealogies', *JRSAI* 64 (1934): 90–137, 213–56; M. E. Dobbs, 'The History of the Descendants of Ír', *ZCP* 13 (1921), 308–59; 14 (1923), 44–144.

⁵⁷See the headings at OC §§185 (with the year 1660), 1489, 1530, 1609 and 1715.

This tradition spans almost two and a half centuries, in chronological order LD (c. 1430–35), S (c. 1490), KI (c. 1520–30), T (c. 1630) and OC (c. 1660). We can refer to it as the *Leabhar Donn-O'Clery* (LD-OC) textual tradition of genealogical recording. Their common core is best visible in the more extensive records reserved for the more powerful or locally relevant families, such as Ó Ruairc and Ó Raighilligh and related families of Uí Bhriúin Bréifne,⁵⁸ Ceinéal Maine of Tethba,⁵⁹ Mág Uidhir of Fir Manach,⁶⁰ and Ó Fearghail and Mág Raghnaill and related families of Conmhaicne.⁶¹ In all cases we can expect variations in pedigrees, updates, discarded records, differences in order, copyist mistakes and orthographic variations, but their common roots are nevertheless obvious. This also applies to dynasties or families represented by a single pedigree, such as in the case of the records of the Uí Mhac Uais, Uí Bhreasail Macha and Uí Bhreasail Oirthir (all Oirghialla), Uí Lomáin Fionnabrach and Uí Chormaic Máonmhuighe (both Uí Mhaine) and Uí Nualláin (Fotharta of Leinster), which are found in that order in LD, S, KI and T, and somewhat rearranged in OC.⁶² The middle four are petrified pedigrees that do not go beyond the twelfth century. In general, the single petrified pedigrees are ultimately based on the Psalter of Cashel textual tradition of genealogical recording. But also the records of the more powerful families may not go beyond the decades around 1400 if they were not updated afterwards. This explains why we find relatively many pedigrees in KI that terminate in this period. The best covered families in the LD-OC manuscripts by and large reflect the focus on north-eastern Connacht when these were originally compiled, of which LD is the best representative, even if it is incomplete at the end. OC has the most extensive version, because it covers all the dynasties, including those of Munster and Anglo-Norman families. These are not, or sparsely, covered in the other four, with the exception of the Munster families in S. It is possible that KI had early on lost its Munster section which would have preceded what now has been left in a separate section. OC has also the most updates, and has further additions, such as an extensive account of the Uí Dhomhnaill which originally did not belong to the LD-OC textual tradition. But on the whole OC is part of that tradition, not a new compilation of sorts.

THE LEINSTER PEDIGREES

Now we have established the broad context in which KI should be placed, we can discuss its main points of interest. Since KI relies on an already existing

⁵⁸ LD fols 41rba22–42rf37; S pp. 23c6–26c32; KI fols 4vb11–5rb37; missing in T; OC §§1409–1529.

⁵⁹ LD fols 37vb28–38rc30; S pp. 21b4–22b14; KI fols 2vd28–3rc12; T pp. 818b30–823a8 (excluding the inserted pp. 820–1, with a pedigree of Ó hEaghra of Luighne); OC §§832–53 (which includes at §§842–3 a regnal list and a poem not found in the other versions).

⁶⁰ LD fol. 42vd1–vf12; S p. 29a15–b11; KI fol. 6rd17–va11; T pp. 826b1–827a35; OC §§1599–1608 (and updates at 1609–15).

⁶¹ LD fols 45ra1–vb9, 45vd15–46ra17; S pp. 37b26–40b12; KI fols 8rc29–9ra12; T pp. 838a1–842a24; OC §§1842–1924.

⁶² LD fol. 43rg24–vb6; S p. 30b8–c21; KI fols 6vd10–7ra24; T pp. 829b8–830b8; OC §§1719, 1674, 1673, 1680, 1679, 1733.

and continuing textual tradition, most records do not go beyond the early fifteenth century, and on the whole KI agrees with the records in LD and S, and with those records in T and OC which have not been updated. S is chronologically the closest to KI (even if it is a later copy), and a comparison between the records of the more extensively recorded dynasties shows that S shares some features of LD, T and/or OC against KI, but also agrees with KI against some or all of the other three. The exact relationship between the five manuscript witnesses is a complicated question and still has to be addressed, but it appears that while all five share many records up to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, this becomes less pronounced afterwards. This is due in part to the fact that T and OC contain several records that have been updated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so that fewer records of the fifteenth century remain. One of the latest records that S, KI, T and OC have in common is the pedigree of Art Ó Maoil Eachlainn (†1468), son of Conn (†1431), of Clann Cholmáin of Mide.⁶³ S and KI also have the genealogies of Tadhg Óg Ó Conchabhair (king of Connacht, 1439–64) and the sons of Cathal Óg Mág Raghnaill (lord of Muintir Eolais, 1462–8) in common. Both have been updated in T and OC, so their records cannot be used to establish when the four start to diverge.⁶⁴

In the case of S and KI it seems that their latest common records point to the years 1462–4 when they diverge. S has one clear example of a record that is not updated after that period in KI,⁶⁵ while KI has several that are not updated after that period in S.⁶⁶ The latest of these non-Leinster updates in KI relates to Niall Ó Baoighill (†1502), son of Toirdhealbach (†1489), of Ceinéal Conaill.⁶⁷ KI thus has updates until c. 1490 which it does not share with S, while T and OC either lack these updates or have updated the lineages, up to around 1600 (T) or later (OC). The situation is reversed in KI section 6 on Leinster, where KI has updated the basic fifteenth-century records as we find

⁶³S p. 20b34; KI fol. 2rd18; T p. 817b14; OC §780.

⁶⁴S p. 11c3; KI fol. 3rd3; missing in T; updated at OC §928, and S p. 39b17; KI fol. 8vc2. Compare T p. 840a4 and OC §1882, which record the ruling lineage descending from Cathal Óg's brother Íor (†1464).

⁶⁵S p. 29c1: Eoin Mac Domhnaill (†1503), son of Alexander / Alastar (†1449), son of Domhnall (†1423) (identical to T p. 827b30 and OC §1698); KI fol. 6va42 begins with Domhnall Mac Domhnaill.

⁶⁶KI fol. 1vc26: Aodh Ruadh Ó Domhnaill (king of Tír Conaill, 1461–1505), son of Niall Garbh (†1439), son of Toirdhealbach; S p. 20a8 and T p. 814b6 terminate at the sons of Toirdhealbach, but this is followed at T p. 184b13 with an updated record, while OC §925 has a further updated record. KI fol. 2rb5: Brian Ó Dochartaigh (lord of Airmire, †1496), son of Domhnall (†1440), son of Conchabhar (†1413); S p. 20a30 terminates at Conchabhar; updated in T p. 814b34 and OC §199. KI fol. 2va24: Aodh Ó Maoil Mhuaidh (lord of Fir Chell, †1454), son of Niall (†1425), son of Ruaidhrí; S p. 21a1, T p. 818a13 and OC §888 terminate at Ruaidhrí; KI fol. 2vb7, T p. 818a22 and OC §890: Cú Coigriche Mág Eochagáin (lord of Ceinéal Fiachach, 1470–4), son of Niall (*fl.* 1454), son of Diarmuid (†1392); S p. 21a14 terminates at Diarmuid. KI fol. 3vd6: Domhnall Ó hAinlighe (lord of Ceinéal Dobtha, *fl.* 1495), son of Ruaidhrí Buidhe (†1482), son of Giolla na Naomh (blinded 1445), son of Aodh (†1405); S p. 15b11 and OC §1295 terminate at the sons of Aodh; not in T. KI fol. 4rb23: Domhnall Ó Birn (†1497), son of Maol Eachlainn (lord of Tír Briúin na Sinna, †1465), son of Brian, son of Tadhg; S p. 16c1 terminates with the sons of Tadhg; not in T; updated at OC §1226.

⁶⁷KI fol. 2ra25; missing in S; further updated at T p. 814b26 and OC §197.

them in LD, T and OC, while S sits somewhere in the middle. This is set out in Table 1.

Table 1: Records on Leinster where KI fols 7ra47–8rb52 has been updated compared to LD fols 43vc4–44vc23, S pp. 30c32–35c31, T pp. 830b26–834b9 and OC §§1736–88.⁶⁸ Underlined is where LD, S, T and/or OC terminate. The updates in OC from the seventeenth century are not included. An * denotes where S terminates if this differs from LD, T and/or OC. Only the first persons of the pedigrees are noted here.

kL = king of Leinster; kUF = king of Uí Failghe; s.o. = son of

7ra47	Murchadh Ballach Mac Murchadha (kL, 1476–1511) s.o. Muircheartach (†1442) s.o. <u>Donnchadh</u> (kL, 1417–abd. c. 1455; †1478) s.o. Art (kL, 1375–1416)
7rb32	Feidhlimidh s.o. Giolla Pádraig s.o. <u>Dáibhidh</u> of Clann Dhonnchadha na Cailledh
7rb50	Muiris Ó Muiris s.o. Diarmuid s.o. Muiris s.o. <u>Uadagh</u>
7rb58	Labraidh s.o. Criomhthann s.o. <u>Domhnall</u> s.o. Muiris (his brother Art †1380) s.o. Gearalt s.o. Tomás Finn of Gabhal Toirdhealbhaigh
7rc8	<i>Nuadfhíadhnnus Caomanach innso</i> (discussed below)
7rc44	Éamonn Dubh s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Art s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Art s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Art s.o. Diarmuid s.o. Tomás Finn of Gabhal Toirdhealbhaigh (not in LD, S, T or OC)
7rc59	Brian Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1520–c. 1560) s.o. <u>Cathaoir</u> (kUF 1474–1511) s.o. *Conn (kUF 1458–74) s.o. An Calbhach (kUF c. 1425–48)
7rd46	<u>Diarmuid Ó Tuathail</u> (†1445) s.o. Aodh (†1376) s.o. <u>Dáibhidh</u> (†1328)
7va1	*Fearghal Ó Tuathail s.o. Seaán s.o. Aodh s.o. Seaán Ruadh (†1388) [s.o. of <u>Dáibhidh</u> (†1328)] (not in LD, T or OC)
7va3	*Seaán Ó Tuathail s.o. Éamonn (†1488) s.o. Teabóid s.o. Diarmuid (†1445) (not in LD, T or OC)
7va17	*Tadhg Ó Broin (of Newragh fl. 1488) s.o. Bran (†1436) s.o. <u>Donnchadh</u> (†1434) s.o. Broin
7va31	*Donnchadh Ó Broin s.o. Maol Eachlainn s.o. <u>Tomás</u> of Gabhal Dalbhaigh
7va40	*Cuilen Ruadh Ó Broin s.o. Laiseach s.o. Maol Eachlainn s.o. Giolla Pádraig s.o. <u>Donnchadh</u> of Gabhal tSiomóin
7va47	*Donnchadh Ó Broin s.o. Dalbhach s.o. <u>Dáibhidh</u> Ruadh s.o. Murchadh s.o. Lochlann s.o. Cúug s.o. Ailgeoit s.o. Siomón (not in LD, T or OC)
7vb1	*Réamonn Garbh Ó Broin (†1510) s.o. Seaán s.o. Aodh s.o. Domhnall Glas s.o. <u>Conchabhar</u> of Gabhal Raghnaill

⁶⁸LD fol. 44v is much worn and in places illegible. S, KI and OC also include at the end records of Mac Giolla Pádraig of Osraige before adding a few Leinster records.

- 7vb22 *Toirdhealbach Ó Murchadha s.o. Art s.o. Tadhg s.o. Donnchadh s.o.
 Donn Sléibhe of Uí Fhelmedha; LD, T and OC: Domhnall s.o.
 Murchadh s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Donn Sléibhe
 8ra12 *Éinrí Ó Riain s.o. Séafrún s.o. Éinrí s.o. Éinrí s.o. Séafrún

For the Leinster sections, T and OC are basically copies of the early fifteenth-century records we also find in LD (except where records have been added or were discarded). There is one major exception to this rule: LD terminates with An Calbhach Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1425–48), S with his son Conn (kUF 1458–74) and T and OC with the latter's son Cathaoir (kUF 1474–1511). Most records in KI listed in Table 1 are updated with two to four generations as compared with LD, T and OC, a sure sign that these records were updated in Leinster. With regard to Mac Murchadha, S follows the records in LD, T and OC, but for Ó Tuathail, Ó Broin, Ó Murchadha and Ó Riain it has the same updates as KI, including Seaán Ó Tuathail, son of Éamonn (†1488), and Réamonn Garbh Ó Broin (†1510), which puts their codification in S around 1490. It thus seems that KI incorporated records on Ó Tuathail, Ó Broin and others in its Leinster records from a source similar to S; it was not S itself, as there are various differences between KI and S that suggest one or more steps between them. KI then added its updates of the Mac Murchadha lineages, and probably also of Ó Conchabhair Failghe. Although it is only updated with one generation, Cathaoir's son Brian Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1520–c. 1560) is the most recent person dateable among the updates in Table 1, except for the updates of the Mac Murchadha records that begin at KI fol. 7rc8 with the heading *Nuadfhiadhnnus Caomanach* ('New Testimony of (Mac Murchadha) Caomhánach').⁶⁹ Text 1 gives an edition of this part, which follows after the Mac Murchadha records that KI has in common with the rest of the LD-OC textual tradition.

Text 1: Updates on Mac Murchadha (KI fol. 7rc8–43)

7rc8 *Nuadfhiadhnnus Caomanac[h] inso*

Diarmait Laimhderg mac Diarmata mic Gerailt mic Airt [mic] Airt.
 Clann Diarmata Laimhderg: Donnchadh ⁊ Art ⁊ Muircertach, Dunlaing
 ⁊ Emann ⁊ Muiris.
 Cuig mic Airt mic Diarmata Laimderg: Geralt ⁊ Cathair, Brian ⁊
 Domnall ⁊ Murchadh.
 Aenmac ag Donnchadh .i. Domnall.

⁶⁹The date c. 1520 reflects the uncertainty of the date of Brian's accession to the kingship of Uí Fhailghe. The Irish annals record that Brian's father Cathaoir was killed in 1511 by two sons of his brother Tadhg (†1471). Of these sons Brian mac Taidhg became the new king, and after his death in 1517 his brother An Calbhach was inaugurated. In 1523 the Earl of Kildare and his allies moved against Ó Conchabhair Failghe and peace was made. It is generally understood that Tadhg's sons were supported by the Earls of Kildare, while Brian mac Cathaoir had become king in 1520 due to the support of the Earl of Surrey, who had just replaced Kildare as lord lieutenant of Ireland (O'Byrne, *War, Politics*, 150–4).

Dias ag Muircertach mac Diarmata Laimhderg: Cathair 7 Dunlaing.
 Mac ingnimha ac Dunlaing mac Diarmata .i. Domnall.
 Mac (MS: n;a c) ag Emand mac Diarmata .i. Geralt.
 [Muiris:]⁷⁰ Ni hairmigther do clann.
 Clanni Diarmata Laimhderg ingnima acht sin.

Art Buidhe 7 Brian, Cathair 7 Geralt, Muiris 7 Murchadh: clann Dom-
 naill Riabaigh mic Gerailt mic Airtt mic Airt.
 Clann Airt Buidhe .i. da Muircertach 7 Murchadh, tri Dondchadha 7
 Cath[air], Diarmait.
 Clann ingnima Gerailt: Diarmait 7 Cr[i]mhthan.
 Da mac ag Brian Ballach .i. Muircertach 7 Dondchadh.
 Dibaidh Cathair, can clann acht mic ingine infhaitigh. Clann mac ingine
 infaitigh .i. Geralt 7 Diarmait na nGall 7 Muircertach.⁷¹

These additions record the two main branches among the Meic Murchadha at the time, who are the descendants of the two sons of Gearalt Caomhánach (†1431): of Diarmuid (father of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg) and of Domhnall Riabhach, who succeeded Gearalt's brother Donnchadh as king of Leinster around 1455 (see Chart 1).

The descendants of Murchadh Ballach, king of Leinster from 1476–1511, and grandson of Donnchadh, are not recorded.⁷² As Murchadh Ballach's son Cathaoir reigned from 1532 to c. 1543, this section with updates in KI is likely to predate Cathaoir's reign. This is also suggested by the use of the term *ingníma* 'capable of deeds', which in this context surely refers to an adult fit to handle weapons. Other sons may have been known to the compiler, but they had not yet reached adulthood. Hence, we should not date this section to the lifetime of the last generation, that is, the grandsons of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg (†1511) and Domhnall Riabhach (†1476), but rather to the period of the sons of these two. These sons are Art (died post 1517), son of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg, and the sons of Domhnall Riabhach, who collectively ruled from 1511 to 1531. Since we also have the pedigree of Brian Ó Conchabhair Failghe (kUF c. 1520–c. 1560), the *terminus post quem* is thus 1520, while the *terminus ante quem* is 1532, when Muiris, the last son of Domhnall Riabhach, dies, and Cathaoir son of Murchadh Ballach succeeds as king.

This gives us the date of c. 1520–30 for the date of KI. It is not quite possible to tell whether KI was written during the reign of Gearalt (1517–23) or his brother Muiris (1523–32). Gearalt's two adult sons are named, but no sons of his younger brothers Muiris and Murchadh are recorded, despite the fact

⁷⁰Muiris is the youngest son of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg, and the only one who is lacking in this list, so it seems his name was omitted by accident before the line *Ni hairmigther do clann* 'His offspring is not recorded'.

⁷¹Cathaoir's lineage is extinct (*dibaidh*), except for the three *mic ingine infhaitigh* 'sons of an uncareful woman', suggesting they were born outside of marriage.

⁷²The succession of Art Buidhe Mac Murchadha (king of Leinster, 1511–17) was contested between his brother Gearalt, and Murchadh Ballach's son Muircheartach (†1521), who lost out. This may explain the omission of Murchadh Ballach's sons.

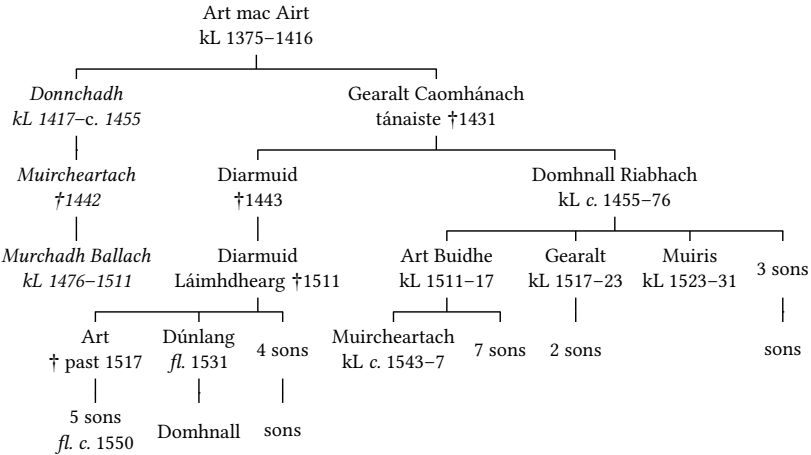


Chart 1. Persons recorded in the section *Nuadfhiadhnnus Caomhánach* in KI, with titles and years added, and with the identical spelling of names.⁷³ The lineage of Murchadh Ballach as recorded in KI is added in *italics*, but his descendants are not recorded in KI and left out here.

that Muiris’s son Diarmuid died in 1531 and another son, Murchadh, would be created Baron of Coolnaleen in 1554.⁷⁴ Muiris himself must have been well over 60 years old when he succeeded in 1523, as his father had died in 1476, and so old enough to have adult sons of his own. Why Muiris sons are omitted, such as for a political reason when his brother Gearalt reigned, or because of a mistake by the copyist, is unclear. It does not point decisively to Gearalt’s kingship as the time of writing, and it should be noted that several later updated pedigrees of the Mac Murchadha genealogies terminate with Muiris, as will be discussed below. Hence c. 1520–30 is as precise as we can get for the date of the information as written down in KI. This does not preclude the possibility that KI is a later copy of the original manuscript with a number of mistakes and omissions, but at this stage there is no evidence either for or against this. It is also equally uncertain if KI, or an exemplar, was written for a member of the learned Ó Deóráin family, attached to the Meic Murchadha, but their long pedigree at the end of the manuscript suggests that they were included in the line of transmission.

⁷³Based on the chart of T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland, Volume IX: Maps, Genealogies, Lists: A Companion to Irish History, Part II* (Oxford, 1976), 149, no. 21. See also the chart in O’Byrne, *War, Politics*, 248–9, which at times gives somewhat different lineages, titles and dates. Notably, Domhnall (†1476) has not his epithet Riabhach, and Diarmuid Láimhdhearg is left out as son of Diarmuid (†1443).

⁷⁴See the chart in Moody, Martin, and Byrne, *A New History of Ireland, Volume IX*, 149, no. 21.

FURTHER UPDATES OF THE MAC MURCHADHA GENEALOGIES

In order to set the genealogies in KI in their proper context, it is instructive to consider the main genealogical compilations of the later period, particularly those that include Leinster genealogical material. KI stands alone in this respect in the sixteenth century, for there are no other extant players in this field for the rest of the century. It is only in the early seventeenth century that we pick up the tradition again in the form of TCD MS H 5.21 (1393a), which can be dated to c. 1610, give or take about five years.⁷⁵ Only four Mac Murchadha pedigrees are given:⁷⁶

- Muiris (†1531) son of Domhnall Riabhach (†1476) s.o. Gearalt (†1431) s.o. Art (†1416) etc. until Ughaine.
- Brian (†1578) s.o. Cathaoir (†1554) s.o. Diarmuid Láimhdhearg (†1511) [s.o. Diarmuid (†1443) s.o. Gearalt (†1431)] s.o. Art (†1416) and continued for three more generations.
- Éamonn Dubh s.o. Donnchadh – 6 generations – Toirdhealbhach s.o. Énna (†1168) s.o. Diarmuid na nGall (†1171).
- Domhnall Spáinneach (*fl.* 1581, †1632) s.o. Donnchadh s.o. Cathaoir Carrach (†1538) s.o. Muirheartach (†1547) s.o. Aodh Buidhe (†1517) s.o. Domhnall Riabhach (†1476) s.o. Gearalt (†1431) s.o. Art (†1416)

In all the other seventeenth century manuscripts, at most only these four pedigrees occur. The only difference is that in all cases they are updated with Murchadh (†1636), son of Brian (†1578), and in some cases with Sir Murchadh (†1645), son of Domhnall Spáinneach (†1632). No further updates occur in the remaining genealogical manuscripts that contain Leinster pedigrees, which are all from the 1640s or later. This applies to the 'Book of (the) Mac Dermot(ts)' or 'Leabhar Clainne Maoilruanaidh', written by Mathghamhain Ó Duibhgeanain and others in the early 1640s, and the related 'O Flaherty – O Conor Collection';⁷⁷ the genealogies that are appended to manuscripts of Geoffrey Keating's *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, primarily TCD MS H 5.26 (1397), written c. 1640 by Seaán, son of Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire;⁷⁸ Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh's

⁷⁵T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 261, date the whole manuscript to the seventeenth century. The first and one of the latest dateable pedigrees is at p. 3.23, that of Éamonn Mac Feorais (Edmund de Bermingham), who died in 1612/14, and for whom the tract may have been written. The inclusion of Brian Óg Mac Diarmada (reigned 1603–36) at p. 14.14 points to a date after 1603. Many other pedigrees terminate in the last decades of the sixteenth century.

⁷⁶TCD MS H 5.21 (1393a), pp. 1–18, at pp. 5.19–6.17.

⁷⁷RIA MS D i 3 (539), fols 24–85, at fol. 62v8–28, and RIA MS E iv 4 (621), at fol. 16r5–21. For their names, see Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 45 no. 19 (see also Ó Muraile, *The Celebrated Antiquary*, p. 93) and no. 17 (named after two of its former owners); both are taken together in Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1004, no. 767. Both manuscripts omit 'Spáinneach' as Domhnall's epithet, and omit Cathaoir Carrach as his grandfather (a later addition in RIA MS D i 3 (539) rectifies this in the updated pedigree of Domhnall's son Murchadh).

⁷⁸TCD MS H 5.26 (1397); see Abbott and Gwynn, *Catalogue TCD*, 262; Ó Muraile, *The Irish Genealogies*, 45 no. 18; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii 1003, no. 766. See the edition in Patrick S. Dinneen (ed. and trans.), *Foras feasa ar Éirinn: The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating D. D. Volume IV*,

Leabhar Mór na nGenealach, mostly written in 1649 and 1650;⁷⁹ O'Clery's Genealogies (OC) from the late 1650s, which has two updated pedigrees;⁸⁰ RIA MS C iv 1 (540), an Ó Ruairc compilation of the 1660s;⁸¹ Roger O'Ferrall's *Linea Antiqua*, from the years 1707–12;⁸² and the genealogical manuscripts written by or copied from Richard Tipper and Seán Mac Solaidh, including *An Leabhar Muimneach*,⁸³ and RIA MS 23 M 17 (153) and related manuscripts penned in the years around 1720, which offer similar pedigrees of Sir Murchadh that include some additional information on collateral branches.⁸⁴

All the manuscripts cited in this section essentially contain the same information and are related to each other. KI stands on the crossroads between the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording, to which it added copious records, and the later tradition which continues with four lineages at the most. One of these is the lineage of Éamonn Dubh of Sliocht Tomáis Fhinn, who by generation count is to be dated to the early sixteenth century. Éamonn Dubh's lineage is also included in TCD MS H 5.21 (1393), RIA MS D i 3 (539) and MS E iv 4 (621), and RIA MS 23 P 41 (1404). We have dated the latest records in KI to the reigns of the kings of Leinster Gearalt (1517–23) or Muiris (1523–31), and in TCD MS H 5.21 (1393), RIA MS E iv 4 (621) and LMG we find the main pedigree terminating with Muiris.⁸⁵ Hence it seems that KI is an exponent of genealogical recording in the 1520s in Leinster, and almost a century later the four pedigrees listed above were all that was left. They were subsequently copied by the scholars and antiquarians of the seventeenth century, who only updated the two ruling lineages, the descendants of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg

Containing the Genealogies, Synchronisms with an Index. Irish Texts Society, vol. 15 (London, 1914), 38–40, with variants from several other manuscripts at 69–71: the pedigree of Sir Murchadh, with interspersed information including a reference to the branch of Diarmuid Láimhdhearg.

⁷⁹ LMG ii, 278, at §473.1 (the pedigree of Murchadh Ballach, cf. KI fol. 7ra47), §473.2 (Muiris), §473.3 (Murchadh son of Brian), the last two with several mistakes; LMG iii, 574 (the later added *Cuimre* section) omits the pedigree of Murchadh Ballach, adds the pedigree of Murchadh son of Domhnall Spáinneach (§1241), and repeats the other two (§1242.1–2).

⁸⁰ OC §1737: Domhnall Spáinneach; OC §1738: Murchadh son of Brian (which omits Diarmuid Láimhdhearg's father and grandfather).

⁸¹ RIA MS C iv 1 (540), fols 206–31, at fol. 216r14–rb18 (Sir Murchadh).

⁸² NLI MS GO 155, vol. 4, p. 185 (Sir Murchadh and collateral branches, set in a genealogical chart); see Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 48 no. 31; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1017, no. 792.

⁸³ Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (ed.), *An Leabhar Muimhneach maraon le suim aguísíní* (Dublin, [1940]), 272–3 (Sir Murchadh), of which the principal manuscript is RIA MS 23 E 26 (756), written by Richard Tipper and Seán Mac Solaidh, 1716–26, and based on a compilation by Domhnall Ó Duinnín and Tadhg Mac Bruaidheadha; see Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 47 no. 26; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1007, no. 774.

⁸⁴ RIA MS 23 M 17 (153), pp. 127b14–129a5 (Sir Murchadh and Murchadh son of Brian); NLI MS G 177, p. 62a13–62b28 (Richard Tipper, c. 1724) (Sir Murchadh, Murchadh son of Brian and Éamonn Dubh); RIA MS 23 P 41 (1404), p. 117a6–21 (Tadhg Ó Neachtain, c. 1725, with a reference to Keating) (Murchadh son of Brian and Éamonn Dubh); see Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 47 no. 27; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1007–8, no. 775. Harvard, Houghton Library, MS Ir. 20, pp. 119.6–121.12 (Tadhg Ó Cróinín, 1736) (Sir Murchadh), also belongs to this group.

⁸⁵ LMG ii, 278 (§473.1) still retains the pedigree of Murchadh Ballach, only further attested in KI at fol. 7ra47 and in TCD H 4.31 (1372) at fol. 50va9. It is in the acephalous section of fols 47r–82v that has been dated to c. 1500; see Nicholls, 'The Irish genealogies', 256 (who notes its relationship with TCD MS H 4.25 (1366) and BL MS Egerton 133); Ó Muraíle, *The Irish Genealogies*, 46 no. 23; Ó Corráin, *Clavis* ii, 1002 no. 764. It is strongly related to the LD-OC tradition.

and Domhnall Riabhach. OC has only these two lineages added to the records of the LD-OC tradition, as the lineages of Éamonn Dubh and Muiris were also ditched. Among the records of the few dozen most influential Irish dynasties that remained under English rule only the pedigree of Sir Murchadh survived, sometimes with information about collateral branches.⁸⁶

The recording of the Mac Murchadha pedigrees was thus mainly a matter of copying older records and adding at best a generation or two. This invited mistakes, such as we find in the often-cited compilations LMG and OC. Especially the pedigree of Murchadh mac Briain seems to have created confusion, and it goes to show that neither Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh nor Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh were immune to mistakes. They often relied on an existing written tradition, even if their respective compilations only partially overlap. OC is of course an exponent of the LD-OC tradition, which is not fully represented in LMG. Mac Fhirbhisigh copied many records that belong to the Psalter of Cashel tradition as it was continued up to c. 1400. For updates of the Mac Murchadha records both scholars had to rely on what was available in the middle of the seventeenth century, which was basically no more than the four pedigrees we have listed above.

The analysis above underlines the unique place of KI with regard to the Leinster genealogies, especially those of Mac Murchadha. On the one hand, KI is part of the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording, on the other it forms a bridge between this tradition and the genealogical manuscripts of the seventeenth century and later. This also highlights its Leinster provenance and sets the latest updates of its genealogies in clear perspective.

THE INTRUSIVE SECTIONS

We have now analysed the manuscript tradition of KI sections 1–2 and 5–7 in general terms or in more detail, and have established that they firmly belong to the LD-OC manuscript tradition of Irish genealogical recording. Sections 3 and 4 fall outside this tradition, as is clear from their intrusive character and subject matter. The genealogical information on members of Clann Aodha Bhuidhe and the non-Gaelic families of Mac Quillin (Mac Uidhilín) and de Burgh (Mac Uilliam Burke) is placed between that of the Uí Bhriúin of Connacht and the Oirghialla, to which they do not belong. Their insertion may tell us something of the origin of these records in KI before they were copied in Leinster. It falls outside the scope of the present article to discuss these records in detail, so what follows is but a general description to give an impression of their contents and relationship with records in other manuscripts.

The section on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe deals with the sons of Muircheartach Ruadh (lord of Clann Aodha Bhuidhe, 1425–68), son of Brian Ballach (†1425), and their mothers; the sons of Éinrí (†1463) and of Niall Gallda, sons of Brian Ballach, and their mother(s); and the sons of Feidhlimidh (†1496) and Art

⁸⁶O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 1, 494, also ends with Sir Murchadh, recording his descendants until his own time in the subsequent pedigree.

Ruadh, sons of Muirheartach Ruadh, and their mothers. According to Leabhar Donn and LMG, Brian Ballach had four sons: his successor Muirheartach Ruadh, Aodh Buidhe, Niall and Éinrí.⁸⁷ Apart from his second son their offspring is recorded in section 3. The omission of Brian Ballach's son Aodh Buidhe suggests a date after his death in 1444. Just the year before Aodh Buidhe had shouldered his older brother Muirheartach Ruadh aside to become the dominating force in north-eastern Ulster.⁸⁸ The records are unique to KI (apart from the copy in NLI MS G 61); they are not in other genealogies or a source like *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe*.⁸⁹ They give a unique insight into the marriages of some of the sons and grandsons of Brian Ballach.

After a blank line, section 3 is followed by the pedigree of Baltar Mac Uidhilín (Walter Mac Quillin), who was the Mac Uidhilín from c. 1493 to 1506.⁹⁰ The long pedigree is a remarkable concoction of various traditions. Baltair's ancestors are traced back in time, passing through Arthurian pedigrees, names familiar from Leabhar Breathnach (the Irish translation and redaction of *Historia Brittonum*),⁹¹ Classical mythology, *Leabhar Gabhála* and the Old Testament until it ends with Adam son of the Living God.⁹² Four other lineages follow, but they are separated from the main pedigree by the genealogy of one of the branches of Ceinéal Conaill, which we shall discuss in a moment.

The only study of the Mac Quillin lordship of north-eastern Ulster is that of Edmund Curtis, published in 1938.⁹³ He regarded Mac Quillin as a branch of the Mandeville lords who held a lordship in the same area in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but later scholars regard Mac Quillin or Mac Uidhilín as a Welsh family (How(e)lin; Mac Houlyn), who had been recruited as a troop of mercenaries (Irish *rúta*) in the early fourteenth century and gave their name to The Route (*An Rúta*), east of Coleraine, where they established their lordship later that century.⁹⁴

In his study, Curtis edited the genealogies of Mac Quillin from Mac Fhirbhisigh's *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), and RIA MS 23 M 17 (153).⁹⁵ Unknown to Curtis were the records in RIA MS D i 3 (539),

⁸⁷RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233), fol. 36rb30 (Leabhar Donn); LMG i, 298 (§121.7).

⁸⁸Katharine Simms, *Gaelic Ulster in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 2020), 153–85.

⁸⁹Tadhg Ó Donnchadha (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe* (Dublin, 1931).

⁹⁰See LMG iii, 168 (§832.1), for his lordship of 13 years.

⁹¹A. G. van Hamel (ed.), *Lebor Bretnach: The Irish Version of the Historia Britonum Ascribed to Nennius* (Dublin, 1937).

⁹²This will be discussed in Bart Jaski, 'The Arthurian genealogies of Mac Quillin and Clan Campbell' (forthcoming).

⁹³Edmund Curtis, 'The MacQuillan or Mandeville Lords of the Route', *PRIA* 44C (1937/8), 99–113. For a comparison with the Arthurian pedigrees of Clan Campbell (Mac Cailin) lords of Argyll, see David Seller, *Pedigrees, Power and Clanship: Essays on Medieval Scotland*, ed. Hector L. MacQueen (Edinburgh, 2023), 243–62. This is a reprint with additional comments of W. D. H. Sellar, 'The earliest Campbells – Norman, Briton or Gael?', *Scottish Studies* 17 (1973), 109–25.

⁹⁴T. E. McNeill, *Anglo-Norman Ulster: The History and Archeology of an Irish Barony, 1177–1400* (Edinburgh, 1980), 70, 120–1; K. W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edition (Dublin, 2003), 158–9; Simms, *Gaelic Ulster*, 110, 122–3.

⁹⁵Edited in LMG iii, 166–8 (§§831.9–832.1) (two identical pedigrees are also at LMG iii, 762 (§1413.7–8)), with a list of lords and lengths of their lordship; TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), pp.

fol. 78r1–4, TCD MS H 4.25 (1366), pp. 176–7,⁹⁶ NLI MS G 177, p. 77b5–11, RIA MS 23 P 41 (1404), pp. 170b20–171a5 (both related to RIA MS 23 M 17), TCD H 4.31 (1372), fol. 39rb6–va19, and those in KI, TCD MS H 1.12 (1286) (our S), pp. 42a1–37. With few minor differences, the long pedigree in KI is identical to that in S, where it is crossed out.⁹⁷ Regarding the close textual relationship between KI and S within the LD-OC manuscripts, the almost identical Mac Quillin pedigrees found in both manuscripts cannot be coincidental. They may be misplaced in KI by accident, while in S the copyist Aodh Ó Dálaigh perhaps realized he was copying a non-Gaelic pedigree and therefore crossed it out. It is possible that records of ‘foreign’ families such as Mac Quillin and de Burgh entered the Irish genealogical manuscripts in the decades around 1500. Perhaps due to their geographical proximity, the records of Clann Aodha Bhuidhe were also included in them in KI, but not elsewhere. Both KI and S suggest a northern source which in the case of Mac Quillin was transferred to various manuscripts in the seventeenth century.

The rest of section 4 is devoted to de Burgh (Mac Uilliam Burke), an originally Anglo-Norman family. The genealogies of the lords of Lower Connacht terminate c. 1440–65,⁹⁸ those of the Earls of Clan Ricard start with William (lord 1519–20), son of William ‘the White Earl’ (Uilliam Finn, †1509), and several other branches, which generally terminate in the middle of the fifteenth century. The pedigree of William de Burgh points to a very specific date, one close to the codification of KI itself, but we have to reckon with the possibility that the copyist made a mistake and inserted one William too many.⁹⁹ There is some overlap with the Mac Uilliam Burke genealogies in OC and LMG and other manuscripts, but taken as a whole this collection of about twenty entries seems to represent a different textual tradition.¹⁰⁰ The reconstruction of the

684.10–685.4; RIA MS 23 M 17 (153), p. 146a28–b9.

⁹⁶These two manuscripts are discussed in Nollaig Ó Muraíle, ‘Naisc idir íochtar Chonnacht agus Oirthear Uladh sa tSeachtú hAois Déag: Muintir Eaghra an Rúta, Clann Uighilín agus Clann Domhnaill’, *Léann: Iris Chumann Léann na Litríochta* 1 (2007), 93–112, at 97–9.

⁹⁷Kenneth Nicholls, ‘Scottish mercenary kindreds in Ireland, 1250–1600’ in Seán Duffy (ed.), *The World of the Galloglass: Kings, Warlords and Warriors in Ireland and Scotland, 1200–1600* (Dublin, 2007), 86–105, at 88–9, briefly refers to this manuscript version. TCD H 4.31 (1372) also contains the long pedigree, but has been updated.

⁹⁸They start with the genealogy of Edmund (‘na Féasóige’; lord of Lower Connacht, 1440–58), son of Tomás (†1402), until Rollo of Normandy († c. 930), and which is different from the one at OC §2315, which is also updated for another four generations. This is followed by the eight sons of Tomás, and of four of these their sons are given as well: of Walter (lord 1402–40), Edmund (‘na Féasóige’) (cf. OC §2316); John (Seaán) (†1456) and Richard (lord, 1460–9, †1473). These records are not in OC or LMG.

⁹⁹The pedigree at KI fol. 5vb37 begins with: ‘Uilliam m Uilliam m Uilliam m Uilliam [a few letters erased] an Fina m Ricaird Oig m Uilliam en caim ...’ The erasure was probably due to the scribe starting to write ‘Uilliam en caim’ at first, and this name is also incorrectly copied afterwards; OC §2324 (cf. LMG iii, 128 (§808.1)) has: ‘... m Uillig Enaigh Chaoín ...’ of Annaghkeen (Castle) (he died in 1343). The careless copying may have invited the addition of one William in excess.

¹⁰⁰OC §§2315–32; LMG iii, 112–36 (§§799.1–810.43), 732–6 (§§1384.1–1388.2); see also, for example, TCD MS H 2.51 (1393), pp. 4–5; TCD 1372 (H 4.31), fols 9va13–12vb21; RIA MS 23 O 21 (1130), pp. 9a1–10.4; Standish Hayes O’Grady (ed. and trans.), *Caithréim Thoirdhealbhaigh: The Triumphs of Turlough*, 2 vols, Irish Texts Society, vols. 26 and 27 (London, 1929) i, 149–61 (edition);

genealogies of the Anglo-Norman families by Irish genealogical scholars from at least the later Middle Ages onwards is still an unexplored field of study.

Sections 3 and 4 are clearly intrusions in the usual LD-OC set up, and there may be a clue as to where they came from. Following section 2, which ends with a series of Connacht pedigrees, but before section 3 on Clann Aodha Bhuidhe, at KI fol. 5rc23, there is a pedigree of the Eóganacht of Ceinéal Conaill, glossed as 'O Fridil' (Ó Frighil). There is a pedigree of the same lineage and updated with four generations in the middle of the Mac Quillin pedigrees in section 4. It has no heading and runs as follows:

KI fol. 5va34: Diarmait m Conla m Aodha m Clemint m Muiris m Diarmuta m Gilla Adabnain m Clemint m Eoin m Muiredhaigh m Muirgile m Fergaile m Eogain Big m Feidlimidh m Fergusa Cennfata m Conaill Gulban m Neill .ix.giallaigh.

The first pedigree terminates with Muiris, but instead of '... m Fergaile m Eogain Big ...' in the second pedigree, it has '... m Eogain a quo Eoganacht m Domnaill m Donnchada m Aodha ...', thus lacking Eóghan (Beag), the only brother of Colum Cille son of Feidhlimidh according to the genealogies.¹⁰¹ Yet it includes an Eóghan further on, who serves as the eponymous ancestor of the Eóghanacht of Ceinéal Conaill. Mac Fhirbhisigh gives the pedigree of Toirdhealbach Ballach Ó Firghil, who is six generations removed from Ruaidhrí son of Muiris, and between Muirghel and Feidhlimidh has '... m Fhirghil, o ffuil O Firghil, m Domnuill m Donnchuidh m Aodha m Eoghain, dearbhrathair Choluim Chille ...',¹⁰² essentially combining both versions as we find them in KI. The second pedigree in KI is six generations more recent than Giolla Adhamhnáin (†1328), coarb of Adhamhnán in Raphoe, and three generations older than Toirdhealbach Ballach (*fl.* 1609),¹⁰³ which allows us to date Diarmuid son of Conla Ó Firghil to around 1500,¹⁰⁴ exactly the period to which the Mac Quillin and de Burgh sections are dated. This opens the possibility that the intrusive sections 3 and 4 came from an Ó Firghil source. Since the Ó Firghil family were the hereditary coarbs of Colum Cille in Kilmacrenan, and

ii, 159–71 (translation). For a comment on O'Grady's faulty edition and translation, and offering a fresh edition, see Nollaig Ó Muraíle, 'Seanchas na mBúrcach agus a chuid logainmneacha', in: Dónall Ó Baoill, Donncha Ó hAodha and Nollaig Ó Muraíle (eds), *Saltair Saíochta, Sanasaíochta agus Seanchais: A Festschrift for Gearóid Mac Eoin* (Dublin, 2013), 335–78.

¹⁰¹See also O'Brien, *Corpus*, 163 (144e4), and Ó Riain, *Corpus*, 61 (§397) and 79 (§661) for the two brothers. In the first pedigree Ó Firghil descends from Aodh son of Feidhlimidh.

¹⁰²LMG i, 350 (§152.3), which is followed by a pedigree of another descendant of Ruaidhrí.

¹⁰³For these identifications, see Tomás G. Ó Canann, 'Review of Nollaig Ó Muraíle, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach* ...', *JRSAI* 132 (2002) 127–37, at 131; idem, 'Ó Domhnaill's inauguration, according to Pilib Ó Súilleabháin Bhéarra', *JRSAI* 137 (2007), 101–16, at 107–8 (with also a discussion of the change from Ó Firghil to Ó Frighil). For the identification of Toirdhealbach Ballach he follows Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 172. Ó Canann notes that the pedigree is way too short and that the genealogical attachment to the brother of Colum Cille is highly suspect.

¹⁰⁴As also calculated by Ó Muraíle, *Celebrated Antiquary*, 203 note 48.

inaugurated the Uí Domhnaill and the Meic Shuibhne,¹⁰⁵ it seems apt that they had an interest in genealogical recording. This interest would have extended to the genealogies of the Mac Quillin and de Burgh lords, who were both in the Ó Domhnaill sphere of influence. Indeed, Mac Fhirbhisigh wrote that the descent of Ó Firghil from Eóghan, brother of Colum Cille, is ‘according to the writings of the coarb of Cell Mhac nÉanáin’.¹⁰⁶

We may further look at KI itself, which is linked to the Ó Deóráin and Mac Eochaidh families, who both played a role at the inauguration of Mac Murchadha, while Mac Eochaidh also inaugurated the Ó Broin.¹⁰⁷ We know that many genealogical manuscripts were copied by members of the established poetic families, who could also have a function at the inauguration of their lords.¹⁰⁸ It is easy to imagine that within the networks of the poetic scholarly families,¹⁰⁹ manuscripts such as KI could be copied, updated and customized to serve their own needs and those of their patrons. This may even have given rise to the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as genealogical manuscripts in this format began to circulate among the scholarly communities as handy compendia which listed all the main Irish and in due course also the ‘foreign’ dynasties of the island. They are relatively small in size (NLI MS G 2–G 3 c. 20 × 13 cm; LD c. 24.4 × 16.8 cm; KI c. 21.5 × 15.5 cm) and in the amount of leaves – LD and KI, if complete, would not have counted more than twenty folia. In both LD and KI one of the outer leaves with text has become unreadable due to intensive use, which points to a similar way of handling these portable manuscripts which lacked a proper binding. This all stands in contrast to the much larger codices such as produced in Connacht around 1400 that were compiled for wealthy secular or clerical patrons. The ‘genealogy only’ manuscripts served a different purpose, to give an overview of who is who and who is (remotely) related to whom. No high-status scholar and bardic poet could do without such information in a society where descent, lineage and pedigree were of primary importance. And with no alternatives at hand, the LD-OC textual tradition naturally dominated the field. We can regard KI as an exponent of this development, in its size, simplicity, content, mistakes, additions, updates, use and provenance. A rare if not unscathed survivor of the many copies that must have existed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and of which we mainly have later copies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the Gaelic lords and their scholars and poets were themselves struggling to survive in a rapidly changing world. Genealogical lore became increasingly the

¹⁰⁵ Ó Canann, ‘Review’, 131; idem, ‘Ó Domhnaill’s inauguration’, 107–8; cf. Bart Jaski, *Early Irish Kingship and Succession* (Dublin 2000), 274, for the ancient inauguration site situated in the lands around Kilmacrennan in 1549.

¹⁰⁶ LMG i, 350 (§152.2). See further Ó Canann, ‘Review’, 131–2.

¹⁰⁷ See p. 252 above.

¹⁰⁸ Katharine Simms, *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1987), 21–40. Cf. Nicholls, ‘The Irish genealogies’, 256–7.

¹⁰⁹ Evan Bourke and Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh, ‘Patronage networks in Gaelic Ireland ca. 1541–ca. 1660’, *Renaissance Quarterly* 76 (2023), 938–79 (doi:10.1017/rqx.2022.436); Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters*, 244–300.

occupation of the 'antiquarians' who, often with the help of the last members of the Irish learned families, sought to preserve all that was still left.

CONCLUSION

We have established that King's Inns MS 11 belongs to the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording, and that its contents agree for a substantial part with those in LD, S, T and OC. They can each differ with regard to order, orthography, mistakes, and added, updated or discarded records. The exact nature of their mutual relationship still needs to be analysed. This would involve a detailed comparison between the five sources, as well as with the genealogies in the codices of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, as the LD-OC textual tradition rests for a good part on records of the Psalter of Cashel textual tradition of genealogical recording up to c. 1400. The LD-OC textual tradition established the format and core text of subsequent Irish genealogical manuscripts and was highly influential in all the genealogical copying and recording from the fifteenth century onwards. By the seventeenth century many pedigrees had become petrified, as we have seen in the case of the Leinster section; scholars were mainly copying and compiling rather than concerned with updating and adding. This said, each genealogical manuscript is unique and provides us with genealogical information not found elsewhere or in a different version. Of each, its structure, order, date and textual preponderance will help us to gain a better understanding of the influence, development, dissemination and adaptation of the LD-OC tradition. Notwithstanding the classifications of modern scholars, the majority of the genealogical manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are in many respects much alike and ultimately draw for a large part on a common source: the LD-OC textual tradition of genealogical recording; it is thus in this context they should be studied.

We have seen that KI shares with S the main Mac Quillin pedigree, and that the additions of the other Mac Quillin pedigrees, the de Burgh records (all up to c. 1500, perhaps even 1520) and probably also the Clann Aodha Bhuidhe records (c. 1450) seem to derive from a source that can be linked to the Ó Firghil coarbs of Kilmacrennan. S also shares the updates with the northern Leinster pedigrees in KI, but not the updates of the Mac Murchadha pedigrees, which are unique to KI, and point to a compilation around 1520–30, during the reign of either Gearalt or Muiris, sons of Domhnall Riabhach Mac Murchadha. The long pedigree of Ó Deóráin at the end of KI ties in with the focus on Mac Murchadha, while subsequent owners, probably belonging to Meic Eochaidh, point to circulation of KI among the learned families of Leinster. KI came subsequently into the hands of a branch of the Ó Broin lords of northern Leinster, from whence it was copied in NLI, MS G 61. The most likely route thereafter is that it ended up in the hands of Edward O'Reilly, and finally came into the possession of Henry Joseph Monk Mason, the librarian of King's Inns in Dublin. He probably donated it to the library in the 1850s. For more than a century it remained just about unknown to the scholarly world, but even afterwards this small, unassuming and damaged manuscript was not

studied in much detail. By this analysis of its content and history, and perhaps by a future edition, it can take its place among the manuscripts that reflect the great Irish tradition of genealogical recording, and provide modern scholars with essential information for their research.

ABBREVIATIONS

- KI King's Inns Library MS 11 (unedited)
 LD Leabhar Donn, RIA MS 23 Q 10 (1233) (unedited)
 LMG Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh, *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach*, UCD Additional MS 14 and other manuscripts
 LMG Nollaig Ó Muraíle (ed. and trans.), *Leabhar Mór na nGenealach: The Great Book of Irish Genealogies. Compiled (1645–66) by Dubhaltach Mac Fhirbhisigh*, 5 vols (Dublin, 2003–04)
 OC Cú Coigcríche Ó Cléirigh, *Genealogies*, RIA MS 23 D 17 (790)
 OC Séamus Pender (ed.), 'The O Clery Book of Genealogies: 23 D 17 (R.I.A.)', *Analecta Hibernica* 18 (1951)
 S TCD MS H 1.12 (1286), pp. 1–42 (unedited)
 T TCD MS H 3.18 (1337), pp. 810–58 (unedited)

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BUAINE IONÁ A AOIS IOMRÁDH Taidhg:
DÁN DO THADHG MAC CON MARA (†1678)*

ACHOIMRE

This poem, *Buaine ioná a aois iomrádh Taidhg*, was composed in the first half of the seventeenth century by Somhairle Mac an Bhaird for Tadhg (son of Domhnall Riabhach) Mac Con Mara of County Clare. Tadhg became a ward of the Earl of Thomond in 1609 following the death of his father in 1607. He was an active participant in the rebellion of 1641. In this praise poem, Tadhg is celebrated for coming to the fore at an opportune time. In an apologue, Tadhg is likened to Cú Chulainn taking arms for the first time. This is one of two surviving poems for Tadhg. The other, beginning *Rug cabhair ar Chloinn gCoiléin*, was composed by Maol Muire Ó Móirín. Diplomatic editions of both poems have already been published in *ABM* (poems 75 and 405). *Buaine ioná a aois iomrádh Taidhg* is edited here from Maynooth manuscript CF 23 with readings from Royal Irish Academy manuscript 23 H 25 (710).

AN PÁTRÚN

CUMADH AN DÁN seo do Thadhg Mac Con Mara as Contae an Chláir sa gcéad leath den seachtú haois déag. Mac le Domhnall Riabhach (†1607) mac Domhnaill Riabhaigh (†1592) Mhic Con Mara agus Áine Ní Bhriain (†1665/6), iníon le Toirdhealbhadh Carrach mac Toirdhealbhaigh Uí Bhriain Ára, ab ea Tadhg (Pender 1951: §2003; agus LS LNÉ GO 155, lch 44).¹ Luaitear a mháthair Áine sa dán seo i línte 9a agus 40b, agus a athair i líne 29a.

Sa gceathrú haois déag, roinneadh fearann Mhic Con Mara ina dhá chuid, Clann Chuiléin Thoir agus Clann Chuiléin Thiar (Macnamara 1896: 138; *HDGP* fasc. 5, 23–5). Ba le Mac Con Mara Fionn an taobh thiar, agus le Mac Con Mara Riabhach an taobh thoir. Maireann dhá dhán ó ré fhilíocht na scol a cumadh do bhrainse Mhic Con Mara Fhinn. Chum Eóghan Mac Craith ceann acu, *Coin airdfhiadhaigh Clann Choiléin* do Lochlainn Óg Mac Con Mara sa gceathrú haois déag (féach McInerney 2014). Chum Domhnall Ó Maoil Chonaire *Créd fã seachnaim Síol Aodha?* do Sheaán Mac Con Mara sa séú haois déag (féach McInerney 2010). Ní mhaireann do mhuintir Mhic Con Mara Riabhaigh ach an dá dhán do Thadhg mac Domhnaill Riabhaigh: an dán atá in eagar san alt seo, agus *Rug cabhair ar Chloinn gCoiléin* le Maol Muire Ó Móirín.

*Ba mhaith liom mo bhuíochas a ghabháil le hEoin Mac Cárthaigh, Deirdre Nic Chárthaigh, an léitheoir anaithnid agus eagarthóirí *Celtica* as moltaí iomadúla agus as ceartúcháin éagsúla. Mé féin faoi deara gach botún agus dearmad.

¹Ar theaghlach Uí Bhriain Ára (Tiobraid Árann), féach O'Brien (1949: 182).

Is i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí is mó a bhí talamh ag sinsir Thaidhg. Bhí caisleáin ag a sheanathair, Domhnall Riabhach Mac Con Mara, i Ros Láithrigh, sa bhFeartán Mór, sa nGarbhrach, sa Liathghort agus in áiteanna eile, iad ar fad suite sa mbarúntacht sin. Bhí an Domhnall seo ina shirriam agus tugadh coimisiún dó chun dlí míleata a fheidhmiú le linn a shirriamachta sa mbliain 1577 (Westropp 1890: 69, agus *Fiants*, 394). Mór Ní Bhriain ab ainm dá sheanmháthair ar an taobh sin.² Fuair Domhnall agus Mór pardún ón mBanríon Éilís I sa mbliain 1582 (*Fiants*, 527). Fuair Domhnall bás i mí Feabhra 1592 de réir na gCeithre Máistrí (*AFM* 1592.3). Deirtear i bhfiosrúchán a rinneadh in Inis i mí an Mhárta 1592 go raibh a mhac seisean, Domhnall Riabhach (athair Thaidhg), dhá bhliain déag d'aois nuair a bhásaigh sé agus go raibh sé ina oidhre ar thalamh a athar – caisleán agus talamh thúrtheach Fheartáin, mar shampla, agus neart eile.³

Is léir gur chuir tuismitheoirí Thaidhg, ‘Daniel Oge Reagh MacNamara of Fortanemore’ (An Feartán Mór, barúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí) agus ‘Aney MacNamara’ nó ‘Aney O’Brien’, cuid mhaith dá dtalamh i mbarúntacht na Tuláí faoi mhorgáiste agus gur aistrigh siad cuid de go daoine eile ag tús an seachtú haois déag (Frost 1893: 281–3). Deirtear sa bhfiosrúchán sin ón mbliain 1608 go bhfuair athair Thaidhg bás i mí na Nollag 1607 agus go raibh Tadhg, a oidhre, sé bliana is trí mhí d’aois tráth a bháis, ráiteas a thugann le fios gur rugadh Tadhg sa mbliain 1601.⁴ I bhfiosrúchán eile, ó mhí Dheireadh Fómhair 1614, ina ndéantar cur síos ar na tailte ar fad a bhí ag athair Thaidhg, deirtear go raibh Tadhg cúig bliana d’aois nuair a bhásaigh a athair.⁵

Toisc go raibh Tadhg faoi aois nuair a fuair a athair bás, de réir pholasaí bardachta na ríochta, ghlacfadh an rí lena bhgardacht ar dtús, agus ansin leagfaí an dualgas sin ar chaomhnóir a dhéanfadh socrú leis an rí trí fhíneáil agus cíos a íoc ar son na bardachta sin.⁶ Tá tagairt do Thadhg i gcaileandar na

²Iníon le Donnchadh Ó Briain (†1553), dara hIarla Thuamhan, agus lena bhean, ‘Elana’ (Helen Butler, †1597), ab ea í de réir LS LNÉ GO 155 (‘O’Ferrall’s Linea Antiqua’ 1709, lch. 44; ar líne: <https://catalogue.nli.ie/Record/vtls000530178>. Ceadaíodh 5 Feabhra 2025). Tá Helen Butler curtha lena tuismitheoirí, Pierce Butler (†1539, 8ú hIarla Urumhan) agus Margaret Fitzgerald (†1542), in Ardeaglais Naomh Cainneach i gcathair Chill Chainnigh.

³ARÉ OS EI/09/15, ‘Inquisition Post Mortem, Donogh Reagh, taken at Ennis on 31 March 1592’, ar líne: Maoinchiste Annála Samhalta na hÉireann www.virtualtreasury.ie/item/RIA-OS-EI-09-15 (ceadaíodh 19 Samhain 2024). Tá an fiosrúchán aistrithe go Béarla ón Laidin in Frost (1893: 273).

⁴ARÉ OS EI/09/32, ‘Inquisition Post Mortem, Donal Reagh Oge McNemara, taken at Quin Abbey on 19 April 1608’, ar líne: Maoinchiste Annála Samhalta na hÉireann www.virtualtreasury.ie/item/RIA-OS-EI-09-32 (ceadaíodh 19 Samhain 2024).

⁵ARÉ OS EI/09/47, ‘Inquisition Post Mortem, Daniel Reagh McNemara, taken at Ennis on 21 October 1614’, ar líne: Maoinchiste Annála Samhalta na hÉireann www.virtualtreasury.ie/item/RIA-OS-EI-09-47 (ceadaíodh 26 Samhain 2024). Rugadh Tadhg sa tréimhse 1602–3, de réir LS LB Add. 39270, ginealach XVI. Cnuasach de ghinealaigh theaghlaigh Chontae an Chláir a rinne Robert William Twigge (†1915) is ea LS LB Add. 39270. Tá an fiosrúchán a luaitear thuas aistrithe go Béarla ag Twigge i LS LB Add. 39264.

⁶‘If the heir was a minor, the king assumed the wardship of his body and of his lands till he came of age... Minors were committed to guardians who paid a fine for the wardship and entered a recognisance to pay a rent and observe the conditions of wardship laid down by the court. When the heir came of age, he had to sue his livery and take the oath of supremacy’ (Treadwell 1960: 2–3).

bpáipéar stáit (1608–10) maidir leis an bhfíneáil a d'íoc Donnchadh Ó Briain, Iarla Thuamhan, sa mbliain 1609 ar son bhardacht Thaidhg:

VICE-TREASURER'S ACCOUNT, for half a year ending at Easter 1609.

Receipt of the rents, revenues, and casualties received by Sir Thomas Ridgeway, Knight, Vice-Treasurer and Receiver General of the kingdom aforesaid, for the space of one half year, ended at the feast of Easter, in the 7th year of the reign of King James I., and in the year of our Lord 1609; viz.: 8 April 1609...

From Donat, Earl of Thomond, as a fine for the wardship of the body and lands of Teig Mc Donell Reagh McNemarra, late of Garrowragh, in the county of Clare, deceased, at 20s. per annum, granted to the said Donat by the King's letters patent, 100s.

(Russell and Prendergast 1874: 577)

I gcúistiúnacht ón mbliain 1610, deirtear go raibh daoine áirithe tar éis cuid de thalamh Thaidhg a ghabháil, fad is a bhí Tadhg ina mhionaois, a sheanmháthair 'Lady More MacNamara' ina measc (Frost 1893: 285).

Phós Tadhg Margaret Delahoyde, an chéad pháiste le Rowland Delahoyde (†1640) agus Úna Nic Fhlannchadha (*Clanchy*).⁷ Féach O'Mollony (1671: 130): 'Margarita Dela Haid, Rolandi primogenita, maritum accepit, Illustrissimum Dominum Thadaeum, Baronem Mac Namara Riegh'. Sean-Ghall Caitliceach ab ea Rowland Delahoyde a tháinig go Contae an Chláir ó Chúige Laighean (Frost 1893: 287). Is léir go raibh Rowland mór leis an Iarla Donnchadh Ó Briain. Thug an tIarla caisleán agus talamh Fhómarla i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí agus roinnt talún eile dó sa mbliain 1623, agus bhí sé ag íoc i bhfad níos lú cíosa ná tionóntaí eile sa gceantar (Frost 1893: 295, agus Breen 2013: 199).⁸

Seans go raibh Tadhg lonnaithe sa túrtheach sa nGarbhrach, i bparóiste na Fiacaile i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí. Deirtear i bhfiosrúcháin ó mhí Aibreáin 1631 gur thug 'Teige, son of Donald MacNamara, of Garruragh' talamh na Leathcheathrún Íochtaráí agus 'Drumcharley' (dhá bhaile fearainn i bparóiste na Fiacaile, i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí) do 'Donogh Mac-Namara of Lecarrow' (Frost 1893: 316).⁹ Sna Leabhair Shuirbhéireachta agus

⁷Féach an iontráil ar bhás Rowland sa mbliain 1640, ina luaitear go bhfuil a iníon Margaret pósta le Tadhg in LS LNÉ GO 72, *Funeral Entries, containing armorial and genealogical notes made by officers of arms concerning deceased persons, with, in some cases, illustrations of their arms and funeral processions (1640–1663)*, iml. 9, lch 275. Féach chomh maith BL LS Add. 39267, fol. 74.

⁸Bhí deartháireacha Margaret gníomhach san éirí amach in 1641. Féach, mar shampla: Teistíocht Phillipp Bygoe, 24 Márta 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 830, ff. 132r–133v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=830132r104 (ceadaíodh 2 Deireadh Fómhair 2024); Teistíocht Joseph Cuffe, 1 Meán Fómhair 1653, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 449r–450v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829449r303 (ceadaíodh 2 Deireadh Fómhair 2024); Teistíocht Urias Reade, 12 Bealtaine 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 028r–029v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829028r022 (ceadaíodh 2 Deireadh Fómhair 2024).

⁹Deirtear *Lecarrowbeg* sa bhfiosrúchán, ach glacaim leis go bhfuil sé ag tagairt don Leathcheathrú Íochtarach, atá i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí, seachas don Leathcheathrú Bheag, atá i mbarúntacht na nOileán.

Dháilte luaitear go raibh talamh ag Tadhg sa mbliain 1641 i mbarúntacht Bhun Raite Uachtarach (An Goirtín, Ráth Lúbaigh, Baile Uí Rocháin agus eile) agus i mBarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí (An Fhiacail, An Tulach agus eile), talamh a géilleadh agus a dáileadh ar lonnaitheoirí ar ball (Simington agus Mac Giolla Choille 1967: 141, 144, 13–19, 21, 26, 30).

Sa dán seo, cruthaítear íomhá de Thadhg mar fhear míleata atá ag teacht chun tosaigh ag an am ceart (rann 12–15) agus gríosaíonn an file é le dul chun catha. Leagtar béim ar chúrsaí ama sa dán seo: Deirtear go bhfuil Tadhg ag teacht i láthair *ar séan uaire* (rann 12), go bhfuil *uair a tharbha* tagtha (rann 13), agus gur fearr an t-am seo ná am ar bith eile (rann 15). Maíonn an file go bhfuil scéalta cloiste ag Tadhg faoi streachailt agus faoi chosaint na bhfear (rann 10), agus go mbeidh clú agus cáil Chú Chulainn air agus é ag gabháil arm. Insítear leagan den scéal Rúraíochta atá mar chuid de *Macgníomhartha Con Culainn* sa *Táin* in apalóg sa dán (rann 17–27).¹⁰ Sa scéal seo, cloiseann Cú Chulainn Cathbhaidh draoi ag labhairt faoin gclú buan a bheidh ar ghaiscíoch a ghabhann airm an lá sin (*TBC 1*, línte 398–469, agus *TBC LL*, línte 921–63).¹¹ Beartaíonn Cú Chulainn glacadh leis an dúshlán agus airm a ghabháil ar an lá áirithe seo, cé go bhfuil sé óg agus go bhfuil baol ann go mbeidh saol gearr aige dá bharr. Deir an file gur tháinig Cú Chulainn in inmhe *ar séan uaire* (rann 25).¹²

Is léir ó na tagairtí ar fad do Thadhg Mac Con Mara i gcáipéisí ó thréimhse éirí amach 1641 go ndeachaigh sé sa mbearna bhaoil.

Ag tús an éirí amach i mí na Samhna 1641, cheap Iarla Thuamhan roinnt captaen agus ceannasaithe sa gcontae chun an contae a chosaint, ár dTadhg Mac Con Mara ina measc. In ionad na Protastúnaigh a chosaint, áfach, thosaigh na captaein á n-ionsaí. Níor ionsaíodh an tIarla, áfach, a bhí lonnaithe i gCaisleán Bhun Raite (Wiggins 2001: 74).¹³

I dteistíocht ón mbliain 1643, maíonn John Comyn gur goideadh roinnt earraí uaidh ag deireadh mhí na Samhna 1641 agus ó shin, agus go raibh fiacha dlite dó ag neart daoine, Tadhg ‘mc Donnell Reagh mac Nemara of Trothaghty’ ina measc.¹⁴ Maíonn John Smith gur ghoid ‘Teige mc donell Reagh mc Nemara

¹⁰Féach go bhfuil apalóg faoi Chú Chulainn sa dán eile a cumadh do Thadhg chomh maith: *Rug cabhair ar Chloinn gCoilín* (ABM 405). San apalóg sin, déantar cur síos ar an gCeas Naoidhean a bhí ar na hUltaigh agus ar an gcaoi ar throid Cú Chulainn ina aonar ar a son. Tá sé i gceist agam eagrán den dán sin a fhoilsiú amach anseo freisin.

¹¹Tuairimíonn Patrick K. Ford (1994: 255–61) go léiríonn téama an chló bhuain sa *Táin* cosúlacht leis an meon a fhaightear in eipicí ársa Ind-Eorpacha.

¹²Insítear leagan den scéal seo in apalóg sa dán *Cúich do leandán, a Lámh Óir?* chomh maith (Carney 1945: 18).

¹³Féach chomh maith teistíocht Edmund Manwaring, 8 Eanáir 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 070r–070v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829070r049 (ceadaíodh 7 Lúnasa 2023).

¹⁴Is dócha gur leagan truaillithe é ‘Trothaghty’ de *Tuath Eachtgha*, seanainm ar an gceantar thart ar Shliabh Eachtaí, áit a bhfuil paróiste na Fiacaile, i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí (HDGP fasc. 9, lgh 7–9). Teistíocht John Comyne, 31 Bealtaine 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 101r–102v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829101r060 (ceadaíodh 7 Lúnasa 2023).

of duharta'¹⁵ agus a lucht leanúna 'eight hundred & all sheepe' uaidh ar an 1 Feabhra 1642.¹⁶

I mí na Nollag 1641, go gairid tar éis thús an éirí amach, theith roinnt lonnaitheoirí go Caisleán Bhaile Uí Áille (féach Cuffe 1841). Bhí an caisleán seo suite ar an taobh thuaidh de Loch Bhaile Uí Áille, atá ar abhainn an Fhorghais, ó thuaidh d'Inis, i mbarúntacht Bhun Raite Uachtarach. Rinne grúpa mór reibiliúnach léigear ar an áit i mí Feabhra 1642, ár dTadhg ina measc. Faightear cuntais ar an eachtra seo i roinnt teistíochtaí ó na lonnaitheoirí ina luaitear 'Teige mc Donnell Reagh mc Nemara of Garrnragh' (an Gharbhrach, is dócha), nó 'of Tuoghaghty' ('Tuath Eachtgha', is dócha), chomh maith lena dheartháir céile, 'Oliuer Delaide'.¹⁷ Lean an t-ionsaí seo ar aghaidh ar feadh seacht seachtaine agus níor éirigh leo an caisleán a ghabháil (Wiggins 2001: 74).

Thart ar an 15 Bealtaine 1642, d'ionsaigh grúpa reibiliúnach Caisleán Luimnigh, áit eile a raibh roinnt lonnaitheoirí ag lorg tearmainn ón gcoimhlint (M'Enery 1904: 163–87). Bhí na ceannaircigh seo faoi stiúir Garrett Barry. Faoin 23 Meitheamh, géilleadh an caisleán dóibh. Maíonn John Comyne i dteistíocht go raibh 'Teig mc Donnell Reagh mc Nemara of Tuahaghtie' sa ngrúpa a d'ionsaigh iad ar an 15 Bealtaine.¹⁸

Maíonn John Ward go raibh Mathew Hikes, Protastúnach Sasanach agus bairdéir a bhí lonnaithe i gCaisleán Thuaim Gréine (i mbarúntacht na Tulaí Uachtaraí), faoi léigear ar feadh tamall fada agus go raibh orthu an caisleán a ghéilleadh do Thadhg.¹⁹

Luaitear Tadhg i liosta athphlandóirí ar sannadh tailte dóibh sna 1650idí. Deirtear gur ordaíodh ar an 21 Meitheamh 1656 go bhfaigheadh Tadhg 400 acra agus gur deimhníodh an socrú seo ar an 6 Lúnasa 1656 (Gilbert 1899: 170). Luaitear go raibh 'Teige McDaniel Reagh McNamara' as 'Carrowreagh' i gContae an Chláir le haistriú go barúntacht na Búille i gCo. Ros Comáin agus gur sannadh 400 acra ann dó (Simington 1970: 260). Luaitear chomh maith go raibh a mháthair, 'Any McNamara, alias Bryan, widow of Daniel McNemara', le 644 acra i bhFiacail, i mbarúntacht na Tulaí Uachtaraí a fháil agus seans gurb ise an 'Ani McNamara' a raibh 222 acra i gCill Ó gCinnéide le dul chuici

¹⁵Seans gur leagan truaillithe eile é seo de *Tuath Eachtgha*; féach an fonóta roimhe seo.

¹⁶Teistíocht John Smith, 11 Deireadh Fómhair 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 011r–012v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829011r010 (ceadaíodh 10 Iúil 2023).

¹⁷Teistíocht John Hawkins, 29 Deireadh Fómhair 1642, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 066r–067v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829066r047 (ceadaíodh 10 Iúil 2023); Teistíocht Andrew Chaplin, 12 Bealtaine 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 095r–100v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829095r059 (ceadaíodh 10 Iúil 2023); Teistíocht Francis Bridgman, 21 Márta 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 017r–018v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829017r014 (ceadaíodh 11 Iúil 2023). Luaitear Tadhg agus a dheartháir céile Oliver i dteistíocht Urias Reade, 12 Bealtaine 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 028r–029v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829028r022 (ceadaíodh 10 Iúil 2023).

¹⁸Teistíocht John Comyne, 31 Bealtaine 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 101r–102v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829101r060 (ceadaíodh 7 Lúnasa 2023).

¹⁹Teistíocht John Ward, 25 Aibreán 1643, 1641 Depositions, TCD, MS 829, ff. 080r–085v, ar líne: 1641.tcd.ie/index.php/deposition/?depID=829080r056 (ceadaíodh 10 Lúnasa 2023).

chomh maith (Simington 1970: 57). Sannadh 644 acra i bparóiste Chill Iníne Baoith, i mbarúntacht Inse Uí Chuinn do ‘Any McNemara, alias Bryan, widow of Daniel McNemara’ freisin (Simington 1970: 40). Seans gurbh í bean chéile Thaidhg an ‘Margaret Delahide, formerly of Co. Clare’ ar dáileadh 200 acra i mbaile fearainn na Tuláí ar an 31 Lúnasa 1657 di (Simington 1970: 55 agus Gilbert 1899: 131).

De réir cnuasach faoi Chlann Chuiléin a rinne Robert William Twigge (†1915),²⁰ coigistíodh tailte Thaidhg mar chuid den ‘Final Settlement’ agus bhí sé i ‘Leighort’ (An Liathghort) sa mbliain 1659 (LB LS Add. 39270, ginealach XVI). Ní ainmnítear Tadhg Mac Con Mara mar dhuine de na ‘tituladores’ sa Liathghort in Pender (1939), áfach. Luaitear roinnt daoine den ainm Tadhg Mac Con Mara sa daonáireamh sin: duine acu i nDúire agus duine i gCill Átha na Súileach i bparóiste Bhun Raite, duine eile fós i bparóiste na Tuláí i mbarúntacht na Tuláí Uachtaraí agus fear eile i gCill Bhaile Eoghain i bparóiste Mhaigh Fhearta (Pender 1939: 165–6, 170, 185). Ní féidir a bheith cinnte de gur duine acu sin ár dTadhgna. Deirtear i mbillí chúirt an státhchiste (atá ar fáil i dtras-scribhinn a rinne Twigge), go bhfuair máthair Thaidhg, Áine, bás sa mbliain 1665 (LB LS Add. 39264, f. 258), nó sa mbliain 1666 (*ibid.*, 257).

Bhí ar a laghad beirt mhac ag Tadhg, Domhnall agus Donnchadh (Leabharlann na Breataine, LS Add. 39270, ginealach XVI). Fuair Domhnall bás nuair a bhí Tadhg fós beo agus, mar sin, ba é Tadhg Óg, mac Dhomhnaill, oidhre Thaidhg an dáin seo (LB, LS Add. 39264, fóilió 250–1). Fuair Tadhg an dáin seo bás i mí an Mheithimh 1678, de réir ráitis i bPléadálacha na Seansaireachta ón mbliain 1679 a mhaireann i dtras-scribhinn a rinne Twigge (Leabharlann na Breataine, LS Add. 39264, fóilió 321). Maíonn John Bourke as cathair Luimnigh ‘that Teige son of Daniel Macnemara late of Leighort esq. by deed of 15 Dec 1674 for and in consideration of £120 paid by your Orator demised unto your Orator the quartermeer of Shanavallycrome part of Gortidun for 24 years from 1 Nov 1674 at a peppercorn rent yearly...’ agus gur ghlac Tadhg Óg, garmhac Thaidhg, leis an socrú seo. Deir sé go bhfuair Tadhg an dáin seo bás i mí an Mheithimh 1678 agus gur tháinig a gharmhac, Tadhg, agus gur chuir sé an ruaig ar na tionóntaí a bhí ar na tailte sin agus gur theastaigh uaidh na tailte seo a fháil ar ais. Maíonn Tadhg Óg, ina fhreagra ar an ráiteas seo, gur shocraigh a sheanathair, Tadhg, an léas seo a thabhairt do John Bourke ‘to rid himself of a suit of law’ le duine a raibh Bourke ina sheiceadóir dó agus go raibh Tadhg (an dáin seo) ‘old and decrepit and perplexed by pursuivants and sergeants at arms and unable to contest with anyone’ ag an am sin (Leabharlann na Breataine, LS Add. 39264, fóilió 321).

AN FILE

Chum Somhairle Mac an Bhaird ‘ó Thír Chonaill’ an dán seo. Is dócha gurb é seo Somhairle mac Fearghail Mhic an Bhaird, a bhí ag cumadh filíochta i lár

²⁰Leabharlann na Breataine, LS Add. 39259–39270: ‘Materials for a History of Clann-Cuiléin (the eastern division of county Clare), by Robert William Twigge, F.S.A. [d. 1915]’.

an seachtú haois déag. Seans gur mhac le hUilliam Óg (†1576) mac Chormaic (†1534) é an Fearghal seo (*AFM* iml. 5, 1684).²¹ Maireann dhá dhán eile le Somhairle Mac an Bhaird.²²

Chum ‘Somhairle mac Fearghail mac Uilliam Óig Mheic an Bhaird’ an marbhna *Neart gach tíre ar Thír Chonaill* d’Aodh Buidhe Ó Domhnall, fear a bhí gníomhach sa gcogadh a thosaigh sa mbliain 1641, de réir an dáin, agus a maraíodh i Loch Garman sa mbliain 1649. Tá an dán seo in eagar ag Eoin Mac Cárthaigh (1999).

Chum ‘Somhairle Mac an Bhaird’ an dán *Ní d’ainbhíos mealltar mac Seaáin* chomh maith d’Art Óg Ó Néill Chloinne Aodha Buidhe, a fuair bás sa mbliain 1677, agus dá bhean, Gráinne Ní Eadhra, a fuair bás sa mbliain 1679. Caithfidh gur cumadh an dán seo sa mbliain 1677 ar a dhéanaí, mar sin. Tá an dán seo foilsithe in Ó Donnchadha (1931: dán 38).

LÁMHSCRÍBHINNÍ

Maireann an dán seo i gcúig lámhscríbhinn.²³

C: Má Nuad CF 23, 224–5: Scríobh *Seán Ó Laochadh*, fear as Cúige Mumhan, an LS seo i mBaile Átha Cliath idir 1745 agus 1747 (Ó Fiannachta 1978: 101–5). Is cosúil go ndeachaigh an scríobhaí seo go Contae an Chláir nó go Contae Luimnigh ansin agus gur thug sé roinnt dá chuid LSí leis, an LS seo ina measc, agus gur scaipeadh ábhar na lámhscríbhinní ansin (féach Mac Cathmhaoil 2021: 72). Bhí an LS seo i gColáiste Cholmáin i Mainistir Fhear Maí go dtí gur bogadh cnuasach LSí an choláiste go hOllscoil Mhá Nuad in 2013.

H: ARÉ 23 H 25 (710), f. 19r: Ní fios cé a scríobh an lámhscríbhinn seo. Luaitear an bhliain 1783 inti agus tá barántas inti a bhaineann le Contae Chiarraí (*RIA Cat.* fasc. XVII, 2150). Tá stróic sa bpáipéar ar fhóilió 19 agus is deacair cuid den téacs atá thart air a dhéanamh amach. Ní féidir tús cuid de na línte a dhéanamh amach ar chor ar bith toisc go bhfuil cuid d’imeall clé an pháipéir scriosta. Is léir go ndearna duine éigin mioncheartúcháin in áiteanna sa LS seo níos déanaí, mar a thugtar le fios sna léamha. Tugtar téacs na LSe seo in *ABM* 75.

G: ARÉ 23 G 25 (258), 281–2 agus 327: Cnuasach de bhileoga fáin is ea an LS seo, a scríobhadh ag amanna éagsúla idir 1807 agus 1831 i gCo. Chorcaí. Scríobh Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin an formhór, agus feictear dom

²¹Deartháir le hEóghan Ruadh mac Uilliam Óig agus le hUilliam Óg mac Uilliam Óig ab ea Fearghal (athair Shomhairle an dáin seo), más fíor. Féach McGrath (1944: 111).

²²Is féidir na nascanna tánaisteacha a bhí ag an bhfile seo de dheasca na bpátrún a bhí aige a fheiceáil ar líne ag macmorris.maynoothuniversity.ie/Network?id=19 (ceadaíodh 1 Samhain 2024). Féach chomh maith an plé agus an anailís atá déanta ar ghréasáin phátrúnachta in Bourke agus Nic Chárthaigh (2023), ina léirítear go raibh gréasán mór pátrún ag muintir Mheic an Bhaird.

²³Féach go bhfuil an dán eile a cumadh do Thadhg, *Rug cabhair ar Chloinn gCoiléin*, i gcuid de na LSí céanna. Tá an dán sin i LS C (218–9), H (fóilió 18) agus M (353–6).

gur scríobh sé na leathanaigh a bhaineann le hábhar (*RIA Cat.* fasc. VI, 713, agus Ó Conchúir 1982: 93).

M: Má Nuad M8, 356–60: Scríobh Seán Ó Muláin (†1826) an lámhscríbhinn seo sa mbliain 1818. Scríobh sé í d’easpag Chorcaí, Seán Ó Murchú (1772–1847). Cara le Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin ab ea é, agus bhí siad ag obair le chéile ar thionscnamh na dtras-scríbhinní don Easpag Ó Murchú. Féach Ó Conchúir (1982: 165–6).

LNÉ G 99, 25: Tá meascra sa lámhscríbhinn seo. Mícheál Óg Ó Longáin a scríobh an formhór di idir 1787 agus 1835 (Ó Conchúir 1982: 91). Cnuasach de bhileoga fáin is ea é. Níl ach an chéad dá rann dár ndán sa lámhscríbhinn seo. Tá botún sa dara rann, mar a bhfuil líne 3c in áit líne 2c. ‘Samhoirle Mac an Bháird ó Thír Chonuill cct ar bhás Thaidhg Mic Conmhara isna Rannaibh’ a thugtar mar theideal ar an dán sa LS seo. Ar chúl an leathanaigh sin, scríobh Pól Ó Longáin an teideal ‘Cogthúighe Tuathmhúmhan’ i nGleann Maghair sa mbliain 1831.

An gaol idir na lámhscríbhinní

Níl ach fíorbheagán difríochtaí téacsúla idir na ceithre LS C, H, G agus M. Tá cúpla rud i LS H atá difriúil leis na LSí eile. Téann LSí C, G agus M le chéile i gcoinne H de ghnáth. Féach na samplaí thíos:

6d *timchioll* (CG) = *tímcholl* (M) = *timchiol* (H); 7a *torradh* (CGM) = *toradh* (H); 9a *ccíne* (C) = *ccíne* ceartaithe níos déanaí go *aíne* (G) = *ccine* (M) = *aíne* (H); 11b *shughach* (C) = *shúghach* (G) = *sughach* (M) = *shuthach* H; 12a *tás* (C) = *tás* (G) = *tás* (M) = *tás* ceartaithe níos déanaí go *tús* (H); 13a *ttarladh* (CG) = *ttárladh* (M) = *ttárla* H; 14c *an támso is fearr* (C) = *an támso is féarr* (G) = *an tamso is fearr* (M) = *an tam is fearr* (H); 17b *áil aithris* (CG) = *ail aithris* (M) = *áil daithris* (H); 22a *diath fuinidh* (CG) = *diath fuinnidh* (M) = *dfiath fhuinidh* (H); 31b *ras* (CG) = *rás* M = *rádh* H; 34c *nainmn* (CGM) = *nainm* H; 36a *aongois trein tírig* (C) = *aongois trein tírig* (G) = *aonguis trean tírig* (M) = *aonghois tréin tírigh* (H); 36d *seanmhaigh* (C) = *seannmháigh* (G) = *seanmháigh* (M) = *seanmhagh* (H); 39c *truaigh* (CG) = *truadh* (M) = *tráigh* H.

Tugann na miondifríochtaí seo idir H agus C/G/M le fios gurb é is dóichí gur shíolraigh LSí G agus M ó C.²⁴

MODH EAGARTHÓIREACHTA

Muna dtugtar a mhalairt le fios, is ionann an t-eagrán i gcónaí agus leagan C, a roghnaíodh toisc gurb í an LS is sine í. Tugaim léamha ag bun an leathanaigh ó C agus H. Ní thugaim léamha ó LSí G ná M toisc nach bhfuil ach fíorbheagán

²⁴Mar fhianaise bhreise gur shíolraigh M ó C agus nár shíolraigh M ó H, féach go bhfuil 37 rann den dán *Rug cabhair ar Chloinn gCoiléin* (an dán eile do Thadhg) i LS H agus nach bhfuil i LS M nó C ach 36 rann den dán. Rann 32 atá in easnamh sna LSí sin.

difríochtaí eatarthu sin agus LS C agus go nglacaim leis go bhfuil siad síolraithe uathise.

- Scaoilim noda i gcló iodálach. Tá *e* ard scaoilte agam mar *ea* nó *e* de réir mar is cuí.
- Tá litreacha nach bhfuil sa LS curtha ar fáil agam idir lúibíní cearnacha.
- Is liomsa scaradh na bhfocal, suíomh sintí fada laistigh de shiollaí agus an phoncaíocht san eagrán.
- Tá sintí fada nach bhfuil sa LS curtha ar fáil agam le macrain.
- Cuirim macran ar fáil ar an défhoghar *eo* mura bhfuil síneadh fada air sa LS.
- Níl síneadh fada agam ar na focail neamhaiceanta *fa* (*fa* gan síneadh fada atá in C i ngach cás seachas 32d) agus *ler* (léamha LSe 37d *léir*).
- Níl gutaí gearra neamhaiceanta athraithe agam chun gutaí comhfhreag-racha i gcomhardadh a chur in ionannas, mar shampla 5cd *leagor* : *leagadh*; 7ab *toradh* : *fholmhughadh*.
- Cuirim litriú stairiúil ar fáil in *Cathbhaidh*, *céadfoidh* agus *foraonda* in áit *Cathfaidh*, *ceatfoidh* (léamh 29d), agus *foraonna* (léamh 33b).
- Tá na rudaí seo a leanas athraithe agam os íseal sa téacs, agus mar sin níl siad san áireamh sna léamha LSe ag bun an leathanaigh:
 - Déanaim normalú ar *cc-* > *gc-* agus ar *tt-* > *dt-*.
 - Tá sintí fada ar na défhoghair *ao*, *aoi*, *ua* agus *ia* bainte agam, seachas *eó*.
 - Má bhí *gh* sa LS in áit *dh* stairiúil, d'athraigh mé go *dh* é, mura raibh ach an *dh/gh* le hathrú, mar shampla *iomarcuigh* (19d, LS C) > *iomarcuidh* (eagrán).

I gcás athruithe eile nach luaitear thuas, tugaim an léamh ó LS C.

Maidir le léamha H, ní thugtar léamh más ceann acu seo a leanas an t-aon difríocht amháin atá ann idir H agus C: rud éigin a luaigh mé thuas a d'athróinn os íseal san eagrán; séimhiú a bheith ann nó as i lár focail nó ag a dheireadh; sleamhnóg a bheith ann nó in easnamh; difríocht le gutaí neamhaiceanta nach bhfuil fada i gcás *a(i)/o(i)/u(i)*, *ea/io*, nó *-i/-e*. I gcás athruithe eile, gheofar léamh ag bun an leathanaigh. Scaoilim noda na léamh i gcló iodálach. San áit a soláthraím léamh, ní thugaim ach an léamh ó LS C, muna bhfuil de dhifríocht idir C agus H ach síneadh fada ar dhéfhoghair nó noda nach bhfuil débhríoch.

MEADARACHT

Is i ndeibhí, dán díreach a cumadh an dán seo.

- Tá uaim curtha ar fáil agam i línte 3b, 8c, 11c, 12d, 14a, 14c, 15b, 29b, 32b, 33d, 37c agus 40d.
- Féach go bhfuil easpa bá (ceadaithe) i líne 14a, mar a bhfuil guta fada ag teacht i ndiaidh guta fada: *Gidh-bē* ó (Ní Domhnaill 1975: §59).

- Níl uaim ann i líne 31b, *tarra a thaidg ras gan aincheas* (leamha C 31b), agus ní thuigim an líne mar atá sna LSí. Tá sé seo athraithe agam go *tarfás, a Thaidhg, gan aincheas*, a dhéanann ciall sa rann agus a chuireann uaim ar fáil.
- Féach nach bhfuil *Con* sa sloinne *Mac Con Mara* ag glacadh páirte san uaim i líne 8b. Glacaim leis go bhfuil *Con* neamhaiceanta anseo. Feictear seo sa dán eile do Thadhg freisin (ABM 405, 16a agus 37a), agus i ndán le hEochaidh Ó hEódhusa (DMU 23.9a agus 19a) leis an sloinne *Mac Con Midhe*. Feictear go minic sa nGaeilge, nuair a bhíonn frása le dhá fhocal aitreabúideacha (ainmfhocal + ginideach / aidiacht), go mbíonn an t-aiceann ar an dara focal agus go bhfágtagar an chéad chuid neamhaiceanta (féach Uhlich 2019: 20–7; 2022: 17). Léiríonn leaganacha Béarla de roinnt de shloinnte na Gaeilge an t-aistriú aicinn seo. Féach mar shampla *Ó Maoil Eachlainn* > litriú Angla-Normannach ‘Malathlin’ agus ‘Molethlin’ (Hoyne 2020: 60 n. 28), *Ó Maoil Domhnaigh* > ‘Muldowney’. Is dócha, mar sin, go bhfuil an file ag géilleadh d’fhuaimniú na cainte anseo agus ag caitheamh le *Con* mar a deirtear é. Ní ghlacfaí leis seo sna tráchtas, ach féach go nglactar le *mac* mar iarméarla uaireanta (Ó Máille 1945–7: 177–81; Ní Dhomhnaill 1975: 10–12; agus sampla sa dán seo i líne 29a). Réiteach eile ná comhfhocal a dhéanamh de *mac* agus *Con* chun uaim a chur ar fáil, ach níl comhfhocal den chineál seo feicthe agam in áit ar bith eile.²⁵
- Tá samplaí de chéilí cuibhis sa dán nach mar a chéile na gutaí iontu i siollaí comhfhreagracha le síneadh meánach. D’fhéadfaí *fhéthlainn* (6c) a athrú go *fhéthloinn* (: *trénchroinn*); [*bh*] *foghлумdha* (13b) a athrú go *bhfoghлamdha* (: *dtarla*); Éirinn (27d) a athrú go *Éir[e]inn* (: *éin[e]ing*); agus *d’f[h]íorfhoghloim* (29b) a athrú go *d’fhíorfhoghlaim* (: *D[h]omhnaill*).
- Féach go bhfuil *ainm* ann faoi dhó i líne 28c (: *ghairm* 28d). Tugann Ní Dhomhnaill ‘breacadh fire comhláin’ air seo (Ní Dhomhnaill 1975: 47).
- Déanann *anbhuaine* ag deireadh an dáin dúnadh ceart le *buaine* ag a thús.

TEANGA

Ainmfhocail

- Tá sampla neamhaiceanta den ainmfhocal *mac* (deimhnithe ag an uaim) i líne 29a: *Tugois, a Thaid[h]g m[h]eic D[h]omhnaill*. Ceadáitear seo i bhfilíocht na scol, féach Ní Dhomhnaill (1975: 10–11).
- Ní bheifí ag súil leis an gcomhfhocal *caithiolghoil* (leamha 39d) leis an réimír *iol-* i lár an fhocail. Tá sé seo ceartaithe agam go *caithiorghoil* ar mhaithe le ciall na líne. Féach samplaí eile de *caithiorghoil* in ABM 135.40d, 241.10b agus 21d.
- Tá foirm thabharthach nó áinsíoch in áit ainmneach ag *sgaith* i líne 5c. Ní hionadh é go mbeadh foirm áinsíoch/tabharthach in áit ainmnigh ag an bhfile sa seachtú haois déag.

²⁵Tá mé buíoch de Mhícheál Hoyne as an gceist seo a phlé liom.

- Tá infhillleadh ainmfhocal firinsneach sa tabharthach uatha i líne 22c deimhnithe ag an meadaracht: *san ló-so* (: *gró-sa*).
- Is cosúil go bhfuil *leath* (27d) mar fhoirm thabharthach (in áit *leith*) neamhchlasaiceach de réir na dtráchtas (*IGT* ii §31 agus §39), agus is fánach samplaí de *leath* mar thabharthach sa gcorpas (féach Mac Cárthaigh 2019: 92–3).
- Tá foirm infhillte (*eoin*, léamha 38c) ag an ainmfhocal firinsneach *éan* sa tuiseal gairmeach. Tá sé seo neamhchlasaiceach agus tá sé athraithe agam go *éan*. De réir na dtráchtas, ba chóir foirm an ainmnigh a úsáid i gcás ainmfhocal a úsáidtear go meafarach le duine a mholadh (*BST* 221.13–20; Bergin 1921–3: 93–4). Seans gur athraigh scríobhaí *a éan* go *a eoin* faoi thionchar *a uain* (38b) agus *a chinn* (38d), atá clasaiceach.
- Tá an fhoirm infhillte sa ngairmeach in *a bhailg* (38a) neamhchlasaiceach chomh maith (*balg* ‘an tsrotha’, baininsneach, *IGT* II §39 agus §158). I gcás ainmfhocail bhaininsneacha, ba chóir foirm an ainmnigh a úsáid i gcónaí sa ngairmeach (*ABP*, §132). Is léir, áfach, go raibh ainmfhocail bhaininsneacha a chríochnaíonn ar chonsan leathan á n-infhillleadh sa tuiseal gairmeach ón 17ú haois, faoi thionchar ainmfhocail fhirinsneacha atá ar an gcuma chéanna (O’Rahilly 1921–3: 85). Thit an t-ainmfhocal seo isteach le *bolg/balg* ‘in duine agus an ghabhann’ (firinsneach, *IGT* II §69; *eDIL* s.v. 1 *bolg* agus 2 *bolg*; O’Rahilly 1942: 163–6), agus d’fhéadfaí a shamhlú go mbeadh *a bhailg* ag scríobhaí mar gheall air sin. Tugaim sochar an amhrais don fhile anseo, mar atá tugtha i gcás *a éan*, agus tá sé seo ceartaithe agam go *a bhalg*. Tá *a ēisg* (37c) athraithe agam go *a[n] ēisg* (ginideach uatha). Seans go raibh *a* le stríoc giorrúcháin do *n* in eiseamláir, óir féach go bhfuil *á* ag H in áit *a* (léamha 37c). Dá gcoinneofaí *a ēisg*, áfach, gairmeach meafarach infhillte (neamhchlasaiceach) eile a bheadh ann.
- D’fhéadfaí an *o* in *Cholainn* a athrú go *u* in ainm Chú Chulainn i línte 24b, 28b agus 33a, ach tá an *o* ann sa dá lámhscríbhinn síos tríd agus mar sin tá sé fágtha agam mar atá sé. Níl sé seo deimhnithe ag an meadaracht.

Briathra

- Tá séimhiú ar *f* tar éis na foirme coibhneasta den chopail san aimsir láithreach deimhnithe ag an uaim in *a[n] ēisg is f[h]earr* (37c) agus in *an t-am-so is f[h]earr* (14c), ag teacht le *BST* agus *IGT*. Tá easpa séimhithe ar *s*-tar éis foirm choibhneasta den aimsir láithreach den chopail atá deimhnithe ag an meadaracht in *gá crithri as síorghloine snas* (4c). Féach sampla eile d’easpa séimhithe deimhnithe ag an meadaracht i ndán eile le Somhairle Mac an Bhaird (Mac Cárthaigh 1999: 10c). Deirtear in *IGT* i gur cheart go mbeadh dishéimhiú sa gcás seo (*ABP* línte 561–4). Féach freisin *ABP* línte 870–4 agus *BST* 199.11.
- Bainim ciall na haimsire láithrí as an gcopail *arar in feadhna arar deacra dīdean* (10d) ar mhaithe le ciall an rainn. Is é *ara deacra* a bheadh ceart san aimsir láithreach de réir thráchtas na teanga clasaicí, áfach, agus *arar dheacra* san aimsir caite nó sa mhodh coinníollach (féach *BST* nóta

218.16–25). Níl sé athraithe agam toisc nach bhfuil go leor fianaise ann go mbeadh an fhoirm chlasaiceach ag an bhfile.

- D'fhéadfaí an fhoirm iarchlasaiceach den chopail san aimsir fháistineach *ba* (22c) a athrú go *budh*, féach go bhfuil *budh* ann sa chéad rann eile.
- Féach go bhfuil an foirceann neamhchlasaiceach *-air* in *gcanoir* (19a) don dara pearsa uatha san aimsir láithreach (féach *SnaG* IV, 396).
- Féach an fhoirm chéasta (chlasaiceach) *leagor* (5c), seachas *leagthar*. Ceadaítear foirmeacha céasta gan *-t(h)-* i mbriathra áirithe sa teanga chlasaiceach (féach *SnaG* IV, 398).

Athrú tosaigh ar lorg ainmfhocail

- **Ar lorg ainmneach uatha baininsneach:** Tá séimhiú ar lorg ainmneach uatha baininsneach i línte 1b, 7a, agus 34d agus cuirim séimhiú ar fáil i líne 16b. Is féidir an easpa séimhithe i líne 9a a mhíniú le sléagar (féach tuilleadh faoi shléagar thíos).
- **Ar lorg gairmeach uatha firinsneach:** Cuirim séimhiú ar fáil ar lorg gairmeach uatha firinsneach atá ar aon fhoirm leis an nginideach uatha (ginideach uatha firinsneach den chineál a shéimhíonn) i línte 21b agus 29a.
- **Sléagar:** Tá samplaí a chomhlíonann na riachtanais do shléagar sa dán seo. Mar shampla, d'fhéadfaí an séimhiú ar *chéimíonn*, a leanann ainmfhocail atá sa tuiséal áinsíoch in *gan leagadh chéimíonn gcādhais* (5d) a mhíniú le sléagar. Féach chomh maith na samplaí thíos d'easpa séimhithe ar lorg ginideach uatha firinsneach den chineál a shéimhíonn sa teanga chlasaiceach. Maidir le sléagar, féach Mac Cárthaigh (2015).
- **Ar lorg áinsíoch uatha:** Tá samplaí d'urú (línte 13c, 22d, agus 26b, mar shampla) agus d'easpa uraithe (línte 21a, agus 34a, mar shampla) tar éis ainmfhocail atá i suíomh áinsíoch uatha sa dán. Glacaim leis an dá rud ós rud é nach féidir a bheith cinnte cén cur chuige a bheadh ag file anseo sa seachtú haois déag. Tá séimhiú ar lorg ainmfhocail uatha baininsneach atá i suíomh áinsíoch le foirm ainmneach deimhnithe ag an uaim i líne 2a.
- **Ar lorg tabharthach uatha:** Tá séimhiú ar lorg ainmfhocail atá i suíomh tabharthach uatha i línte 11b, 13c, 26a, 26d (deimhnithe ag an uaim), 27b, 29d, agus 30a. Tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam in *d'iath f[h]uinidh* (22a), agus *'na ainm b[h]unuidh* (28c). Níl séimhiú ann ar lorg ainmfhocail i suíomh tabharthach uatha i líne 18c agus díséimhiú homorgánach i gceist ansin. Féach go leanann urú ainmfhocail atá faoi réir ag an réamhfhocail *go (n-): go ngráin ngleōidh* (33c). Féach samplaí eile de seo in *ABP* (lch 34) agus *Magauran* 1010 (agus nóta).
- **Ar lorg ginideach uatha:** Tá séimhiú ar lorg ginideach uatha firinsneach den chineál a shéimhíonn sa teanga chlasaiceach in *ghaisgidh ghníomharthuigh* (19b), *sgeóil-se Chon* (28b), *airm fhuiltig[h]* (31c – atá deimhnithe ag an uaim), agus *Éanda fhírbhreathuig[h]* (35b), agus tá séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam in *m[h]eic D[h]omhnaill* (29a) agus *d'ealta Cinn C[h]oradh* (38c). D'fhéadfaí an easpa séimhithe ar lorg ginideach uatha firinsneach den chineál a shéimhíonn in *Chú Choluinn clann Aodha*

(33a), agus *ua Cormaic Cais chreachoigh* (35a) a mhíniú mar shléagar nó mar chadad. Níl séimhiú ar lorg *Aonghois* in *ua Aong[h]ois trēin Tirig[h]* (36a), ná ar lorg *fhearoinn* in *an fhearoinn te* (37a) de bharr díséimhiú homorgánach. Tá urú neamhchlasaiceach sa LS ar lorg ginideach uatha firinsneach in *Chon gColuinn* (28b). Níl aon sampla eile de seo sa dán, mar sin tá an t-urú bainte agam.²⁶

- **Ar lorg ginideach iolra:** Tá urú ar lorg ginideach iolra i línte 1d, 5d, 15d, 27a agus 38d. Cuirim ceann ar fáil i líne 13b.
- **Ar lorg aidiachta:** Tá sampla sa dán d'urú stairiúil ar lorg an fhocail *arsuidh*, a bhí neodrach sa tSean-Ghaeilge: *arsuidh n-iomráidh* (17c). Féach *SnaG* IV §3.3.

Réamhfhocail

- Tá roinnt samplaí de shéimhiú ar lorg an réamhfhocail *ar* (línte 1d, 12a agus 28d, mar shampla), agus roinnt samplaí gan séimhiú (17a, 22c, agus deimhnithe ag uaim i líne 39a). Níl séimhiú curtha ar fáil agam ná bainte agam.
- Tá séimhiú ar lorg *gan* atá deimhnithe ag an meadaracht curtha ar fáil agam i línte 32b agus 40d, agus mar sin cuirim séimhiú ar fáil i líne 26b chomh maith: *gan c[h]uid*.
- Tá úsáid *le* ceart i línte 4a agus 13a, agus tá a úsáid chun gníomhaí briathair san fhaí chéasta a chur in iúl deimhnithe ag an gcomhardadh slán in 5cd *lais* : *gcādhais*. Tá *le* in áit a mbeifí ag súil le *re*, áfach, in *a ghiolla ler éisd Aoibheall* (37d, LSí léir).
- Tá úsáid *re* ceart i línte 36c agus 36d. Bheimis ag súil le *le* in áit *re* in *nach tráigh re ti[o]rmghoil* (39c) más é ‘does not evaporate because of boiling’ an chiall atá leis.
- **Forainmneacha Réamhfhoclacha:** Tá samplaí d'fhorainmneacha réamhfhoclacha le síneadh fada agus gan síneadh fada i LS C nach bhfuil deimhnithe ag an meadaracht agus glacaim leis an dá rud. Féach *do* (5a, 11a), *dhó* (8a), *de* (6a, 23a). Tá síneadh fada curtha ar fáil agam i gcás *dhō* (12c) le go ndéanfaidh sé comhardadh slán le *ró*. Féach Hoyne (2016: passim).

Eile

- In *Géag chumhra as tighe toradh / meinic é dā fholmhughadh* (7ab), tá an forainm sealbhach firinsneach uatha *dá* ag tagairt do *géag* (baininsneach) agus do Thadhg; tá sé seo ceadaithe toisc gurb ionann an ghéag agus Tadhg i dtaobh céille de. Tugtar inscne aircise air seo (féach McManus 1996, 176).
- Glacaim le *ró*- seachas *ro*- i líne 25b ós rud é go raibh *ró*- le fáil go forleathan sa bhfilíocht ón séú haois déag (Mac Cárthaigh 2002: 105).

²⁶Tugaim buntáiste an amhrais don fhile sa gcás seo, in ainneoin samplaí d'urú neamhchlasaiceach san ainm seo i bprós na linne (féach an t-urú neamhchlasaiceach ag Seathrún Céitinn in Dinneen 1908, líne 3477; Bergin 1930, scéal 5, líne 38, nóta).

TÉACS

Samhoirle Mac an Bhaird ó Thír Chonaill *cecinit*

- 1 Buaine i[o]nā a aois iomrádh Taidhg;
téisd ghnáth nac[h] éidir d'f[h]íorchailg
dar neam[h]ghoire a cládh dá cuing,
ar shealbhghloine a dhál ndioghuint.
- 2 Bíodh go bhfuigheadh aois fhoirfe,
tiocfa ceann a chríochnaighthe,
's ní théid sí a síorbhuaine ach[t] seal,
fiornuaidhe í i[o]nā a ainm-sean.
- 3 Air do shíor ní thabhoir trom
an barr aoisi dá n-aghonn;
ní chuir sgaith a óige as,
a gcaith is móide mharas.
- 4 Le Taidhg go hóg do hadhnadh
iomrádh arsuidh iodhanghlan –
gá crithri as síorghloine snas? –
drithle as bríoghmhoire bhēras.

AISTRIÚCHÁN

- 1 Taidhg's fame will last beyond his years, a constant fame which cannot be denied, a fame which will not be extinguished because of the great value of his plentiful bestowals.
- 2 Even should he reach a grand old age, his end will come, and [his age] will only last a time; it is truly less lasting than his fame.
- 3 Any additional years that he gets will never weigh him down; it does not change the best [achievements] of his youth; what he spends [on poetry] will last longer because of it.
- 4 [Though] young, Taidhg has kindled a mature pure fame – what flame has an eternally purer appearance? – a flame that will burn most brightly.

LÉAMHA

Ceannscríbhinn: bháird C, baird(?) ó(?) tír(?) chonaill(?) H; 1a. thaidg C, thaidhg H; 1b. téisd CH, nach éidir H; 1c. clódh CH, da a CH; 1d. dháil CH; 3b. dá a bhfaghonn CH; 3c. chúir CH; 4a. lé H; 4b. ársuidh CH, iodhanghlanadh C, iodhanghlanadh *arna athrú níos déanaí* go iodhanghlan H.

- 5 Ní guais do easgar d'fhagháil,
fearto féile a ionggabháil,
sgaith a réimionn leagor lais,
gan leagadh chéimionn gcádhaís.
- 6 Táirfe an céim-se, gan dol de,
nō go ria a gceann a chéile,
mar fhéithlainn fhuaighios fa fhiodh,
fa nuailios tréinchroinn timchiol.
- 7 Géag chumhra as tighe toradh
meinic é dā fholmhughadh;
a bhláth is biodhbha don fhiodh;
iomdha do chách 'ghā chaithiomh.
- 8 Gnás shíl Aodha is dú[th]chas dhó
ní thréig Tadhg Mac Con Maro,
sē 'na n-aiceacht 'gā f[h]éaghadh,
daighcheart é dá n-uirléaghadh.
- 9 Taidhlidh meanma meic Áine
an tan-so a rún robháidhe,
raon a ghaoilshleachta ós é a am,
sē ag aoindeacra ní anann.

5 Suffering a downfall entails no peril for him, great generosity is his protection, he is laying down [a foundation of] the best of his actions, without abandoning honourable deeds.

6 This fame will grow, without going off course, until it goes all around, like a woodbine that winds around wood, around a strong wooden palisade.

7 A sweet-smelling branch most dense with fruit is often stripped bare; a tree's enemy is its flower; many people consume it.

8 Tadhg Mac Con Mara does not abandon Aodh's descendants' custom, which is his inheritance, he is being tested in their teaching, he is the right person to showcase them.

9 The high spirits of the son of Áine are now encountering his great generous intentions, since the time has come for the victory of his dynasty, he does not stop when encountering any difficulty.

5a. dó H, dfághoil C, dfágháil H; 5b. ionggabháil H; 5c. réimhion C, réimhionn H; 6a. céim so CH; 6c. fheithlainn C, fhéithlainn H; 6d. fá H, trenchainn C, trenchainn *arna athrú níos déanaí go trenchrainn* H, timchioll C; 7a. chúmhra CH, torradh C; 7c. as H; 7d. chach H, ghá H; 8a. shíol C, shíol H; 8b. taidg C, taidhg H, Mharo CH; 8c. sé H, naicceacht CH, fheaghadh H; 8d. daighcheart H, huirleghádh CH; 9a. taiglidh C, ccíne *in áit* Áine C.

- 10 Do éisd a sgēala ō sgoloibh,
a gclú, a n-eineach anmomhoil,
fios eachtra is feadhma na bhfear,
feadhna arar deacra didean.
- 11 Buaidh gach iorghoile ag dul do,
d'eighreacht shuthach shil Aodha;
d'oibheart na fréimhe féghoidh,
's réidhe a dtoirbheart taisbénaidh.
- 12 Ar shéan uaire téid ar tús –
dā thionnsnamh as é a iomthūs –
ó tharla dhō, mar dearar,
a ró anma d'f[h]oillsiughadh.
- 13 Dar leat, do thaoibh a dtarla,
do rádh feallsamh [bh]foghlumdha,
mar fhios n-amhra dā g[h]ruadh ghlan,
uair a tharbha do thionsnamh.
- 14 Gidh-bē ó n-uair [a] aithne,
taidhlidh – ní taom mearaighthe –
gan síordhoca an t-am-so is f[h]earr,
fíorm[h]olta an tann-sa a dtaidhleann.

10 He has listened to stories about them from schools [of poets], [of] their fame, their renowned generosity, accounts of the expeditions and fighting of the men, troops against which defence is most difficult.

11 He deserves victory in every battle, as the fruitful inheritance of Aodh's line; he looks to the prowess of that root, and he showcases the generosity of their offerings.

12 At an opportune time, he comes to the fore – it is the start of his career – since it has happened, as is said, that his great name has been made known.

13 One would think that his profitable hour has come because of all that has happened [and] because of the uttering of learned philosophers, like splendid knowledge to his pure cheek.

14 No matter who he has received his recognition from, make no mistake: he has found this best of times without difficulty; this is a most advisable time [to strike].

10a. ó H; 10d. didhean C; 11b. deighréacht H, shughach C; 11c. préimhe CH; 12a. tás C, tás *arna athrú níos déanaí* go tús H; 12c. tharladh C, tharla H; 13a. ttarladh C, ttarla H; 13b. fhóghlumdha H; 13d. thionnsnamh CH; 14a. bhfuair CH; 14b. taigli C, taighli H; 14c. siordhoca H, támso is C, tam is H; 14d. i an tann fá ttaighleann C, ian (*arna athrú níos déanaí* go an) tann fá ttaighleann H.

- 15 Fearr ionā gach am eile,
 an t-am-so uair d'áiridhe –
 fada a-non*n* aithrisdior air –
 fon*n* gclaichshlisdiogh [ó] gCrimhthain.
- 16 Aidhme an iomráidh san am-so
 gabhuidh – ní ciall c[h]odarsna –
 gríobh Aichle dan cosmhoil céim,
 cosnaidh dā aithle eiséin.
- 17 Fada ar cuimhne ag fearaibh fis
 gnaoi a bharamhla as áil aithris
 ar an tí as arsuidh n-iomráidh,
 casmhoil í mar eisiomláir.
- 18 Lá dá gcuala Cú Choloim*n*
 Cathbhuidh d'áinios uraghoill
 'na sgoil druadh dar ghlainlean gnaoi
 ag luadh airdhean an aonlaoi.
- 19 'Créad fa gcanoir, a Chathbhuidh?'
 ar Cú an ghaisgidh ghníomharthuigh.
 'A fhionnachtoin dob áil linn,
 dáigh nach iomarcuidh fhuighlim'.

15 This time is better than any other: [Tadhg] has certainly secured Crimhthan's descendants' land of the dense rocky margins; this will be spoken of for a long time.

16 The warrior of Aichill for whom status is befitting is now taking hold of the reins of fame – not an unfavourable idea – he wins it (the fame) afterwards.

17 The fame of the story and a desire to tell it, regarding the person whose fame goes back furthest in time, has long been recalled by learned men: it is appropriate as an exemplar.

18 One day Cú Chulainn heard Cathbhaidh speaking cheerfully in his long-renowned druidic school, talking about the characteristics of the one day [of fame].

19 'What do you speak of, Cathbhaidh?' said Cú [Chulainn] of the active valour. 'I desire to find out, if that is not too much to ask'.

15a. eile H; 15b. fuair CH; 15c. áirisdior CH; 15d. cclaichshlisttiogh CH; 16c. chosmhoil C; 17b. daithris H; 17c. an tí(?) <...> ársuidh H, ársuidh C; 17d. cosmhoil CH, múr C, mur H; 18a. <...> Chú choloinn H; 18b. cathfuidh CH; 18c. <...> il dr(?)adh H; 19a. <...> á ccanoir H, cathfuidh C, chathfuidh H; 19b. ghaisge CH; 19c. <...> chtoin H, áil H; 19d. doigh CH.

- 20 'Fiafruighim diot a dhamhna,
ó fuairsiom uain t'agallmha,
ó tãid sgēala an laoi *ar* ar leas,
draoi dom éara ní hoircheas'.
- 21 'An lá-so tar lá eile,
measoim, a m[h]eic Dheichtheine,
do réir mh'éoil, iolbhuaadha air;
na sgeoil g[h]rionnbhuana *greamaigh*'.
- 22 Gidh-bē ógmhac d'iath f[h]uinidh
g[h]abhus arm dā ionnsoighidh
san ló-so, ba buan ar bail
a luadh mun gcró-sa gCrimhthain.
- 23 'A shaoghal budh diombuan de,
ar Cathbhuidh, *ceann* na cléire;
'beō gach laoi a chlú, ní cheilim,
a-nú,' ar an draoi, 'deimhnighim.'
- 24 'Ōs deimhin a ndubhruis ruin*n*,
a Chathbhuidh,' ar Cú Choluinn,
'rogha n-airm gēabhad im ghlaic,
is béarad ainm 'na éaraic.'

20 'I ask you about it, now that I have the opportunity to speak with you, since the story about the day would be beneficial for me, it is not right for a druid to refuse me'.

21 'Son of Deichthine, I consider this day, over any other day, according to my knowledge of it, to have great virtues; grasp these clear and lasting tidings.

22 Whichever young man of the land of the setting sun takes up arms to try his luck on this day, his fame will thrive forever around this enclosure of Crimhthan's.

23 'His life will be short-lived as a result,' said Cathbhaidh, the head of the entourage, 'I guarantee that his fame [will be] alive every day; I do not conceal it today,' said the druid.

24 'Since what you have said to me is a certainty, Cathbhaidh,' said Cú Chulainn, 'I will take up the choicest weaponry, and I will take fame in return'.

20a. <...>ghim H; 20b. o H; 20c. <...>ta<...> sgēala H; 20d. eara C, éarna *arna athrú níos déanaí go éara* H; 21a. <...>n lá <...>o *in áit* An lá-so H; 21b. deichthéine CH; 21c. do rei<...> H, mheaoil CH; 22a. <...>idh bé H, dfiath H, fhuinidh H; 22b. ghabhus H, ionsoighidh H; 22d. ccrimhthainn CH; 23a. haoghal C, haoghal *arna athrú níos déanaí go shaoghal* H; 23b. cathfuidh C, catfuidh H; 23c. beó H, chéilim H; 23d. aníú CH; 24a. ós H, déimhin CH; 24b. chathfuidh CH, Choiluin CH; 24c. iom CH; 24d. bearad *ar* ainm C, béarad *ar* ainm H, éiraic CH.

- 25 Gabhuidh sin *ar* séan uaire,
 rug an rogha as róbhuaine,
 arm laoich an lá-s[o]in 'na láimh,
 gur fhásoig[h] maoith an m[h]acáimh.
- 26 Tugsad a dtua[i]rgneadh threasa
 do ghnáth, gan c[h]uid gcoi[mh]measa,
 fa chlár seang bhféirdhílligh bhF[l]oinn,
 geall don éinmhílidh fhortoill.
- 27 Iomrádh Chon na gcleas gcalma,
 níor an san mhéid mheasardha;
 do chaoimhleath 's gach éin[e]ing as;
 ní ar aoinleath d'Éirinn anas.
- 28 Beag nach inmhead[h]a, is ē a shuim,
 bríogh an sgeóil-se Chon Coluinn,
 dar thuar ainm 'na ainm b[h]unuidh,
 red ghairm buan *ar* bharamhoil.
- 29 Tugois, a Thaid[h]g m[h]eic D[h]omhnaill,
 lá b[h]ur n-iomráidh d'f[h]íorfhoghloim,
 úidh do chréachtChoin chraoi Logha
 do bhaoi *ar* chéadfoidh Chathbhodha.

25 At a promising time, he made the most lasting choice, he took the weaponry of a warrior in his hands that day, so banishing the softness of the boy.

26 Throughout Flann's slender pleasant grassy plain, they have always acknowledged that the one strong soldier was the best in a grinding fight, without competition.

27 The fame of Cú [Chulainn] of the brave feats did not stay small; it spread sweetly to every single land as a result; it has not remained in only one half of Ireland.

28 To sum up the point of this story of Cú Chulainn, through which he earned lasting fame: it is eminently comparable with your eternal reputation.

29 On the day that you truly learned of your fame, Tadhg son of Domhnall, you turned your attention to bloody Cú [Chulainn] of Lugh's enclosure who was under the guidance of Cathbhaidh.

25d. mhacáimh H; 26b. chuid H; 26c. fá H, bhfeirdhillidh C, bhfeirdhíllidh H; 26d. éinmhílid H, fhoirtoill CH; 27b. méidh H, mheasarrdha C, measarrdha H; 28a. isé H, shuim CH; 28b. sgeoil so CH, ccolumn CH; 28c. dár CH, iona CH; 28d. redh C, rédh H, buain C, bhuain H; 29c. chreachtchoin CH; 29d. cheatfoidh chathfodha CH.

- 30 Fada as-teach ad thuinn mheanma,
 'na s[d]uidér áigh oirea[gh]dha,
 nar éag fós Cú na gcuradh
 's a chlú bhós ar beathughadh.
- 31 Dā ní ad dheaghuidh is mō meas,
 tarfás, a Thaidhg, gan aincheas,
 ar ghnás Chon an airm fhuiltig[h],
 sbairn is tol do thiodhluicthibh.
- 32 Rūn einigh Con na ceardcha
 tárrais gan f[h]áth n-imd[h]eargtha;
 air sin do-chóidh b[h]ur gcumus,
 far chóir ibh a n-ionunus.
- 33 A Chú Choluinn clann Aodha,
 a rún feithmheach forraonda,
 a dhraig confoidh go ngrāin ngleōidh,
 a bhāidh nach oghthoir d'aimhdheóin.
- 34 Mar shéad fine fúigfidh sibh
 ag síol Aodha, a fhlaith Luimnigh,
 b[h]ur n-ainm gach tráth gan teimhiol,
budh gairm ghnáth dā ngéillfidhear.

30 That Cú [Chulainn] of the warriors never died, as his fame lives on, is deep within your consciousness as a famous martial lesson.

31 Without a doubt, Tadhg, two things that are held in the greatest respect because of you, in the footsteps of Cú [Chulainn] of the bloody weaponry, are fighting and desire to [bestow] gifts.

32 Without embarrassment, you have attained skilful Cú [Chulainn]'s desire for honour; that is what you have exercised your skills to achieve, and what makes you comparable with him.

33 O Cú Chulainn of Aodh's descendants, o bold yet patient darling, o raging dragon, horrifying in combat, o affection that is not received begrudgingly.

34 O lord of Limerick, the heirloom you will leave Aodh's descendants will be your lasting flawless fame, a reputation which will enjoy universal acceptance.

30a. mheanmon CH; 30b. aith CH; 30c. écc CH; 30d. fa chlú C; 31a. dá H, mó H; 31b. tarra a thaidg ras gan aincheas C, tarra a thaidhg rádh gan aincheas H; 31c. choin CH; 31d. toil CH; 32a. rún H, éinig C, éinigh chon H, céardcha H; 32d. fār CH; 33a. chlann H, maodha C, maodha (*arna athrú níos déanaí go aodha*) H; 33b. foraonna C, forraonna H; 33c. chonfoidh H; 33d. bhāidh H, faghthoir CH; 34a. fúicfid C, fúicfidh H; 34b. siol H; 34c. ainmn C, tráith CH, teiomhiol C, teiomhiol *arna athrú níos déanaí go teimhiol* H; 34d. dá H.

- 35 A ua Cormaic Cais chreachoigh,
a ua Éanda fhírbhreathuig[h],
fir 's a ríoghbháidh re-roile,
a phríomhdháigh dhil Donnghoile.
- 36 A ua Aong[h]ois tréin Tírig[h],
'gar ghnáth cearda caithmhílidh,
a gheall re Fearg[h]al na bhfleadh
do thean[n] re seanmhagh Saingeal.
- 37 A ghriobh Eachtghe an fhearoinn te,
a bhreac lúith Locha Gréine,
a eō Sionna a[n] éisg is f[h]earr,
a ghiolla ler éisd Aoibheall.
- 38 A bhalg d'íochroibh an Fhorg[h]ais,
a uain Seaghsa sēghonng[h]lais,
a éan d'ealta Cinn C[h]oradh,
a chinn eachtra n-ealadhan.
- 39 A dhíon bhur bpréimhe ar pudhar,
a chladh timchill Tuadhmhumhan,
a fhíoch nach tráigh re ti[o]rmghoil,
a shíoth chāigh nō a gcaithiorghoil.

35 O descendant of plundering Cormac Cas and of Éanna of the true judgements, men who had royal affection for each other, o beloved great hope of Donnghal.

36 O descendant of strong Aonghus Tíreach, who was well practised in the skills of a warrior, o equivalent of Fearghal of the feasts who has closed upon the old plain of Singland.

37 O ferocious warrior of Aughty of the warm land, o vigorous trout of Lough Graney, o salmon of the Shannon of the best fish, o young man to whom Aoibheall listened.

38 O bubble of spawn of the [River] Fergus, o noble grey wave of the River Boyle, o bird of Kincora's flock, o leader of poetic expeditions.

39 O protector of your branch against harm, o embankment around Thomond, o [man of] fury which does not evaporate with boiling, o bearer of peace or war to all.

35c. ríoghbháidh H, réir oile CH; 35d. príobhdhoigh C, phríobhdhóigh H, dhonngoile H; 36a. tréin H; 36b. ghnath H; 36c. ré H; 36d. theann H, ré CH, seanmhaigh C, saingeal H; 37c. eó H, á éisg H; 37d. léir CH; 38a. bhailg CH; 38b. sēghonnghlais H; 38c. eoin CH, chinn choradh H; 38d. eachtra na n-ealadhan CH; 39a. bur H; 39b. tuamhumhan *arna athrú níos déanaí go tuadhmhumhan* C; 39c. fhíoch H, truaigh C; 39d. nō H, ccaithiolgoil C, ccaithiol<.>o<.> H.

40 Gach aon dá aithne oroibh,
a mh[e]ic Áine ardbhlodhoigh,
gor léig cách breith a mbuaidhe
ad leith gan f[h]áth n-anbhuaíne.

40 It is recognised in you by all, o great famous son of Áine, that everyone has acknowledged that you surpass them all without dispute.

40b. oíne C, árdbhloodhoigh CH; 40c. euch CH, amuaighe H; 40d. leigh CH, fhath nanbhua<..> H.

NÓTAÍ

1c. An tuiscint atá agam ar an líne seo ná go bhfuil na haidiachtaí sealbhacha (*a* agus in *dá*) ag tagairt don *teisd* (1b). Ba litriúla, '[a fame] to which its leading astray from its duty is less near' (féach *eDIL* s.v. *clód* (b)), is é sin, comhlíonfaidh an clú a dhualgas agus mairfidh sé i bhfad. Réiteach eile ná go bhféadfaí an t-ainmfhocal *cuing* a thuiscint mar 'burden', mar thagairt ar ais don *aois* (1a), agus an t-aistriúchán litriúil a leanas a thabhairt ar an líne: '[a fame] to which its leading astray as a result of its burden [of years] is less near', is é sin, tá aois Thaidhg neamhbhuan ach ní chuirfidh sé sin as dá chlú.

2d. Ba litriúla 'it is truly younger than his fame' mar aistriúchán air seo.

6. Is minic a úsáidtear *féathlann* mar mheafar don laoch tacúil sa bhfilíocht. Féach mar shampla leathrann ó *IGT*, *Do íadh fan mBréithne barr Lí / an crann í 's an fhéithle é*, 'The prince of Lí closed in around Bréifne; she (that is Bréifne) the tree and the honeysuckle he' (*IGT* ii sampla 1958, aistriúchán McManus 2019: 166). Féach chomh maith samplaí eile ón séú haois déag: *Tú dob fhéathluinn d'iath Bhanbha / go bhfuair tú an t-ainm allmhardha*, 'Thou wert the sinew of *Banbha*'s land until thou didst get the outlandish title' (*TD* 22a.21ab); *Posd cothaighthe cland cColla, / sgoth rígh Lesa Liathdroma, / bas mhérchorr dhonn-mhálla dhil, / féthlonn connmhála chúigidh*, 'The pillar which sustains the Maguires, the choice of the kings of Lios Liathdroma, the strong steady dear roundfingere hand, the woodbine which maintains the province' (*DMU* 22.34).

7. Is minic a dhéantar comparáid idir pátrún agus crann torthúil sa bhfilíocht. Féach mar shampla an leathrann *crann mōr ar bpríomhchran toraidh / Pilib conuir na cléire* (Carney 1950: 19.10cd); 'a great tree is our main fruit tree, Philip, path of the poets'.

8a. *Síol Aodha*: Ba shinsear de chuid mhuintir Mheic Chon Mara é Aodh Aghar mac Éanna. Féach ginealach Mheic Chon Mara in Ó Muraile (2003: 1344.1): 'Sioda Cam, Seaan, Lochluinn, agus Cú Meadha clann Mec Con mc Sioda mc Meic Con mc Conmeadha mc Mec Con mc Lochluinn mc Conmeadha Mhoir meic Nell mc Conmara mc Domhnuill mc Conmara, a quo an fine, meic

Domhnuill mc Meanmain *meic* Aodha Aghar (a quo Siol Aodha) mc Enna mc Aisioda mc Sioda an Ech Bhuidhe mc Maoilcluiche mc Cuilen (a quo Clann Chuilén) mc Urthuile (a quo Clann Urthuile) mc Donnghaile mc Eoguin mc Athlainn mc Feargail mc Cairthinn mc Caisine (a quo Uí Caisine) m. Cais m. Conaill Eachlúath m. Luighdeach Minn'. Féach freisin Ó Muraile (2003: 651.5 agus 1343.6).

8d. An tuiscint atá agam ar an líne seo ná go bhfuil *dá n-uirléaghadh* ag tagairt do *shíol Aodha*. Tá *h-* ar *uirléaghadh* (léamh LSí 8d) athraithe agam go *n-* toisc nach bhfuil ainmfhocal baininsneach sa rann a bhféadfadh forainm sealbhach baininsneach a bheith ag tagairt dó. Seans gurb é *n-* a bhí in eiseamláir. Rogha eile ná *dá uirléaghadh*, leis an bhforainm sealbhach ag tagairt do *aiceacht* (atá firinsneach). An chiall a bhainim as an rann ná gur dea-shampla é Tadhg de shainiúlacht a theaghligh agus go bhfuil sé ag taispeáint an chumais atá aige anois chun an dualgas sin a chomhlíonadh.

12cd. D'fhéadfaí 'since, as it is said, he has made his great name known' a thabhairt mar aistriúchán ar an leathrann seo chomh maith.

14. Nílím in ann ciall a bhaint as an rann seo mar atá sé sna LSí. Tá *taigli* (léamh 14b) athraithe agam go *taidhlidh* agus tá *an tann fá ttaighleann* (léamha 14d) athraithe agam go *an tann-sa a dtaidhleann* le go mbeidh ciall leis agus ar mhaithe leis an meadaracht (: *t-am-so*). D'fhéadfaí a shamhlú go léifeadh scríobhaí *f* in áit *s* agus go bhfaigheadh sé *fá* sa gcaoi sin (féach *f* in áit *s* ag LS C ag líne 30d chomh maith). Ba ghaire 'the time in which he finds [this] is most praiseworthy' don chiall litriúil a bhainim as líne d.

15. An tuiscint atá agam ar an rann seo ná gurb é Tadhg ainmní an bhriathair agus gurb é *fonn* cuspóir an bhriathair (féach go bhfuil urú ar *gclaichshlisdiogh* tar éis ainmfhocail i suíomh áinsíoch). Seans chomh maith, áfach, gurb é *fonn* ainmní an bhriathair. D'fhéadfaí an t-urú a bhaint de *gclaichshlisdiogh* agus an rann a aistriú mar 'The opportunity that Criomhthan's descendants' land of the dense rocky margins has received now is better than ever [and] will be spoken of for a long time' sa gcás sin.

16a. Ba litriúla 'implements' nó 'tools' mar aistriúchán ar *aidhme*. Féach *eDIL* s.v. *aidemm*.

16c. *gríobh Aichle*: Glacaim leis go bhfuil Aichill anseo ag déanamh tagartha don Scrín, atá achar gearr soir ó Theamhair. Ainm stairiúil ab ea 'Achall' (nó 'Aichill') ar an áit (*HDGP* fasc. 1, 24).

16d. D'fhéadfaí an t-aistriúchán 'it protects it afterwards' a thabhairt ar an líne seo chomh maith, ag tagairt don *iomrádh* agus don fhonn (rann 15); is é sin, cosnaíonn an t-iomrá an fonn tar éis sin.

18c. *dar ghlainlean gnaoi*: Ba litriúla 'to which fame clearly adhered' mar aistriúchán air seo.

20d. *éara*: Glacaim le léamh H *éara* anseo ar mhaithe le ciall na líne agus leis an meadaracht (: *sgēala*). Seans maith go raibh síneadh fada ar an *e* in eiseamláir agus gur léigh scríobhaí C stríoc giorrúcháin do *n*.

22a. *d'íath f[h]uinidh:* Is é sin, d'Éirinn.

25d. An tuiscint atá agam ar an líne seo ná gur tháinig Cú Chulainn in aois fir.

26cd. Leanaím *ABM* anseo le *bhF[l]oinn* : *fhortoill* ach, mar rogha air sin, d'fhéadfaí *bhfoinn* agus *fhoirtoill* na LSe a athrú go *bhFinn* : *fhoirtill*.

27b. Seans gurbh é *mheidh* (tuiseal ainmneach: *meadh*) a bhí i gceist ag an bhfile anseo in áit *mhéid*. Féach go bhfuil *meadh* i rann 28, agus tá roinnt macallaí sa dán seo. B'fhéidir go raibh athrá anseo chomh maith.

27d. Is é sin, níor fhan clú Chú Chulainn i Leath Chuinn, scaip sé trí Leath Mhogha freisin.

30b. Ní thuigim *suidér* na LSe anseo. Glacaim leis gurbh é *s[d]uidéir* a bhí i gceist ag an bhfile. Féach na tagairtí don fhoghlaím agus don aiceacht sna rainn eile.

31b. Is léir go bhfuil léamha na LSí don líne seo lochtach. Ní thuigim an líne agus níl uaim ann ach oiread. Seans go ndearna an scríobhaí drochléamh ar an líne seo agus gur bogadh rudaí thart. Tá sé seo athraithe agam go *tarfás, a Thaidhg, gan aincheas*. Ní féidir a bheith cinnte faoi seo ach ní fheicim réiteach ar bith eile air.

32a. Ba litriúla 'Cú of the smithy' mar aistriúchán ar *Con na ceardcha* (*eDIL* s.v. *cerdchae*). Is minic a chuirtear an buafhocal seo le hainm Chú Chulainn sa bhfilíocht.

33–9. Pléitear úsáid sraitheanna buafhocal meafarach sa ngairmeach le pátrúin a mholadh i bhfilíocht na scol in Breatnach (1997: 65–96). Féach, mar shampla, na rainn i dtreo dheireadh na ndánta seo le Fearghal Óg Mac an Bhaird: *Lubhghort fineamhna fuil Ír* (Ó Macháin 1988: dán V 66–75) agus *Cia réir fháiltigh Inis Fáil?* (Carney 1950: XIX 27–39). Mar atá ráite ag Breatnach (1997: 87–8), is gnáth go dtagann deireadh leis an tsraith bhuafhoclach roimh dheireadh an dáin agus go bhfilleann an file ar ainm nó ar shloinne an phátrúin. Tagann an dán seo leis an méid sin, óir féach go bhfuil '*a mh[e]ic Áine*' ag an bhfile i rann 40 tar éis dheireadh an ghléis bhuafhoclach.

33d. Is é sin, 'who bestows affection freely'.

35a. *Cormac Cas:* Mac le hOillill Ólom, duine de shinsir Dhál gCais.

35b. *Éanna:* Is dócha gurb é Éanna, athair an Aodha ónar tháinig Siol Aodha (féach 8a nóta, thuas), atá i gceist anseo.

35d. *Donnghal:* Is dócha gurb é Donnghal, seanathair Chuilén, ónar tháinig ainm an teaghlaigh 'Clann Chuilén', atá i gceist ag an bhfile anseo (Ó Muraíle 2003: 651.5).

36a. *Aonghus Tíreach:* B'ua le Cormac Cas mac Oilealla Óluim é Aonghas Tíreach. Féach an cur síos ar chraobh Dhál gCais in Ó Muraíle (2003: 637.1): 'Cas, da ngoirthi Mac Tail tre a bheth 'na dhalta saoir (mac Conaill Eachluaith

mc Luigdeach Mind mc Aonghusa Tirigh mc Fhir Chuirb mc Mogha Cuirb mc Cormaic Caiss mc Oilealla Óluim...’

36c. *Fearghal*: Is dócha gurb é Fearghal mac Chárthainn mhic Chaisín atá i gceist (féach Ó Muraile 2003: 651.5).

36d. *Saingéal*: Tá an baile fearainn seo i bparóiste Phádraig, i mbarúntacht Chlann Liam in oirthear chathair Luimnigh. Féach *Onom.* s.n. *saingel* agus ‘Saingéal/Singland’ ar líne ag www.logainm.ie.

37a. *Eachtghe*: Tá Sliabh Eachtaí ar an teorainn idir Contae an Chláir (paróiste na Fiacaile) agus Contae na Gaillimhe. Ba sheanainm é Eachtgha ar an gceantar thart ar Shliabh Eachtaí chomh maith (*HDGP* fasc. 9, 7–9).

37b. *Loch Gréine*: Paróiste na Fiacaile, Barúntacht na Tulaí Uachtaraí.

37d. *Aoibheall*: Bandia a bhaineann le hoirthear Cho. an Chláir.

38a. Féach tagairt eile do *bhailg d’iochraibh* i ndán le Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe: *Bradán as gach bailg don iuchraidh* ‘a salmon from every roecorn’ (Williams 1980: 19.4a).

38b. *Seaghais*: Sean-ainm ar abhainn na Búille is ea *Seaghais* (féach *Onom.* s.n. ‘segais’, Carney 1950: 307).

38c. Bhí a phríomháras ag Brian Bóroimhe i gCeann Coradh agus is oiriúnach an tagairt don áit sa dán áirithe seo os rud é gur Bhrianach mná í máthair Thaidhg. Is cnoc é Ceann Coradh atá lonnaithe i bparóiste Chill Dalua anois, i mbarúntacht na Tulaí Íochtraí.

38d. Seans gurb é ‘ceann scríbe’ atá i gceist ag an bhfile anseo, seachas ‘ceann-asáí’.

39c. Faightear íomhá de theas fhearg Chú Chulainn sa Táin. Deirtear gur cuireadh Cú Chulainn i dtrí dhabhach uisce fhuair de bharr na deargbhuile a bhí air. Féach *TBC LL*, línte 1193–8 agus Henry (1982: 236).

40cd. Is é ‘that everyone has conceded to you the winning of their victory without dispute’ an tuiscint litriúil a bhainim as línte 40cd.

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MARBHNA AR MHUIRIS MAC BRIAIN ÓIG UÍ MHAOIL CHONAIRE
(1664)¹

ACHOIMRE

The anonymous poem beginning *Damhna eólchaire éag Mhuiris* is an elegy on Muiris (son of Brian Óg son of Brian) Ó Maoil Chonaire of Co. Roscommon, whose death it dates to 1664. It gives an insight into the life and perceived role of a late practitioner of traditional Irish learning. An edition from Royal Irish Academy manuscript C iv 1 (540) is accompanied by a translation into English, a commentary on the text and a discussion of the language of the poem, which reflects its composition at the very end of the ‘bardic’ period.

RÉAMHRÁ

IS É ATÁ ANSEO eagrán de *Damhna eólchaire éag Mhuiris*, marbhna ar Mhuiris Ó Maoil Chonaire (mac Briain Óig mhic Bhriain mhic Mhaoilín mhic Thorna). De réir an dáin, bhí cónaí ar Mhuiris i gCluain Seancha (atá i gCo. Ros Comáin) agus fuair sé bás sa bhliain 1664. Maireann roinnt dánta a chum sé féin. Gheofar tuilleadh mionsonraí faoi sa réamhrá le Mac Cárthaigh 2003 agus (in ábhair a bhaineann go díreach leis an dán seo) sna nótaí thíos ar an téacs.

Moltar Muiris anseo as a thréithe pearsanta, as bheith flaithiúil (rainn 5–6, 30 srl.), as a mhaitheas (8, 31), as a chráifeacht (líne 9a), as teach oscailte a choinneáil (23–4) agus, thar aon ní eile, moltar mar fhear léinn é: bhí sé ina cheannaire ar an lucht léinn, deirtear linn (14c); bhí sé in ann ag filí eile (9c) agus chuaigh sé i gcion ar eolaigh (9d); ba scríbhneoir é agus léitheoir leabhar dorchá (16a), saineolaí ginealais (16c), cláirseoir (25cd), fáidh (4c), saoi (14c, 22d), ollamh (4b, 14a, 24d), file (4c, 21d), fear dána (25a) agus seanchaí (25a). Insítear dúinn go raibh meas ag Gall agus Gael air (10, 32), gur chomhairleoir ag na Connachtaigh é (18), nach maireann a leithéid anois (3c, 27) agus go bhfuil neamh tuillte aige (7). Cailliúint agus cúis bhróin is ea a bhás d’uaisle na hÉireann ar fad (4d), d’uaisle Chonnacht (11–12, 17), do na Gaeil (35) agus do na Gearaltaigh (13); an dream is brónaí faoi ná muintir Mhaoil Chonaire (19–21), a bhfuil ceannaire caillte acu (2c, 19b, 20c), agus tá an file féin croíbhriste (37).

¹Táim buíoch de bhaill Ghrúpa Léitheoireachta Philíocht na Scol (faoi stiúir Emmet de Barra), a léigh an dán seo le chéile i dTéarma na Féile Míchil 2022. Táim faoi chomaoin mhór ag Damian McManus, Emmet de Barra agus Ciara Ní Mhurchú, a mhol leasúcháin éagsúla ar dhréachtaí den eagrán. Mo bhuíochas freisin le heagarthóirí *Celtica* agus leis an léitheoir scolártha cineálta a cheap siad. Mé féin faoi deara gach earráid.

Faighimid sonraí beathaisnéise ar leith faoi Mhuiris fosta: insítear bliain a bháis dúinn (36); tugtar a líne ghinealais siar chomh fada le seanathair a sheanathar (3ab); ainmnítear a mháthair, Gráinne (16b); deirtear linn go raibh bean agus páistí aige (26ab), go raibh cónaí air i gCluain Seancha (23b), gur i gCill Trostáin a cuireadh é (29–30) ach gur in Ail Finn a chuirfí é dá mbeadh neart air sin (33–4).² Díol suntais is ea an bhéim a chuireann an file ar an bpointe deireanach seo, agus is léir go raibh sé an-oibrithe faoin *trasgairt* a rinneadh *le trén na nGall* (34b) ar áit adhlactha shinseartha an teaghlaigh in Ail Finn.

Ní ainmnítear an file sa lámhscríbhinn, ach tugann sé le fios go soiléir (i rann 21, mar shampla) gur dhuine de mhuintir Mhaoil Chonaire é, agus ba mhac le Muiris é má bhaintear ciall litriúil as *mh'athair* (líne 4a).

LÁMHSCRÍBHINN

Tá an dán in eagar anseo ón aon chóip amháin di a tháinig anuas chugainn go bhfios dom. Tá sí sin léi féin ar dhá thaobh fóilió gan uimhriú atá idir fóiliónna 208 agus 209 de LS Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann C iv 1 (540) (cuid d) anois. Is le greamán beag a chuirfeadh stampa poist i gcuimhne do dhuine atá an fóilió seo arna cheangal leis an gcuid eile den LS. Níl aon bhaint ag an dán leis an ábhar roimhe agus ina dhiaidh i gcuid (d) den LS. Deir an catalógai, Caitilín Ní Maol-Chróin, go bhfuil sé arna scríobh ‘by a different hand from that which wrote surrounding folios’ (*Cat. ARÉ*, lch 1680) agus ‘by an early hand resembling the O’Mulconry hand in section (a) and not earlier than 1664 as this date occurs in text transcribed’ (*Cat. ARÉ*, lch 1672); tuairimíonn sí san áit chéanna gur thart ar an mbliain 1692 a grafadh cuid (a). Ó thaobh ábhair de, is gaire i bhfad an dán atá in eagar anseo do chuid (c) den LS, ina bhfuil dánta le Muiris féin agus marbhna (Ó Muireadhaigh 1974) ar fhear gaoil leis, Muiris mac Torna Uí Mhaoil Chonaire, a fuair bás sna 1640idí.

MODH EAGARTHÓIREACHTA

Mé féin faoi deara poncaíocht, ceannlitriú, scaradh focal agus suíomh sintí fada taobh istigh de shiollaí. Tá noda arna scaoileadh i gcló iodálach. Tá macrain arna n-úsáid le sintí fada nach bhfuil sa LS a chur ar fáil. Uaimse litreacha idir lúibíní cearnacha. I gcás athruithe eile, gheofar léamha LSe ag bun an leathanaigh. Coinníodh ortagrafaíocht na LSe oiread agus a d’fhéadfaí, mar a phléifear thíos.

MEADARACHT

Den chuid is mó, cloítear i leagan na LSe den dán leis na rialacha do shéadna (dán díreach). An chorráit a dtéitear uathu siúd, go hiondúil is leor sleamchúis sa seachadadh mar mhíniú air sin agus mionleasú mar réiteach air. I gcúpla áit, áfach, tá an chosúlacht air gurbh é an file féin a sháraigh an riail.

²Is i gCo. Ros Comáin atá na háiteanna seo uile (féach thíos).

Ag tosú le deacrachtaí ar dócha gur botúin nó eagarthóireacht a rinne scríobhaí is cúis leo, tá roinnt línte ró-gherr nó ró-thada i leagan na LSe; tá mioncheartúcháin déanta agam i línte 17d agus 18a (nár léir dom ach slí amháin lena gceartú) ach tá línte 7b agus 25c fós ró-gherr; gheofar plé orthu seo ar fad sna nótaí ar an téacs. D'athraigh mé *frémh don fhoghluim* (16c, LS) go *frémh dá foghluim* chun uaim a chur ar fáil, agus d'athraigh mé *ttár* (18d, LS) go *ttáth* ar mhaithe le ciall na líne agus chun comhardadh a sholáthar le *gnáth* (18c).

Ar na samplaí is féidir a leagan ar an bhfile, dar liom, tá sárú na rialach gurb é an focal aiceanta leathdheiridh (seachas focal aiceanta roimhe sin) i líne d a dhéanann aicill leis an bhfocal deiridh i líne c (féach *IGT V §36*), riail a bhristear faoi dhó sa dán seo, i rainn 1 agus 14. Tá suíomh na bhfocal san aicill idir *uile* (28c) agus *toighe* (28d) go breá, ach ní dhéanann siad comhardadh slán le chéile; gheofar tuilleadh faoi seo sa phlé thíos ar ainmfhocail sa dán. Chomh maith leis na pointí sin, caithfidh gurbh é an file féin a d'fhág an focal aiceanta *gcéin* i lár líne 30c gan céile comhardaidh, sin nó tá an leathrann as riocht ar fad ag lucht seachadta an dáin.

Tá rím iomarcach i roinnt mhaith rann; is léir nach sárú an-tromchúiseach é seo, agus tá sé coitianta go leor san fhilíocht; féach *maing ... ccailg* (1b); *chláir* (4b) : *fáidh* : *táin* (4cd); *mór* (6a) : *mór* (6c, urlann); *bás* (7b) : *dás* : *grás* (7cd); *Ghall* (10a) : *n-am* : *ann* (10cd); *céile* (14b) : *cléire* : *féile* (14cd); *ttaráth ... gnáth* (18c) : *ttáth* (18d, LS *ttár*); *ceann* (19b) : *earr* (19c, urlann); *ceól* (23a) : *seól* (23b); *gCluain* (23b) : *fuair* (23c, urlann); *fear* (28a) : *fear* (28c, urlann); *riamh* (33b) : *bhiadh* (33c, urlann); *nGall* (34b) : *ann* (34c, urlann); sé (36b) : *Dé* : *gné* (36cd); ní áirím anseo *Fuair* (26a) ... *fuair* (26c), ina dtosaíonn an dá leathrann ar an bhfocal céanna. Glacaim leis gur breacadh ceart clasaiceach atá i gceist iontu seo: *gcisde* (5b) : *cisde* : *misde* (5cd); *fós* (8a) : *thós* : *fós* (8cd); *chuing ... chuing* (9a) : *cuing* (9b); *Onóir* (10a) : *chomhóil* : *onóir* (10cd) agus *gcomhrádh / chomhráidh* (10bc); *maith* (26b) : *maith* : *raith* (26cd); *Cheall* (29a) : *ceann ... ceall* (29b) : *fhearr* : *leam* (29cd); *damh* (37a) : *c[h]ar* : *dhamh* (37bd).

Tosaíonn rann 2 ar an bhfocal lena gcríochnaíonn rann 1, *brón*, agus tosaíonn rann 9 ar na focail lena gcríochnaíonn rann 8, *a chuing*; ní riachtanas meadarachta é seo agus is sna samplaí seo amháin a fhaightear é. Osclaíonn an dán ar fad ar an siolla *Damh* in *Damhna* (1a) agus dúntar i gceart é ar *dhamh* (37d), ach ní mé an locht é go ndéanfadh *dhamh* (an focal deiridh i líne 16d) cúis mar dhúnadh freisin, agus/nó go bhféadfaí a rá go n-osclaítear an dán arís díreach ina dhiaidh sin in *Dāmadh* ag tús líne 17a agus arís eile in *Dāmadh* ag tús líne 32a. Ní dóigh liom go raibh sé i gceist ag an bhfile go mbrisfeadh sé seo an dán ina chodanna, óir níl aon athrú mór ábhair ag na pointí seo de.

TEANGA

Is sa Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach atá an dán den chuid is mó ach is cinnte go n-imítear ón gcaighdeán sin in áiteanna, mar a fheicfeadh thíos.

Ainmfhocail

Ní hionadh mór é gur mar bhaininscnigh a chaitear (san ainmneach uatha, gan deimhniú meadarachta) le *flaith* in *flaith ffromhtha* (4c) agus le *saoi* in *an tsháoi fhriochnaimh* (14c) agus *saoi chobhsuidh* (22d); bíodh is nach mbeifí ag súil le baininscne anseo de ghnáth sa teanga chlasaiceach, tá díolúine áirithe (agus, go deimhin, doiléire áirithe) faoi seo sna tráchtas agus faightear eisceachtaí i ndánta a chloíonn ar bhealaí eile le caighdeán an dána dhírigh (féach *ABP* líne 327 nóta). Is mar fhirinscneach (gan deimhniú meadarachta) a chaitear le *iarsma* san ainmneach uatha i líne 20a (*An t-iarsma mhairios don mhacruidh*); baininscneach *iā*-thamhain atá ann ó thús, is cosúil (féach *eDIL* s.v. *iarsma*), ach níl aon sampla cinnte agam ón dán díreach ina ndeimhniú an mheadaracht a inscne.

Tá simpliú suntasach le feiceáil sa dán seo ar an idirdhealú idir tuisil an ainmfhocail san uimhir uatha. Níl úsáid fhoirm an ainmnigh (*clann*) in áit fhoirm an áinsigh (*cloinn*) deimhnithe ag an meadaracht in *Fuair ōn Tríonóid clann is conách* (26a), agus dealraíonn sé go mbeadh an t-ainmneach inghlactha ansin sa dán díreach agus dhá chuspóir dhíreacha á gcomhordú le *agus* (féach *BST* 70b.2–37 agus nótaí); ach ní heol dom aon chosaint ar úsáid an ainmnigh (*lámh*, arna dheimhniú ag comhardadh le *lár* i líne 30b) in áit an áinsigh (*laimh*) in *mo lén air gor luighis lámh* (30d). Tá úsáid neamhchlasaiceach na foirme ainmní *cré* in áit na foirme áinsíche/tabharthaí *criaidh* (*IGT* II §97) ar lorg an réamhfhocail *fa* in *go dol Mhuiris fad chre a gcumhdach* (31c) deimhnithe ag líon na siollaí sa líne agus ag comhardadh le *é* (31d). Cibé is míthuiscint faoin tuiséal a rialaíonn *i* ‘(situated) in’ is cúis leis nó forás níos bunúsaí sa teanga (agus an t-idirdhealú idir na tuisil á chreimeadh), tá úsáid neamhchlasaiceach *s-* lóm an áinsigh chlasaiceigh ar lorg an ailt uatha in áit *tsh-* an tabharthaigh chlasaiceigh deimhnithe ag an meadaracht in *Do chaith a bhfuair sé san saoghol; / suim a gcisde níor chuir ríamh* (5ab). Tagann úsáid na foirme *cluain* (in áit *cluana* nó *cluanaidh*, *IGT* II §201) i suíomh tabharthach in *a gCluain Seancha ní seól gann* (23b) leis an teanga chlasaiceach toisc gurb é an chéad chuid d’ainm áite comhshuite é (féach McManus 2012: *passim*); ach ní fíor sin i gcás úsáid *táin* (: *fáidh*) in áit thabharthach na teanga clasaicí (*tána* / *tánaidh*, *IGT* II §201) in *ag táin thoghtha thig[h]e an trír* (4d); tá cúpla sampla i ndánta déanacha eile d’úsáid *táin* mar thabharthach le deimhniú meadarachta (féach *ABM* 127.1d agus 2d,³ 380.8d agus 408.14c). Tá *-fhear* (foirm ainmneach, gan deimhniú meadarachta) san áit a mbeifí ag súil le *-fhior* (foirm thabharthach) mar an dara cuid de chomhfhocail in *ōn ríghfhear* (26c) agus, tar éis réimire, in *ó gach aoinfhear* (32c).

Ní dheimhniú an mheadaracht úsáid *mic* in áit *meic* mar ghinideach *mac* i línte 3ab (*Mac Briain Óig mhic B[h]riain mhic M[h]aoilín / mhic T[h]orna Mhoir mhúinte sgo*); féach go bhfuil an *ei* a mbeadh súil leis sa teanga chlasaiceach i líne 36c (gan deimhniú meadarachta) san ainmfhocail *gein*, ainmfhocail a litrítear in *i* (seachas in *ei*) go mion minic i LSí déanacha (agus féach an briathar gaolmhar i ndán ón gcéad leath den 17ú haois in *do ghin : do dhligh*,

³Táim buíoch de Chiara Ní Mhurchú as an dá shampla seo ó *ABM* 127.

ABM 179.17cd); ach féach freisin go bhfuil *i* neamhchlasaiceach in áit *ei* clas-
aiceach deimhnithe ag an meadaracht faoi dhó sa dán seo in *misde* seachas
meisde (féach an plé thíos faoin gceannteideal ‘Eile’).

Tá bunfhoirm neamhchlasaiceach ag cúpla ainmfhocail sa dán. Tagann an
tabharthach in *dā chineadh* (2c, : *dligheadh*) leis an ngnáthúsáid sa dán díreach,
ach ní thagann an t-ainmneach in *a chine* (21c, : *file*); níl ach sampla amháin
eile agam ón gcorpas de *cine* le deimhniú meadarachta;⁴ ní mé an aischruthú
aisteach ón tabharthach *cineadh* é an t-ainmneach *cine* nó an amhlaidh a shíl
an file go raibh rogha idir *cine* (faoi thionchar *fine*, b’fhéidir) agus *cineadh*
mar ainmneach uatha. I bhfianaise *cine*, ag cuimhneamh air freisin gurbh ann
do *senchae* mar ‘an old secondary form of *senchaid*’ (*eDIL* s.v.), agus gan aon
chabhair anseo ón meadaracht, ní féidir bheith cinnte de nach ón bhfile féin a
tháinig úsáid *seancha* mar ainmneach uatha i líne 25a in áit an ainmnigh uatha
chlasaicigh *seanchaidh* (*IGT* II §52). Ba dheacra glacadh le húsáid *seancha* (in
áit *seanchadh*) mar ghinideach (uatha nó iolra) *seancha(idh)* – agus shílfeadh
duine gurbh é ‘of historian(s)’ a bhí i gceist, i lár dhúiche thraidisiúnta mhuintir
Mhaoil Chonaire – san áitainm i líne 23b (*a gCluain Seancha ní seól gann*); ar a
shon sin, ní fios go deimhnitheach nach focail eile atá ann (ainm pearsanta, mar
shampla), agus níor baineadh le litriú na LSe anseo ach oiread. Ní le *rígheadh*
(26d, : *ríghfhear*) a bheadh súil sa teanga chlasaiceach ach le *righe* (*IGT* III §71,
‘contending’ srl.); níorbh ábhar iontais é *righeadh* (féach *eDIL* s.v. *riged*) ach ní
heol dom aon sampla eile le deimhniú meadarachta de *righeadh* (le guta fada sa
chéad siolla); tá dhá shampla eile sa dán d’fhadú neamhchlasaiceach guta (féach
an plé ar *ní[o]r āidhbhsigh* agus *do dhīongmhadh* sa rannóg faoi bhriathra,
thíos). Níl úsáid *b* in áit *bh* in *easbuidh* (37b) deimhnithe ag an meadaracht;
lochtaítear *b* in áit *bh* san fhocal seo in *IGT* II §149 ach tá correisceacht le fáil i
ndánta creidiúnacha (féach *ABP* línte 419–21 nóta).

Is féidir an droch-chomhardadh a luadh thuas idir *uile* (28c, ‘all’) agus
toighe (28d, ginideach uatha *teach*, ‘house’) a mhíniú ar bhealaí éagsúla: go
raibh an file sásta glacadh le huaithne slán in áit comhardadh slán anseo; nó
gur shíl sé go raibh *tuighe* inghlactha mar ghinideach le hais *toighe* trí analach
le *moighe/muighe*, ginideach s-thamhain eile, *magh*; nó nach raibh idirdhealú
i gcanúint an fhile idir fuaimniú *ui* agus *oi* sna focail seo (féach an plé thuas
faoi *ei/i* in *meic/mic* srl.).

Tá an guta gearr sa chéad siolla de *treimhse* (2a) inghlactha sa teanga
chlasaiceach, mar a bheadh guta fada freisin (féach *TD* 1.21 nóta). Díol spéise
is ea an guta gearr sa LS (atá fágtha mar sin agam san eagrán) sa chéad siolla
de *se[i]pél* (34a); féach *eDIL* s.v. *seipél*, *seipél*, *saipél*, *saipél*, ‘Perh. originally
with short first syllable’; níl aon sampla eile den fhocal seo agam ón bhfilíocht.

D’fhéadfaí litriú níos stairiúla a chur ar fáil sna hainmfhocail seo a leanas:
ach *gh* a athrú go *dh* in *fhuighioll* (12a, ‘remainder’) agus in *oighidh* (36c), *dh*
a athrú go *gh* i lár *aidhiodh* (23d agus 24a), agus *ch* a athrú go *th* in *feichiomh*
(19b).

⁴Féach Sionón seininnse na bhfionn, / Iúdás oirir na hÉirionn, / anágh cinnte dhá chine / Canán
mhíllte a mhuinntire, ‘The Sinon of the ancient isle of the Finns, Judas of the land of Erin, certain
ill-luck to his race; a Conán who injures his own people’ (O’Keeffe 1912, rann 8).

Athrú tosaigh ar lorg ainmfhocal

Ní imítear mórán i leagan na LSe den dán ó rialacha na teanga clasaicí i dtaobh na n-athruithe tosaigh. Is suntasach ón taobh seo de a mhéad samplaí atá i leagan na LSe de shéimhiú ar thúsleitir ainm dílis sa ghinideach gan beann ar a dtagann roimhe, mar a fhaightear i nGaeilge an lae inniu. Féach na focail deiridh iontu seo: *Damhna eòlchuire ég Mhuiris* (1a), *go dol Mhuiris ...* (31c), *Onóir Ghall is Ghaoidhiol Chonnacht* (10a) agus *ní fhaicim um Chruachain Chuinn* (27b). Ní chuirfeadh sé isteach ar an meadaracht dá mbainfí gach séimhiú neamhchlasaiceach ansin nó dá n-urófaí sa dá shampla dheiridh (i línte 10a⁵ agus 27b). Is féidir an séimhiú neamhchlasaiceach i gcuid de na samplaí sin a mhíniú ar bhealach eile freisin: cuir i gcás gur shíl an file go rialódh *um* (27b) agus *go* (31c) an tabharthach.

Tá roinnt mhaith áiteanna sa dán nach gcuirtear an séimhiú neamhchlasaiceach sin ar ainm dílis sa ghinideach: ar lorg ainmneach uatha firinsneach in *Mac Briain Óig* (3a), *ollamh Cruachan* (4b), *Muiris mac Briain* (7a), *Muiris mhac Bríain* (22b, féach thíos maidir le *mhac*), *deaghmhac Gráin[n]e* (16b) agus *se[i]pél taoibhgheal Torna* (34a); agus ar lorg tabharthach iolra in *d'uaislibh Connacht* (11b). Chomh maith leis sin, tá áiteanna a dtagann an séimhiú leis an teanga chlasaiceach, ar lorg ainmneach uatha baininsneach in *Ardfhuil Gheairailt* (13a) agus *laochruidh Chonnacht* (17a), mar shampla, nó ar lorg ginideach uatha a shéimheodh sa teanga chlasaiceach in *chláir Chonnacht* (14a) agus *chuire Chruachan* (17c).

I gcúpla áit eile, níl séimhiú sa LS a mbeadh súil leis sa teanga chlasaiceach. In *ó ghort Maisdion* (13a), d'fhéadfaí séimhiú a chur ar fáil le tacaíocht ó *fa mháoth bhróin* sa chéad líne eile (13b) agus ó *a gcogail chruidh* (6d), ar *mbreith bhuaadh* (7c), *a n-am chomhóil* agus *chomhráidh* (10c), srl. In *a gCluain Seancha ní seól gann* (23b), deimhníonn an mheadaracht easpa séimhithe, easpa a d'fhéadfaí a mhíniú mar dhíshéimhiú ar *sh-* ar lorg *-n*, mar mhíthuiscint nó forás maidir leis an tuiseal a rialaíonn an réamhfhocal *i* 'situated' in, nó mar shampla de dhul i léig na rialach clasaicí go séimhithe ar lorg tabharthach uatha; sin nó an líne a athrú go *a gCluain S[h]eancha ní[or] s[h]eól gann*, 'were no strangers to Cluain Seancha' (féach an nóta ar an téacs).

Tá an séimhiú a mbeifí ag súil leis sa teanga chlasaiceach ar lorg ginideach de chineál o-thamhain curtha ar fáil agam in *Mac Briain Óig mhic B[h]riain mhic M[h]aoilín / mhic T[h]orna Mhóir mhúinte sgol* (línte 3ab), le tacaíocht ginideach eile den chineál céanna, ar nós *an eólaigh fhéil* (11d, áit a ndeimhníonn an mheadaracht an séimhiú), *an chláir mhín* (4b) agus *an bhronnuidh bhuaín* (13d).

Comhlíonann an séimhiú ar thúsleitir an fhocail leathdheiridh na riachtanais do shléagar (féach Mac Cáirthaigh 2015: 241) in *is aos seanma cheólphort gcaoin* (24b). Chomhlíonfadh sna samplaí seo a leanas freisin dá lúbfáil na rialacha le glacadh le haidiacht idir an tús (.i. an t-ainmfhocal a rialaíonn an ginideach) agus an lár (.i. an t-ainmfhocal sa ghinideach a gcuirfear séimhiú ar a thúsleitir

⁵Tá urú na teanga clasaicí ar thúsleitir aidiachta ar lorg ginideach iolra i línte 14b, 16a, 16b, 24b, 25c agus 32d.

nó a mbainfear séimhiú di): *Ollamh oirnidhe chláir Chonnacht* (14a), *Tamhan cumhra Chluana Bolcáin* (15a, dá dtuigfí *cumhra* ansin mar aidiacht), agus *ollamh toghtha chuire Chruachan* (17c).

Níor bhain mé an séimhiú de thúsleitir *mhac* (ar lorg ainmneach uatha firinsneach) in *Muiris mhac Bríain* (22b). Ní féidir talamh slán a dhéanamh de nach ón bhfile féin a tháinig sé, agus ní mó is féidir bheith cinnte de nach é *Muirí[o]smhac Bríain* (a bhfuil an chiall chéanna leis) a bhí ar intinn aige an chéad lá.

Maidir le séimhiú an bhaininscnigh in *flaith fhromhtha* (4c), *an tsháoi fhriochnaimh* (14c) agus *saoi chobhsuidh* (22d), féach an rannóg thuas faoi ainmfhocail.

Réamhfhocail

Díol suntais is ea é, dá dhéanaí an dán seo, nach bhfuil an t-idirdhealú clasaiceach idir *re* agus *le* arna sháru i leagan na LSe de; tá *re* ceart i línte 2a, 8a, 25b agus (le deimhniú meadarachta) i líne 26d; tá *le* ceart i línte 17b (le deimhniú meadarachta), 22d, 29d (le deimhniú meadarachta) agus 34b.

Seans maith gur chóir séimhiú a chur ar fáil ar lorg *gan* in *gan ceann fine* (19b) – agus féach *ga[n] fhear n-eagair* (20c) agus *gan mhaoidhiomh* (23c) – ach b'fhéidir nach mbeadh séimhiú i gcónaí ag an bhfile ar an gcéad fhocal i bhfrása ar lorg *gan* (ar nós Ghaeilge chaighdeánach an lae inniu).

Tagann fuaimniú *b* tosaigh gan séimhiú ar lorg *um* in *um biadh nā um bronnadh* (30a) leis na rialacha do *cadad* in *IGT I* (féach *ABP* línte 561–4).

Ní féidir bheith cinnte de nárbh é an file féin a d'úsáid *sa* in áit *san* in *sa tír* (2a) agus *sa chrann* (28b), le hais *san saoghol* (5a), tá a leithéid chomh coitianta sin i *LSí* níos sine ná seo (féach McManus 2019: 167–9), agus choinnigh mé leagan na LSe san eagrán i ngach cás.

Tá an síneadh fada ar na gutaí in *tré* (13c) agus *lér* (22d) neamhghnách i gcóip na LSe den dán, sa mhéid is nach bhfuil síneadh fada in *fa / fan / fad / far* (12d, 13b, 24c, 31c, 35c, 36d), *re* (2a, 8a, 25b) ná *le* (34b).

Ní imítear mórán ón teanga chlasaiceach sa dán seo maidir leis na tuisil a rialaíonn na réamhfhocail ná le hinfhilleadh ainmfhocal ar lorg réamhfhocal, ach gheofar plé ar roinnt eisceachtaí sa dá rannóg roimhe seo; féach an chéad rannóg acu sin (Ainmfhocail) maidir le *san saoghol* (5a), *ōn ríghfhear* (26c), *fad chré* (31c) agus *ó gach aoínfhear* (32c); agus an dara ceann acu (Athrú tosaigh ar lorg ainmfhocail) maidir le *ó ghort Maisdion* (13a), *a gCluain Seancha* (23b), *um Chruachain Chuinn* (27b) agus *go dol Mhuiris* (31c). Gheofar tuilleadh faoi *fa* + an chopail sa rannóg ina dhiaidh seo.

Briathra

Ní chuirfeadh sé isteach ar an meadaracht an *i* neamhchlasaiceach sa bhriathar caite *do chréuchtghoin* (19a) a bhaint, ach d'fhág mé ann é mar go bhfuil sé le fáil sa teanga iarchlasaiceach. Glacaim leis gur briathar atá i gceist in *arar thál* (16c, : *rádh*); níl an briathar seo in *IGT III* agus níl dóthain samplaí agam ón bhfilíocht le rá cé acu clasaiceach nó neamhchlasaiceach atá *tálaidh* (seachas *táilidh*).

Ní hábhar iontais, chomh déanach seo i ré na filíochta siollaí, fadú neamhchlasaiceach ghutai tosaigh *diongbhaidh* agus *aidhbhsighidh* in *do dhiongmhadh* (9c, : *fiorbhun*) agus *ní[o]r āidhbhsigh* (25d, : *chlāirsigh*) – ach oiread le fadú an *i* san ainm briathartha *rīgheadh* i líne 26d (féach an plé thuas ar ainmfhocail).

Is léir gurb í brí an mhodha fhoshuitigh chaite (.i. *dá mbeath* / *dá mbeadh* sa teanga chlasaiceach) atá le *dā mbeith* i línte 33a agus 34a. Tá úsáid *dā mbeith* san áit a mbeadh (an foshuiteach láithreach) *dá mbé* / *dá ra(i)bh* sa teanga chlasaiceach (IGT III §7) coitianta i LSí, ach gan deimhniú meadarachta riamh go bhfios dom (féach Mac Cárthaigh 2019: 92). Ba leasc liom, dá bhrí sin, aon choigeartú a dhéanamh anseo, ach seans maith gurbh é *dá mbeath* / *dá mbeadh* a bhí ar intinn ag an bhfile féin (agus b'fhéidir go raibh an giorrúchán le haghaidh *et* + marc séimhithe in eiseamláir scríobhaí).

Maidir leis an gcopail, féach na foirmeacha caite *bu* (2c) agus *ba* (4c) le hais na gnáthfhoirme *fa* (5c, 11b, 19d agus 37d). Féach an litriú *gor* (caite, in áit *gur*) in *gor chneasda* (8d), a thagann le húsáid *gor* roimh bhriathra sa LS (féach thíos). Má tá an ceart agam go gciallaíonn *nar bhuan olc nā oiréd ann* (34d) ‘may neither evil nor great jealousy last there’, ní le *nar bhuan* a bheadh súil sa teanga chlasaiceach ach le *narab buan* (gnáth-fhoshuiteach láithreach diúltach na copaille), a d'fhágfadh an líne ró-fhada. Déanaim amach gur brí láithreach atá le *far in far buaine* (36d); is é *fan* (nó *fana*, a bheadh neamh-mheadarúil anseo) a bheadh ceart mar láithreach de réir BST lch 162, nó *far* + séimhiú mar chaite (nó mar chaite módúil), mar atá in *far chomair* (12d); d'fhéadfaí *fan buaine* a léamh anseo, ach tá *far buaine* (a gheofaí sa teanga iarchlasaiceach) fágtha agam mar nach féidir bheith cinnte cé acu ó scríobhaí nó ón bhfile féin a tháinig sé.

Tá *gē fhuair* (7b) fágtha mar atá sa LS agam ach, de réir mar a thuigim, is leis an litriú *gé uair* a bheadh súil, nó le *gé do-uair* (a leigheasfadh líon na siollaí sa líne; féach an nóta ar an téacs); bheadh an litriú *gé fuair* go breá ann féin freisin ach bheadh sé neamh-mheadarúil anseo mar nach ndéanfadh sé uaim le *aicme* (7a). Féach *gor* roimh bhriathra san aimsir chaite in áit an ghnáthleagain *gur* i línte 2d, 30d, 31d, 35b. In *Sul do múchadh* (35a) d'fhéadfaí *sul* a athrú go *suil*, an leagan ceart de réir BST 238.9, ach tá *sul* beagnach chomh coitianta le *suil* i leaganacha LSe de dhánta.

Tá an úsáid in *mo lén air gor luighis lámh* (30d), inar briathar aistreach é *luighidh*, neamhghnách; féach ‘Rarely in trans. use’ (*eDIL* s.v. *laigid*); níl aon sampla eile agam le cur leis an sampla aonair a thugtar ansin in *eDIL*, is é sin *go nach luighfeadh Dia lámh air* in *Trí bior-ghaoithe an bháis* (Bergin 1931, línte 5418–9, ‘so that God would not lay a hand on him’).

Eile

Dhéanfadh an litriú (neamhchoitianta) *mhíó[n]la* cúis freisin i líne 1d in áit *mhíol[l]a* (an gnáthlitriú i LSí ón tréimhse seo, agus an ceann a roghnaíodh).

Díol suntais is ea úsáid an tseanleagain *bheōs* i líne 33a in áit an ghnáthleagain sa dán díreach, *bhós* (féach *SnaG* IV §2.6); níl aon sampla eile agam

den seanleagan seo (le deimhniú meadarachta nó gan é) i ndán ó ré an dána dhirigh.

In *cá misde* (5d), d'fhéadfaí *cá* a athrú go *gá* gan cur isteach ar an meadaracht. Lochtaítear *cá* in *IGT* I ach tá sé coitianta i LSí (féach *ABP* línte 271–2 nóta).

Ní le *misde* a bheadh súil sa dán díreach ach le *meisde*, ach tá an dá shampla sa dán seo (i línte 5d agus 33d) deimhnithe ag comhardadh le (*g*)*cisde*. Níl ach dhá shampla eile ar m'eolas sa chorpas ina ndéanann an focal seo comhardadh in *i* (seachas in *ei*), *miste* : *chliste* (*LCLAB* 32.35–6) agus *miste* : *chiste* (*LCLAB* 33.55–6), agus tá siad sin in dhá dhán dhéanacha a chum file amháin do phátrún a fuair bás in 1678 (*LCLAB* lch vi). Féach freisin an plé thuas (sa rannóg faoi ainmfhocail) ar *i/ei* (gan deimhniú meadarachta) in *mhic* (3ab) agus *ghein* (36c); níl *meinic* (20b) san áireamh anseo agam toisc nach bhfuil aon sampla meadaruil agam a dheimhníonn fuaimniú a chéad siolla in *ei* ná in *i* (féach Mac Cárthaigh 2017: 115).

Níl cinnte cé acu atá *o* (seachas *u*) sa chéad siolla de *chomair* (12d, : *ollaimh*) clasaiceach nó nach bhfuil. Níl an aidiacht seo (*eDIL* s.v. *cummair*) in *IGT* agus níl ach dhá shampla aimsithe agam sa chorpas ina bhfuil an chéad siolla di páirteach i gcomhardadh, an péire acu sin i ndánta a leagtar ar Philib Bocht Ó hUiginn, .i. *cumair* : *cumaidh* (*PB* 4.39bd) agus *cumair* : *urraidh* (*PB* 22.2bd). Sna samplaí sin féin, ní dhearbhaíonn an mheadaracht go deifnídeach nach é *o* a bhí ag an bhfile a chéaduair, le *comair* ag déanamh comhardaidh leis na leaganacha malartacha *comaidh* (*IGT* II §189) agus *orraidh* (*IGT* II §7).

ORTAGRAFAÍOCHT

Díol spéise is ea an ortagrafaíocht i leagan na LSe den dán, tá sí chomh gar sin don ortagrafaíocht normalaithe a úsáideann eagarthóirí an lae inniu agus a chuir Eleanor Knott i bhfocail céad bliain ó shin (féach *TD*, iml. 1, lgh xciv–xcviii). Ar ndóigh, is é atá san ortagrafaíocht normalaithe sin ná leagan leasaithe de chleachtas ortagrafaíochta roinnt de scríobhaithe na 17ú haoise, leithéidí scríobhaí anaithnid LS A iv 3 (743) in Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann, a luann Knott mar LS eiseamláireach ina thaobh seo, nó an scríobhaí Seaán mac Torna Uí Mhaoil Chonaire (ó Cho. an Chláir), a ghraf a oiread sin de shaothair an Chéitinnigh (féach Ó Cuív 1976: 531–2).

Ní scríobhtar *éa* riamh i leagan na LSe den dán; an litriú *é* is mó a úsáidtear, mar a mholtar in *IGT* I (*ABP* línte 174–6), mar shampla in *ég* (1a), *gég* (3d), *choimhéd* (5c), agus i mbreis agus scór sampla eile; tá cúig shampla de *éu* ann freisin (féach *léughthóir* 16a, *éunchor* 27c, srl.) agus sampla amháin de *eu* (atá mar *ēu* agam san eagrán ar bhonn na samplaí eile sin) in *chreuchtghoin* (19a, LS). Faightear sleamhnóg idir guta caol agus consan leathan a leanann é gach áit eile i leagan na LSe den dán, seachas i gcorrshampla de *níor*, agus tá *o* curtha ar fáil agam iontu sin (féach *níor* 5b, 24c, 30a; *nīor* 25b; *ní[o]r* 6d, 25d, 30c); féach freisin go bhfuil *i* curtha ar fáil agam idir *e* agus consan caol a leanann é in *se[i]pél* (34a).

I siollaí gearra/meánacha neamhaiceanta (i bhfocail nach comhfhocail iad), is é **ai** nó **ui** a fhaightear i gcónaí roimh chonsan caol (mar shampla, *fosguidh* 1c, *Cosmhuil* 8a, *seasainn* 8c, *adhair* 9b, *doghruing* 16d, *cosmhail* 22c), agus **a** nó (scaití) **o** roimh chonsan leathan (mar shampla, *saoghol* 5a, *Connacht* 11b, *Ollamh* 14a, *leabhor* 16a). Tá claonadh láidir ann **io** a úsáid in áit **ea** i siollaí neamhaiceanta; má fhágtar comhfhocail (*saoirfhear* 15b, *taoibhghéal* 34a, srl.) agus leithéidí *imdheacht* (18d) as an áireamh, is in *chineadh* (2c), *dligheadh* (2d), *rīgheadh* (26d) agus *aitreabh* (33a) amháin atá **ea**, i gcontrárthacht le *chaithiomh* (6b), *Ghaoidhiol* (10a), *ccomhairlioch* (18b) agus 15 sampla eile de **io**. I bhfocail ilsiollacha dar críoch guta gearr neamhaiceanta, is mar **a** nó mar **e** a scríobhtar an guta sin i gcónaí; féach, mar shampla, *bile buadha* (8b), *toghtha chuire* (17c), *luighe ortha* (17d).

Tá síneadh fada ar cheithre shampla de **aoi** (*ndláoi* 1c, *gnáoi* 1d, *mháoi* 13b, *tsháoi* 14c) le hais beagnach 30 sampla gan síneadh fada (*saoirfhear* 15b, *Mhaoil* 21c, *ghnaoi* 22c, *saoi* 22d, srl.) ach níl síneadh fada ar aon sampla de **ao** (*saoghol* 5a, *saor* 15b, *daor* 15d, srl.). Níl ach sampla amháin sa dán de **eo** gearr (*coirdmheoch* 23a); tá síneadh fada ar ocht sampla de **eo** fada sa LS (*ndeóruidh* 9c, *eólaigh* 9d, *leó* 17b, srl.) agus tá sé shampla gan síneadh fada sa LS (ach le macran anois san eagrán lena n-idirdhealú ó **eo** gearr; féach *eölchuire* 1a, *mbeoghoin* 11c, *leónadh* 20d, srl.). Tá síneadh fada ar **ia** in *riámh* (5b), *Briain* (22b), *bhiadh* (32c agus 35c) agus *cliar* (33d) ach níl in aon sampla eile (féach *fhial* 5d, *iad* 13b agus 15 sampla eile). Tá síneadh fada ar **ua(i)** i dtrí shampla de *uainn(e)* (18d, 19c, 36c) ach níl in *fuair* (6a), *suail* (11c), *Chluana* (15a), *uain* (30b, LS, = *uainn*) ná in 30 sampla eile.

Is mar **cc-** atá **c** uraithe scríofa in *ccailg* (1b) agus in *ccomhairlioch* (18b, le hais *gcás* sa líne chéanna), ach mar **gc-** i ngach sampla eile (*gcrann* 1c, *gcisde* 5b, *gcuimhne* 21b, srl.), agus féach **-gc-** in *éugcruth* (35d). Ina ainneoin sin, is mar **tt-** atá gach ceann den dornán samplaí de **t** uraithe arna scríobh, agus níl aon sampla de **dt-** sa dán; féach *ttír* (6c), *ttráth* (18c) agus *ttár* (18d, LS); féach freisin *ttás* (37c). Mar **bfh** atá **f** uraithe arna scríobh sa LS in *bfhuiar* (5a), *bfhuil* (12a) agus *bfhagha* (28a) agus mar **bf** in *bféughthor* (27d, LS); is é *bhf/b[h]f* atá san eagrán, ag teacht leis an bhfuaimniú. Is é **tsh** an litriú in *an tsháoi* (14c), an t-aon sampla amháin sa dán de **s** arna shéimhiú ag an alt.

Níl aon sampla sa dán de **sp**; seans nach é **sb** ach *sbh* a theastaigh ón bhfile in *easbuidh* (37b; féach an plé thuas ar na hainmfhocail); níl aon sampla eile ann de **sb**. Níl ach dhá shampla sa dán de **st** (in *Chríost* 28b agus *Trostáin* 29a), agus is é **sd** a fhaightear seachas iad sin; féach *bhrosduigh* (1d), (*g*)*cisde* (5b, 5c, 33c), *misde* (5d agus 33d), *theasda* (8c), *chneasda* (8d), *Maisdion* (13a) agus *sdór* (33c). Níl aon sampla sa dán de **sc**; tá **sg** in *fosguidh* (1c), *sgol* (3b) agus cúig shampla eile.

Tá deich sampla sa dán de **cht** (féach *Chonnacht* 10a, *acht* 13b, *imdheacht* 18d, srl.), iad uile arna scríobh amach ina n-iomláine, gan ghiarrúchán; níl aon sampla ann de **chd**.

Tá dhá shampla de dhúbailt **n** i siollaí a bhféadfadh nó a gcaithfeadh síneadh meánach a bheith iontu sa teanga chlasaiceach: in *Sinnsior* (22a) agus *immhe* (27c); níl aon sampla de dhúbailt **l** ná **r** ar an gcaoi seo agus tá roinnt

focal le consain indúbailte nár dúblaíodh (féach *turnamh* 2b, *ccomhairlioch* 18b, *doilghe* 21a, srl.). Tá gach sampla de *ia* + *ll* arna scríobh in *ll* (féach *thriall* 22b, *triall* 23d, *giall* 29d); seachas iontu sin agus in *úainne* (19c, < *uainn* + *-ne*), is mar *l* (sampla amháin) agus *n* (cúig shampla) atá **ll** agus **nn** arna scríobh sa LS ar lorg guta fada nó défhoghair, ag teacht leis an bhfuaimniú clasaiceach; tá [*l*] nó [*n*] curtha ar fáil agam iontu sin san eagrán de ghrá na soiléire; féach *úain[n]* (18d), *uain[n]* (30b), *úain[n]e* (36c), *mhíol[l]a* (1d), *Gráin[n]e* (16b) agus *Dúin[n]* (21a).

Ní mar *i* ach mar *a* atá an réamhfocal simplí leis féin arna scríobh (5b, 6d, 10c, srl.), ach féach *iona* (12b, < *i* + *a n-*, ‘in their’) agus *id* (33c, < *i* + *do*, ‘in your’) le hais *ad* (29a agus 30b). Is mar *as* (seachas mar *is*) atá láithreach na copaire scríofa sna trí shampla sa dán (i línte 7d, 21a agus 22c).

Maidir le litriú roinnt ainmfhocal in *-gh/-dh-* agus in *-ch/-th-*, féach an plé thuas ar ainmfhocail.

TÉACS

- 1 Damhna eölchuire ég Mhuiris,
ar mairg choidhche 's ar ccailg mhór,
ar gcrann fosguidh 's ar ndláoi dhíona,
gnáoi mhíol[l]a do bhrosduigh brón.
- 2 Brón sa tír a-tá re treimhse –
turnamh aoibhnis d'Éirinn ann –
d'ég aoinfhir bu ceann dā chineadh,
Gaoidhil gor mheall dligheadh dall.
- 3 Mac Briain Óig mhic B[h]riain mhic M[h]aoilín
mhic T[h]orna Mhóir mhúinte sgol
gan a shamhail iar n-ég againn,
gég tharuidh nar chagaill crodh.

AISTRIÚCHÁN

- 1 Muiris's death is a cause of grief, a heartbreak forever for us and a body blow; a [man with a] gentle face who has aroused sorrow, [he was] our sheltering tree and our roof covering.
- 2 There has been sorrow in the country of late as a result of the death of a singular man who was a leader for his family, so that an indiscriminate law has left Gaels dejected; it diminishes Ireland's joy.
- 3 The son of Brian Óg son of Brian son of Maoilín son of Torna Mór who taught schools: death has left us with no-one like him, [a man like] a fruitful branch who did not hoard wealth.

LÉAMHA LÁMHSCRÍBHINNE

2a. th(?)ír

- 4 Mo bhráthair búidh, mh'oidhe is mh'athair,
ollamh Cruachan an chláir mhín,
ba flaith fhromhtha, fáidh is file
ag táin thoghtha thig[h]e an trír.
- 5 Do chaith a bhfuair sé san saoghol;
suim a gcisde níor chuir ríamh;
dó fa císde clú do choimhéd;
cā misde a-nú an fhoighég fhial?
- 6 Gidh mór fuair do dhuille an domhnáin,
dúil shíor 'na chaithiomh do chuir;
mór 'nar ttír darb[h] fheas a obair;
brígh ní[o]r mheas a gcogail chruidh.
- 7 Muiris mac Briain, bláth a aicme,
gē fhuair bás ní beart chlé;
ar mbreith bhuadh, gā dás, do dhomhan,
as tuar grás gan omhan é.
- 8 Cosmhuil fós a bhás re a bheathuidh,
bile buadha an toruidh thruim;
dá seasainn ar thós a theasda,
measaim fós gor chneasda a chuing.

4 My loving kinsman, my tutor and my father, ollav of Cruachain of the smooth plain, he was a proven prince, a prophet and a poet to Tara's élite.

5 He disbursed all he got in this world; he never showed interest in wealth; wealth for him was to uphold [a good] reputation; this is to the generous scion's credit now.

6 Though he received much of the transitory wealth of the world, he was always keen to disburse it; many in our country have known his work[s]; he did not value hoarding wealth.

7 Although Muiris son of Brian, flower of his family, has died, it is not a bad thing; indeed, after [him] defeating the world['s temptations], it is a portent of graces without fear.

8 Moreover, the death of this virtuous [man like an] abundantly fruitful tree resembled his life; were I to rely [for evidence] only on the first part [detailed above] of his record, I still reckon that his behaviour was kind [enough to merit heaven].

- 9 A chuing chreidimh 's a chuing chrábhuidh,
cuing oinigh dar adhair sé,
an fear do dhíongmhadh dháimh ndéoruidh,
fíorbhun ráidh gach eólaigh é.
- 10 Onóir Ghall is Ghaidhiol Chonnacht
's a gcomhrádh caoin do chleacht sé
a n-am chomhóil *agus* chomhráidh;
onóir ann narbh orghráin é.
- 11 Dā mairdís ar mhair 'na aimsir
d'uaislibh Connacht fa maith méin,
ní *bud*[h] suaill an sás dā mbeōghoin
bás iar n-uair an eólaigh fhéil.
- 12 A bhfuil beō d'fhuighioll na haicme,
iona n-orchra ní théid trágh;
d'aithle a gcomthaigh, d'ég a n-ollaimh,
créd orthaibh far chomair crádh?
- 13 Ardfhuil Ghearailt ó ghort Maisdion
fa mháoiht bhróin, acht iad a n-uaigh,
budh casmhuil tré ég an ollaimh,
gasruidh Ghrég an bhronnuidh bhuain.

- 9 The Christian deportment, religious observance and honourable behaviour practised by this man who was a match for any visiting poet band are a byword for the wise.
- 10 He was held in affectionate esteem by the [old] foreigners and Gaels of Connaught, and enjoyed their genteel converse at time[s] of drinking and discoursing.
- 11 Were all of the benevolent Connaught nobles of his day still alive after this generous, knowledgeable man's time [ran out, his] death would be no trivial blow to them.
- 12 The sorrow of the remaining survivors of that company is unebbing; how could [their] torment be short-lived after their companion, after the death of their ollav?
- 13 Were they not in the grave, Gerald's lofty bloodline from the field of [Mulla]mast, ever-giving Grecian soldier-band, would be similarly heartbroken at the ollav's death.

- 14 Ollamh oirnidhe chláir Chonnacht,
céile ríoghan na rosg nglas
an tsháoi fhriochnaimh, ceann na cléire,
geall féile dob ionchuir as.
- 15 Tamhan cumhra Chluana Bolcáin,
bláth na saoirfhear sochla saor,
fear do thuair ar mhaith a mholadh,
fuair 's do chaith an domhan daor.
- 16 Sgribhneóir, léughthóir leabhor ndorcha,
deaghmhac Gráin[n]e na ngníomh nglas,
fear arar thál frémh dá foghlum,
a-dér rádh nach doghruing dhamh.
- 17 Dāmadh líonmhor laochruidh Chonnacht,
do caoinfidhe léó a los chráidh
ollamh toghtha chuire Chruachan;
luighe ortha d'uathadh áir.
- 18 A gceann síodha ['s] a gcosg cogaidh,
's a ccomhairlioch a gcás chruaidh,
a ttráth chóir *bud[h]* gnáth a ghrinnbheart;
ar ttáth bróin a imdheacht úain[n].

14 Distinguished ollav of Connaught's plain who served green-eyed queens, master scholar, leader of the learned, his generosity could be betted upon.

15 Trunk of the fragrant tree of Cluain Bolcáin, flower of the renowned noble men [of that place], a man who earned praise for goodness, who received and disbursed [the wealth of] the servile world.

16 Writer, reader of difficult books, Gráinne's good son of the virtuous deeds, a man for whom learning a [genealogical] root produced a yield, I will say something that comforts me.

17 Were the soldiery of Connaught – [now] decimated by war – [still] numerous, they would lament the choice ollav of Cruachain's troop out of heartfelt sorrow.

18 Their leader in peacetime, their preventer of war and their adviser in a predicament, he was wont to act incisively at the right moment; his departure from us [in death] unites us in sorrow.

- 19 Uí Mhaoil Chonaire do chrēuchtghoin
gan ceann fine ag feichiomh dháibh;
earr ar ndochair a ég úainne,
séd sochair fa buaine báidh.
- 20 An t-iarsma mhairios don mhacruidh,
meinic chaoinid a g[h]lór gaoth;
ga[n] fhear n-eagair am dā seōladh,
bud[h] eagail ann leōnadh laoch.
- 21 Dúin[n] as doilghe bás ar mbráthor,
buan ar gcuimhne ar ghloine a ghníomh,
clann Uí Mhaoil Chonaire, a chine;
caoin toghaidhe an file fíor.
- 22 Sinnsior d'ainm is d'iúl a mhaicne
Muiris mhac Bríain nar thriall tár,
reic a ghnaoi as cosmhail ar chéimibh,
saoi chobhsuidh lér éirigh ágh.
- 23 Aoibhnios, imeirt, ceól is coirmdheoch
a gCluain Seancha ní seól gann;
fuair do chách a mian gan mhaoidhiomh
gér ghnáth triall na n-aoidhiodh ann.

19 Being without a family head watching out for them has wounded the O'Mulconrys; the death of this beneficent jewel whose support was most constant is the nadir of our misfortune.

20 The surviving remainder of the family frequently lament [the loss of] his wise words; not having an organiser when they need guidance, there is a risk of warriors being wounded.

21 We, his kin, the O'Mulconry family, are the ones for whom our kinsman's death is hardest; lasting is our memory of the virtue of his actions; gentle and excellent [was] the true poet.

22 A progenitor of the reputation and knowledge of his descendants, Muiris son of Brian who never contemplated disgrace[ful deeds], a steadfast sage who enjoyed success, [his] actions make it right to broadcast his fame.

23 Festivity, gaming, music and drinking are no strangers to Cluain Seancha, [where] he got everyone whatever they wanted without a fuss, although guests were constantly going there.

20d. eagh(?)ail; 21b. gh(?)niom(?)h; 22a. *Comhartha easnaimh in áit is d'iúl, le is diúl san imeall clé*; 22d. éiri(?)gh

24 Do bhíodh don treibh tionól aoidhíodh
is aos seanma cheólpheort gcaoin –
fa bhronnadh níor chruaidh a chroidhe –
um ollamh sluaigh Mhoighe Maoín.

25 Seancha saor is deighfhear dána –
dréim re a aithribh nīor ghnīomh gann –
ag seinm pheort gcaoin ar chlāirsigh
locht dā thaoibh ní[o]r āidhbhsigh ann.

26 Fuair ōn Tríonóid clann is conách
's céile maith do chosain clú;
fuair gach maith go réidh ōn ríghfhear
's budh céim raith a ríghtheadh rú.

27 A leithéid oile dā aicme
ní fhaicim um Chruachain Chuinn,
a nós ar éunchor ná [a] innmhe,
dā b[h]féughthor fós imle an fhuinn.

28 Go bhfagha an fear fós dā anmain,
a hucht Chríost do-chuaidh sa chran,
fear an chroinn do fhóir an uile,
roinn do ghlóir an toighe thall.

24 Guests and players of sweet tunes used flock to the house around the ollav of Maonmhagh's host; he was not hard-hearted about giving.

25 A noble historian and an accomplished poet, his playing of sweet melodies on the harp did not attract criticism; emulating his ancestors was no small task.

26 His emulation of them brought success; he was granted children and prosperity by the Trinity, and a good spouse who protected [his] reputation; every good thing came easily to him from the king [of heaven].

27 Around Conn's Cruachain, even if the margins of the land are searched, I do not see another like him of his class, with either his way[s] or his standing.

28 And may the man receive a share of the glory of heaven for his soul, in the name of Christ who was crucified, the man of the Cross who succoured all.

- 29 A Cheall Trostáin, tarla ad charcair
ceann cothuighthe ceall is cliar,
fear dob fhearr cruth *agus* croidhe;
uch! dar leam ní gloine giall.
- 30 Neach níor dhiúlt um biadh nā um bronnadh
go a bhreith uain[n] do luighe ad lár
's ní[o]r ér an gcéin do mhair Muiris;
mo lén air gor luighis lámh.
- 31 Ní raibhe fós olc 'na aigniodh,
iomdha céim 'na mbeiriodh buaidh,
go dol Mhuiris fad chre a gcumhdach
's gor chuiris é a gcumhgach chruaidh.
- 32 Dāmadh nádúir aisiog aoinfhir
d'fhagháil ōn ég, mar nach eadh,
do bhíadh tóir ann ó gach aoinfhear
d'fhōir Ghall agus Gaoidhiol ngeal.
- 33 Oil Finn bheōs dā mbeith ar aitreabh,
áit a aithriond roimhe riamh,
ní bhiadh sdór ar gcisde id chumhgach;
misde go mór cumhdach clár.

29 Alas, O Kiltristan, the leading sustainer of churchmen and poets, a man of great appearance and heart, happens to be in your prison; I can think of no purer prisoner [than him].

30 As long as he lived, until he was taken from us to lie in your confines, Muiris refused no-one food or bestowal and he turned no-one down; my woe that you laid a hand on him.

31 Moreover, before Muiris was covered by your clay and you placed him in hard confinement, there was no evil in his nature and he used to win victories in many things.

32 If it were natural, though it is not, to have one man returned from the dead, this would be sought [for him] by every man of the host of [old] foreigners and bright Gaels.

33 If Elphin, [resting] place of his ancestors always and ever, were still in use, our dearest treasure would not be confined by you; the protection of poets is much the worse for [us losing] him.

34 'S dā mbeith se[i]pél taoibhgheal Torna
gan trasgairt le trén na nGall,
ann *bud*[h] dual an corp do choimhéd;
nar bhuan olc nā oiréd ann.

35 Sul do múchadh meadhair Ghaoidhiol
's a nglóir ghnáth nó gor ghabh lén,
do bhíadh éugnach ann fan ollamh;
barr ar éugcruth donnadh dér.

36 Míle bliadhan – ceart an chuimhne –
a ceathair, seasga is sé c[h]éd
ó ghein Dé go a oighidh úain[n]e,
gné roidhil far buaine ar mbéd.

37 Ní damh féin nach fachain orchra
easbuidh gach comthaigh rom c[h]ar;
tin*n*, gā ttás, dā thaoibh mo chridhe,
bás an aoin fa dile dhamh.

34 And if Torna's bright-sided chapel had not been cast down by the power of the [new] foreigners, that is where it would be right to keep the body; may neither evil nor great jealousy last there.

35 Before the joy of the Gaels was extinguished and before their usual glory became leavened by sadness, there would have been grieving over the ollav; reddening by tears distorts [the face] all the more.

36 One thousand, six hundred and sixty-four years, calculated correctly, [have passed] from God's birth to the departure from us in death of [this man with] a treasured face on account of whom our sorrow is most lasting.

37 The absence of every companion who loved me is a cause of sorrow to me, but my heart is sore because of the death of the one who was dearest to me.

36b. *Tā 1664 san imeall tar éis na líne seo (i lámh eile, b'fhéidir);* 37b. *easbu(?)idh, comhtaigh*

NÓTAÍ

2c. Cé go ndeirtear *ceann dā chineadh* le Muiris anseo, *ceann fine* i líne 19b agus *fear eagair* i líne 20c, níl sé i measc na 'tituladoes' a ainmnítear i ndaonáireamh 1659; féach 'Jno: Conry gent' agus 'Olin Conry gent' i bparóiste Chill Trostáin (Pender 1939: 577).

2d. Caithfidh gurb é an bás, a dhéanann foghail gan féachaint ar an uile dhuine, an *dligheadh dall* anseo.

3ab. Seans gurbh é athair Mhuiris an Brian Óg Ó Maoil Chonaire ar chóipeáil Míchéal Ó Cléirigh ó leabhar de chuid a chlainne (Jennings 1936: 72), ach

d'fhéadfadh seanathair Mhuiris a bheith i gceist freisin, agus féach gurb é Brian Óg a thugann an Dubháltach Mac Fir Bhisigh airsean (Ó Muraíle 2003, iml. 1, 402). Is dócha gurbh é an seanathair an 'Brian O Mulconre, of Clonplocan' a fuair pardún, thart ar 1583, is cosúil (*Fiants* §4240). Fuair sin-seanathair Mhuiris, Maoilín, Ollamh Síil Mhuireadhaigh, bás in 1519 (*Ann. Conn.*), agus fuair a athair siúd arís, Torna, Ollamh Síil Mhuireadhaigh, bás in 1468 (*Ann. Conn.*, agus féach Simms 1980 freisin). Tá a fhios againn ó fhoinsí eile (féach Walsh 1936: 836–7) gur mhac é an Torna sin (d'éag 1468) le Maoilín (d'éag 1441) mac Tanaidhe (d'éag 1385) mhic Pháidín Uí Mhaoil Chonaire.

4b. Anseo agus i línte 17c agus 27b, is dócha go gciallaíonn *Cruachain* Connachta ar fad. Tá Ráth Cruachan ('Rathcroghan') i mbaile fearainn Thobar Ruairí i bparóiste Ail Finn, Co. Ros Comáin (féach Ó Riain *et al.* 2016: 131–5).

4d. Tagairt do Theamhair agus, tríthise, d'Éirinn ar fad is ea teach an trír (féach *eDIL* s.v. *tríar* (a)). Tá sé coitianta leis an mbrí seo san fhilíocht; féach, mar shampla, *IGT* II sampla 1409, *DiD* 93.25d, *ABM* 92.49c. Maidir le cérbh iad an triúr, féach *TD* 9.48 nóta.

5. Féach an chontrárthacht idir an chaoi a moltar Muiris anseo as bheith ar nós cuma liom faoi shaihbheas an tsaoil agus an cáineadh cairdiúil a dhéantar ar a shin-seanathair i bhfógra báis sna hannála: *Maoilin mac Torna h. Maoilconoire ... fer do gheipedh seóid 7 maoíne o gac aon fora sireth, et dobheired-sium úadha co hanoirces an ni fogheiped*, 'Mailin son of Torna O Mailchonaire ... who used to get jewels and treasure from all of whom he sought them, and would illadvisedly give away what he received' (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1519.9).

Tá roinnt mhaith samplaí sa chorpas de *foighéag* (5d) sa chiall 'a small branch. In an appreciative metaphorical sense' (foclóirín *ORP* s.v. *foighég*) ag tagairt do dhaoine; féach, mar shampla, *ag sin foighéug re díol ndámh* (*ORP* 9.4c, 'behold a scion [renowned] for paying poets'); *a fhoighéag as aipche don fhíneamhain*, 'O ripest branch of that vineyard' (*AiD* 19.9c); *foighéag d'fhuigheal chuaine Cuinn*, 'this branch of the remnants of Conn's race' (*AiD* 25.11d); tá sé ag Muiris féin in *a fhoighég chnúais do chlíaraibh* (*ABM* 14.2d, 'O branch fruitful for poet bands'; táim buíoch de Bhrianán Ní Bhuachalla as an tagairt seo).

7b. Chuirfeadh athrú *fhuair* go *do-uair* líon na siollaí sa líne i gceart, mar a dúradh thuas sa réamhrá teanga, ach is dócha go bhfuil bealaí eile ann lena leasú.

7c. Tá blas na n-annála ar an líne seo; féach, mar shampla, *Muirghes mac Paittín uí mhaoilchonaire saoi lé seanchus, 7 lé filidheacht ... décc iar mbreith buadha ó dhemhan 7 ó dhomhan*, 'Maurice, the son of Paidin O'Mulconry, a man learned in history and poetry ... died, after having gained the victory over the Devil and the world' (*AFM* s.a. 1543).

7d. Is é sin, 'is cinnte go rachaidh sé ar neamh', glacaim leis.

8c. Tá brí *dá seasainn* ar anseo soiléir ón gcomhthéacs ach níl agam ach dornán beag samplaí de *seasaidh* ar ó théacsanna eile. Tá an bhrí an-litriúil sa tagairt

seo d'Íosa: *As é an chloch chuainne ar a seasann fundamuint na hEaghluisi go hiomlán* (Ó Súilleabháin 1972, línte 6215–7), aistriúchán ar ‘Lapis inquam angularis, super quem totius stant Ecclesiae fundamenta’ (Ó Súilleabháin 1972, lch 376); tá sí níos gaire don úsáid sa dán seo in *gan seasamh ar seanchas chlaon*, ‘did not rely on perverted versions of history’ (McKenna 1918, 16.65c, sampla a thugtar in *eDIL*, s.v. *sessam* (c)) agus *Mar soin as air sheasuigheas an Sacrament so an peacach do adamhail, & do ghearcán à pheacuidhe go hiomlán* (Stapleton lch 111, ‘Therefore, what this Sacrament depends on is the sinner admitting and condemning (?) his sins utterly’).

9d. Is é ‘it is the true foundation of what every knowledgeable man says’ an tuiscint litriúil ónar tháinig an t-aistriúchán thuas ar an líne seo. Brí eile a d’fhéadfaí a bhaint as an líne, mar a chuir an léitheoir anaithnid ar mo shúile dom, ná ‘he (Muiris) is the true foundation ...’.

13a. D’fhéadfadh sé bheith gur Gearaltaigh a díbríodh ó Cho. Chill Dara (an contae ina bhfuil Mullach Maistean) go ceantar Mhuiris san aistriú go Connachta sna 1650idí atá i gceist anseo; féach, mar shampla, na tailte a sannadh do Phiaras Mac Gearailt (Simington 1970: 244, 270). Chomh maith leis na ceithre dhán do Ghaeil a bhfuilimid cinnte gurbh é Muiris a n-údar (*ABM* 186, *ABM* 402, Mac Cárthaigh 2003, Walsh 1957: 152–5), is dócha gurbh é Muiris an *Muiris mac Briain Óig* (gan sloinne) a chum ceithre dhán do Lúcas Díolmhain (dánta 14, 88, 138 agus 221 in *ABM*); deirtear i bpéire acu sin (féach *ABM* 14.9d agus 88.8a) go bhfuil fuil na nGearaltach i Lúcas, ach ní móide gurb é sin atá i gceist anseo. Fuair sin-seanathair Mhuiris pátrúnacht ó na Gearaltaigh; féach *Maoilin mac Torna h. Maoilconoire ... fer do toghadur Geraltaig et Goill tar ollomnaib Erenn*, ‘Mailin son of Torna O Mailchonaire ... who had been chosen by the Fitz Gerald and the Galls from all the ollavs of Ireland’ (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1519.9).

13c. In áit *an ollaimh*, d’fhéadfaí a *n-ollaimh* a léamh (‘... at their ollav’s death’), mar a rinneadh i líne 12c.

14a. Is ar éigean a bheadh an chiall litriúil ‘ordained, appointed’ (*eDIL* s.v. *oirndide* (a)) le *oirnidhe* anseo chomh deireanach seo sa 17ú haois.

15a. Is é sin, crann taca mhuintir Mhaoil Chonaire, áitritheoirí Chluain Bolcáin ón mbliain 1232 i leith; féach *Maeleoin Bodur h. Maelchonare do gabail Cluana Bolcain in hoc anno*, ‘Maeleoin Bodar (the Deaf) O Mailchonaire took Cluain Bolcain this year’ (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1232.10). Deir Connellan (1958: 323–6) agus Ó Riain *et al.* (2013: 92) gurbh ionann an áit seo agus Baile Uí Mhaoil Chonaire agus gur i bparóiste Chill Trostáin a bhí sí.

16a. Tá *dorcha* sa chiall ‘enigmatic’ coitianta go leor sa chorpas, agus féach ‘Fig. not clear, obscure’ (*eDIL* s.v. *dorchae* I (b)). Níl ach sampla amháin eile agam de *leabhar dorcha* i ndán: *Budh léaghthóir leabhar ndorcha / ag sin cuid dá chomhortha / rug an fithleóir geall an ghrinn / sgribhneóir dob fherr a nÉirinn* (*ABM* 65.6; ag léamh *fighleóir*: ‘He was a reader of difficult books: that is part of what distinguished him; this skilled man was great fun [and] the best writer in

Ireland’). Moltar Muiris mac Torna Uí Mhaoil Chonaire freisin mar scríbhneoir is mar léitheoir: *Sgríbhneoir ná léghthóir dar linn / dob annamh mar é a nÉirinn, / fuair tréidhe gan chruas gcroidhe –/ léire is luas gan lochtuidhe*, ‘For lucidity and faultless speed I think a writer or reader like him was rare in Ireland; he developed qualities without becoming hardhearted’ (Ó Muireadhaigh 1974, rann 14).

16b. Níl aon tagairt eile agam do Ghráinne, máthair Mhuiris.

16c. Bheadh ciall freisin le *frémh don fhoghlum* na LSe, ach (mar a dúradh sa réamhrá) is chun uaim a chur ar fáil atá sé athraithe agam go *frémh dá foghlum*; ní ritheann aon slí eile liom le huaim a sholáthar.

16d. Ba litriúla an t-aistriúchán ‘I will say something that is not a hardship for me’. Is dócha gur don chéad rann eile atá an file ag tagairt sa líne seo.

17d. Is chun líon na siollaí sa líne a cheartú a baineadh go, ó tá gach siolla eile deimhnithe ag comhardadh. An tuiscint a bhainim as an líne ná go bhfuil laochra Chonnacht ina luí san uaigh agus cogaí tar éis a líon a laghdú.

18a. Is ar mhaithe le líon na siollaí a cuireadh [‘s] ar fáil anseo.

20c. Is le go mbeidh ciall leis an leathrann atá *ga* athraithe go *ga[n]* agam sa líne seo; b’fhéidir gur cailleadh n-fhleasc agus an dán á sheachadadh.

23b. Mar a dúradh sa réamhrá teanga, d’fhéadfaí an líne seo a athrú go *a gCluain S[h]eancha ní[or] s[h]eól gann*, ‘were no strangers to Cluain Seancha’, rud ab fheiliúnaí don chomhlhéacs, b’fhéidir. Tá bailte fearainn darb ainm Béarla ‘Cloonshannagh’ i bparóistí Chill Trostáin, Bhuimlinne agus Thearmann Bearaigh (féach Ó Riain *et al.* 2013: 148–9) agus tá ceann eile i bparóiste Chill Mhór (féach www.logainm.ie/ga/43025, a ceadaíodh 31 Iúil 2024) – paróistí atá buailte lena chéile nó an-ghar dá chéile. Is dócha nach baile fearainn ach baile biataigh atá i gceist le Cluain Seancha anseo, ámh. Féach go raibh tailte ag ‘Maurice ô Mulconry’ sa bhliain 1641 i bparóiste Chill Trostáin i mbailte fearainn ‘Coyle Clough’ agus ‘Carrowgarry’, an péire acu sin ‘In Clonshannagh’ (Simington 1949: 74). In ainmlathas an lae inniu, i bparóiste Chill Trostáin, ceanglaíonn baile fearann ‘Corgarrow’ baile fearainn ‘Kilcloghera’ le baile fearainn ‘Cloonshannagh’, iad uile le hais Loch na Bláthaí.

24d. Ceantar i gCo. na Gaillimhe is ea Magh Maoín, ach is dócha go seasann sé do Chúige Chonnacht uile anseo.

25c. Slí amháin le siolla sa bhreis a chur ar fáil sa líne seo (atá ró-gherr) ná *ar [an] chláirsigh* a léamh, ach níl aon athrú déanta agam mar nach féidir bheith cinnte de gurbh é sin a bhí ag an bhfile a chéaduair.

26c. Tá an comhfhocail *rí(gh)fhear* (< *rí* + *fear*) coitianta go leor sa chorpas (féach, mar shampla, ABM 139.3c, 375.22a agus 498.1c) ach is é seo an t-aon sampla atá ar m’eolas ina dtagraíonn sé do Dhia.

26d. Is mar mhacalla ar *dréim re a aithribh* (25b) a thuigim *rígheadh rú* anseo.

27a. Brí eile a d'fhéadfadh a bheith le *aicme* anseo ná 'family' (féach *eDIL* s.v.).

27c. Is ar mhaithe le ciall na líne a cuireadh [a] ar fáil anseo.

28a. Ní bheadh caill ar *fos* anseo in áit *fós*, le haistriúchán ar nós 'May the man receive rest for his soul [and] a share of the glory of heaven ...'.

29a. Is léir gur leis an reilig atá an file ag caint anseo. Ní fheadar go baileach cén áit i gCill Trostáin ar cuireadh Muiris.

33. Níl baile Ail Finn ach cúpla ciliméadar slí soir ó Chluain Seancha agus tá paróistí dlí Ail Finn agus Chill Trostáin teorainn le teorainn lena chéile. De réir Annála Chonnacht, is in Ail Finn a cuireadh sin-sin-seanathair Mhuiris, Torna (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1468.11), a dheartháir siúd, Lochlainn (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1464.17), agus fear eile den teaghlach, Muirgheas (*Ann. Conn.* s.a. 1543.9). Is cosúil nach bhfuil áit a *aithriodh roimhe riamh* (33b) go hiomlán cruinn, áfach, óir is i gCill Bhearaigh a cuireadh athair an Torna sin, Maoilín (a fuair bás in 1441, *AFM*) agus a athairsean arís, Tanaidhe (a d'éag in 1385, *Ann. Conn.*). Deirtear in Annála Chonnacht gur faoi dhídean Dé, Naomh Pádraig agus San Proinsias a cuireadh Lochlainn in Ail Finn, agus miníonn Connellan (1958: 329) gur tagairt é sin d'eaglais Naomh Pádraig, a bhí faoi chúram na bProinsiasach, agus gur léir gur tosaíodh ar bhaill den teaghlach a adhlacadh ansin tar éis do na Proinsiasaigh teacht ann i lár na 15ú haoise. Deir Giblin (1988: 24) gur sa bhliain 1453 a fuair an t-ord seilbh oifigiúil ar eaglais Naomh Pádraig.

34a. I bhfianaise an rainn roimhe seo, glacaim leis gur in Ail Finn a bhí *se[i]pél taoibhgheal Torna*, agus seans freisin gurb é an Torna Ó Maoil Chonaire a cuireadh in Ail Finn in 1468 (féach an nóta roimhe seo) a shamhlaítear leis an séipéal (toisc gur ann a cuireadh é, b'fhéidir, nó toisc gur urraigh sé an séipéal ar chaoi éigin).

34b. De réir Giblin (1988: 24–5), leagadh eaglais Naomh Pádraig agus prióir-eacht na bProinsiasach in Ail Finn roimh an mbliain 1629 agus d'úsáid an t-easpag Protastúnach, Edward King, na clocha le teach cónaithe a thógáil dó féin.

34d. Mar 'great jealousy' atá *oiréd* arna aistriú, ach d'fhéadfaí a thuiscint mar 'fanaticism' freisin.

36c. Ó tharla nach bhfuil aon leid eile sa dán gur bás foréigneach a fuair Muiris, ní mar 'violent death' – an ghnáthbhri (féach *eDIL* s.v. *aided* (a)) – atá *oighidh* aistrithe agam ach mar 'death'.

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EOIN MAC CÁRTHAIGH

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath

TWO SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY LIVES OF ST PATRICK: THEIR SOURCES AND COMPOSITION

ABSTRACT

Two Lives of St Patrick were produced during the effort to preserve Irish hagiographical texts in the wake of the Reformation: the Latin translation of the Middle-Irish Tripartite Life by John Colgan, and an abbreviated reworking of that text copied out by Míchéal Ó Cléirigh. This article identifies the sources of these Lives with new precision, showing that the texts of Patrick's Life circulating in the early seventeenth century were little different from those that survive today. It also addresses how the constituent sources of these Lives were put together, and characterises the interventions their authors made within them.

AT THE CLOSE of the Middle Ages, at least five distinct vernacular Lives of St Patrick were circulating in manuscript. First and foremost was the *Vita Tripartita*, or 'Tripartite Life' ('VT'), a sprawling, three-part omnium-gatherum peppered with occasional bursts of Latin prose.¹ This text survives in two mostly complete witnesses, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 512 ('R') and London, BL, MS Egerton 93 ('E'). Each witness preserves a separate version of the text, characterised by their later additions: R contains several long passages inserted within the text, and hence has been called the 'interpolated' version of the Life, while E has appended a list of Patrick's ordained followers.² In addition to the full Tripartite Life, there were also at least four separate abbreviations and reworkings of this long Life. As described by Ludwig Bieler, they are the *p*-branch texts (surviving in three principal manuscripts, including the Book of Lismore), the *k*-branch texts (two manuscripts), and two further individual witnesses: the Life preserved in the Leabhar Breac (RIA MS 23 P 16 [1230]), and that in RIA MS C iv 3 (1192).³ All of these shorter Lives agree on the broad outlines of Patrick's life and deeds – his birth in Britain, his kidnapping, his escape and later return – but they differ, often substantially, in how they present this narrative, and often draw on sources beside the Tripartite Life.⁴ To all this must also be added the mass of lore and anecdotes circulating

¹Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), *Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick* (Dublin, 1939). All further citations from VT are from this edition by line number unless specified.

²Kathleen Mulchrone, 'Die Abfassungszeit und Überlieferung der Vita Tripartita', *ZCP* 16 (1927), 1–94, at 6–33; Mulchrone, 'The Tripartite Life of Patrick: fragments of Stowe copy found', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 20/3–4 (1943), 129–44, at 131–2.

³Ludwig Bieler, 'Bethu Phátraic: Versuch einer Grundlegung des Verhältnisses der irischen Patriciusviten zu den lateinischen', *Anzeiger der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 111 (1974), 253–73, at 257–8.

⁴See summary table in Mulchrone, 'Abfassungszeit', 8–16.

independently, including Patrick's genealogy and individual miracle tales, and, of course, the Latin tradition.⁵

Such was the situation confronting the Franciscan scholars of Counter-Reformation Ireland as they worked to gather, copy, and export hagiographical narratives from Ireland to Louvain.⁶ Included in their preserved Lives are two separate versions of the Irish Life of Patrick, both amalgams of multiple earlier sources. One is a rather free Latin rendering of the Tripartite Life by John Colgan, published at Louvain in 1647.⁷ The other Life, a form of the shorter Life augmented with passages and readings from VT itself, was copied out by Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, sent to Louvain, and now survives in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale du Belgique (KBR), MS 2324–40, fols 13r–23r (henceforth 'B').

Neither of these two Lives has received much comment; they do, after all, largely reproduce medieval vernacular Lives that survive to this day. As shown below, however, previous efforts to identify the sources used are incomplete. This article thus aims to provide a detailed account of the sources lying behind Colgan and Ó Cléirigh's texts, and investigate how they were brought together. This analysis shows, firstly, that in the early seventeenth century, hagiographers had access to more or less the same vernacular sources for Patrick's Life as we do today. It also shows that the Life in B was certainly contemporary with Mícheál Ó Cléirigh, and that his colleague and distant relative, Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh, may have been its author. Beyond this, it illustrates the working method of seventeenth-century scribes and scholars as they worked through the textual remnants of centuries past, and underlines the mixture of freedom and fidelity with which they approached their sources.

1. THE BRUSSELS LIFE

Mícheál Ó Cléirigh transcribed this Life into Brussels, KBR MS 2324–40 around 1630.⁸ He gives no indication of his source, but does express bemusement (and apparent dismay) with his exemplar, warning the reader not to think the whole Life of Patrick is present:

⁵The main texts of the Latin tradition are discussed recently in Elizabeth Dawson, *Lives and Afterlives: The Hiberno-Latin Patrician Tradition, 650–1100* (Turnhout, 2023), but note that this overlooks many lesser-known works: see e.g. Ludwig Bieler, 'Eine Patricksvita in Gloucester', in J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl (eds), *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern* (Stuttgart, 1971), 346–63. For a helpful (if incomplete) guide to Patrician arcana, see Charles Plummer, *Miscellanea hagiographica hibernica* [...] (Brussels, 1925), 219–22.

⁶Pádraig Ó Riain, 'The Louvain achievement II: hagiography', in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, and John McCafferty (eds), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009), 189–200; Mícheál Mac Craith, '“Beathaíonn na bráithre na briathra”: the Louvain achievement', *Seanchas Ardmhacha* 21/2–22/1 (2007–8), 86–123.

⁷John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae* [...] Acta (Louvain, 1647), 117–88.

⁸The folios containing the Life of Patrick are undated, but colophons in the rest of the manuscript span a range between 1627 and 1635: Pádraig Breatnach, 'KBR MS 2324–40', in *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Irish Language in the Bibliothèque royale de Belgique / Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België* (in progress), Irish Script on Screen (ISOS), DIAS <https://www.isos.dias.ie/RLB/RLB_MS_2324_40.html> (accessed 16 October 2024).

Na tuiccedh, 7 na mesadh aonnduine go bfuil betha Pátruicc go himlan annso óir ní fhuil do réir fhirinne na seinleabhar *acht* cuid don bhethaidh thóisigh ann 7 bíd na trí bethaidhe do gnath a n-aoinleabhar gach áit ina mbí betha *Patruicc* a nEirinn sgriobhta san nGaoidhilg.⁹

‘Let no one suppose nor deem that the Life of Patrick is here in its entirety, for, as the old books attest, there is only a portion of the first Life; and wherever the Life of Patrick is written in Ireland in Irish, the three Lives are usually there in one book.’

To judge by this colophon, Ó Cléirigh was familiar with multiple Lives of Patrick. Apparently, the full Tripartite Life (*na trí bethaidhe*) was the one he most commonly encountered, but that he qualifies his statement with ‘usually’ (*do gnath*) suggests that he may have read some of the abbreviations as well. The Life he copied, however, appears to have been unfamiliar to him. It is largely unfamiliar to modern scholars as well. It survives in no other manuscript. Pádraig Breatnach noted simply that it was a copy of the ‘Shorter Version’ of Patrick’s Irish Life.¹⁰ Ludwig Bieler, in his assessment of the relationships of the many Irish Lives of Patrick, considered it to be a late conflation of a copy of the Tripartite Life and a *p*-branch text.¹¹ Both statements are accurate to a degree, but the situation is rather more complex.

To start, the text of B is reliant on not two but three versions of the Life of Patrick. For the first years of Patrick’s life, from his birth to his servitude under Miliuc maccu Búain (approximately VT 81–206), B is based upon a Life from the *k* branch. This relationship may have been overlooked by Bieler as the sole published *k*-branch text, edited from Dublin, King’s Inns, MS 10 (‘K’), is acephalous, and thus lacks the relevant passages.¹² The other surviving copy, in the Liber Flavus Fergusiorum (Dublin, RIA MS 23 O 48a [476] = ‘F’), contains clear parallels with B’s text. Compare, for instance, the following readings, where ‘L’ is the *p*-branch text from the Book of Lismore (University College Cork, no shelf no.):¹³

B, fol. 13v23–4: do taet *drucht* uisce eiste (‘beads of water come out of it’)¹⁴

F, fol. 29ra34: do thaeth *drucht* uisci *trem*pi

vs

⁹B, fol. 23r22–4. Text based on Pádraig Breatnach, ‘Notula Patriciana’, *Éigse* 27 (1993), 80, compared against MS and Breatnach’s re-edition in ‘KBR MS 2324–40’. My translation.

¹⁰Breatnach, ‘KBR MS 2324–40’.

¹¹Bieler, ‘*Bethu Phátraic*’, 258.

¹²R. I. Best (ed.), ‘Betha Pátraic’, in O. J. Bergin et al. (eds), *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*, vol. 3 (Halle a. S., 1910), 29–42.

¹³All readings from L cited by line numbers from the edition: Whitley Stokes (ed.), *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890).

¹⁴Here and elsewhere, I suppress interlinear glosses in B. All extensions of abbreviations are marked in italics; punctuation and capitalisation are mostly my own.

VT 87: dofuisim husce ('it produces water')

L 50: dofussim uisqui

B, fol. 14v14–15: Patricius, ut¹⁵ est, pater ciuium a papa dicitur
Celestino ('He was called Patricius, that is, "the father of
citizens", by pope Celestinus')

F, fol. 29rb36–7: Patricius .i. i. [sic] pater ciuum [sic] a papa dicitur
Celestinus

vs

VT 205–6: Patricius id est pater ciuium, a papa Celestino ('Patricius,
that is, "the father of citizens", by pope Celestinus')

L 149: Patricius .i. athair na caitherdha, a ainm la Selistinus .i.
comarba Petuir.

As Bieler noted, the rest of the Life is based primarily on a conflated *p*-VT text, though the narrative also draws from other sources. Deciphering exactly where one source stops and another begins is not always possible; all the Lives of Patrick that the compiler used follow the same basic account, and B is often modernised to the point that key differences between the abbreviations and VT are lost.

Moreover, the compiler did not merely switch from one source to the next. Where multiple branches overlap, readings from each often interweave. The scene presented below, in which Patrick returns to Ireland, is a particularly complicated example. Readings from the two main Lives of Patrick used (VT and *p*) are included within the passage, as is a likely reading from *k*. Below, underlining shows where B shares readings with VT, while bold text shows readings in common with *p*; a parallel with *k* (cited here by page and line numbers from Best's edition of K) has a dashed underline:

B, fols 15r32–15v5:

Do rala fris an mac mallachtan cédna tainic re Palladius .i. Náti
mac Garrchon.

Sinell immorro mac Fionnchadha as é ro chreid ar tús d'feruibh
Erenn **do Dhia, & do Patraicc** go **ffarguibh** Patraicc ben-
nachtuin fair féin 7 for a chloinn ina dhiaigh.

Do taod iarumh seach or nErenn soir **go hInis Patraicc**. Is
ann sin táinicc Benén ina mhuinnteras 7 ad bert-somh gomadh
(gomadh) comhorba dhó é iar ttain amhail ro derbadh.

Is ann sin dano ro mhallach Patraicc Inbher nDomhnann 7
Inber nÁinghe ar ni fhuair iasg inntibh. Ro bhennach im-
Inbher mBoinne óir fuair iascc ann.

'There appeared against him the same son of perdition who came
against Palladius, Nathí mac Garrchon.

¹⁵Ó Cléirigh has corrected 'ut' to 'id' in the manuscript.

Sinell mac Finnchada, now, he was the first of the men of Ireland to believe in God and Patrick, so Patrick left a blessing on him and his children after him.

He comes, then, past the coast of Ireland east to Inis Pátraic. There Benén came into his retinue, and he said that he would in time be his heir, as happened.

That was when, moreover, Patrick cursed Inber Domnann and Inber Áinge, because he found no fish in them. He blessed Inber Bóinne, however, because he found fish in it.'

k (K 32.22–3):

Tainic *imorro* Nathi mac Garrchon inna agaid seom ⁊ is he tainic inn-agaid Pallaidi (...)

'Nathí mac Garrchon came against him, and he had come against Palladius ...'

p (RIA MS 24 P 25 [475] = 'Lc', p. 93a11–22):¹⁶

[I]s e tanig a n-agaid Patraic annsin .i. Sinell mac Finnchada uero is e *cet* fer do creid **do Dia ⁊ do Patraic. For facaib didiu bennachtain fair ⁊ for a shil.**

.xl. bliadan on la tanig Patraic a nErinn co laithi a etsectai.

Fo ceird a luing iar sin sech Erinn soir **co hIniss Patraic.** Luid a tir. Arroed aroili fer *for aoghaidect* i suidiu ⁊ creidiss do. Boi dono alaili mac isin toig do bert serc do Patraic *conach caomnacht* sgart[h]ain fris ⁊ is e Beneon gilla Patraic innsin.

Is andsin ro mallach Innber nDomnand ⁊ Innber nAinge ⁊ ro bendach Innber mBoinne ar fuair iasg and.

'This is who came against Patrick there: Sinell mac Finnchada, now, who was the first man who believed in God and Patrick. He [Patrick] left a blessing on him and his descendants.

Forty years from the day Patrick came into Ireland to the day he passed away.

He sent his ship then past Ireland to the east to Inis Pátraic. He went on shore. A certain man took him in there as a guest, and believed in him. Now, there was a certain boy in the house, who loved Patrick, so he could not separate from him, and that is Benén, Patrick's *gilla*.

Then he cursed Inber Domnann and Inber Áinge and he blessed Inber Bóinne because he found fish in it.'

VT (E only), 313–17, 359–64, 368–70:

Tanic uero Nath Í mac Garrchon ana aigid-seom. Ro mallach Pátraic.

Sinell uero mac Findchada, is é toisech ro creit Deo i nHéirinn tria

¹⁶This passage in L 253–71 (the only published version of *p*) has here been conflated with the Life of Patrick in RIA MS C iv 3. See Bieler, '*Bethu Phátraic*', 258.

praecept Patraic. Is aire sin dorat Pátraic bennachtain fair 7 fora
 sil.

[...] [L]uid o immrum soimech sech or nHéirenn sair, co ngab
 i nInbiur Domnand. Ní fuair íasc ann. Dubert maldachtain fair.
 Doluid do Inis Pátraic, 7 docóos uad do Inbiur Ainge. Ní frith ní
 do ann. Dobert dano maldachtain fair, 7 ni toirthiget dib linaib.
 Is ann sin tanic Benén ina munteras. [...] Dixit Pátraic: 'Heres
 regni mei erit.'

Doluid do Inbiur Bóindi. Fófuair íasc ann. Dobert bennachtain
 fair, 7 is toirthech int inber.

'Nathí mac Garrchon came against him, however. Patrick cursed
 him.

Sinell mac Finnochada, now, he was the first to believe in God in
 Ireland through Patrick's preaching. That is why Patrick gave a
 blessing on him and his descendants.

[...] He went east, rowing easily, past the coast of Ireland, until he
 came to Inber Domnann. He found no fish there. He cursed it. He
 came to Inis Pátraic, and sent to Inber Áinge. Nothing was found
 for him there. He cursed it then, and neither is fruitful.

Then Benén came into his retinue [...] Patrick said: "He shall be
 my heir".

He came to Inber Bóinne. He found fish there. He blessed it, and
 the inlet is fruitful.'

In the above passage, the compiler of B has relied on *p* for the underlying structure of the plot, while readings from other branches – predominantly VT – were used to emend or alter the text. VT was used for *sech* or *nEreenn*, 'past the shore of Ireland' (vs *sech Erinn*, 'past Ireland'), while the compiler of B probably relied on *k* to remind the reader that Nathí had previously come against Palladius. This process of carefully choosing and editing passages and phrases from various Lives of Patrick is a consistent feature of the Life in B. In general, the compiler follows one basic text for the plot, and inserts readings and events from other sources within that matrix. A provisional guide to which text served as the substrate in any given section is presented below; note that most sections feature readings from multiple branches, and the breaks between each segment are rarely exact:

No.	Folio/line	Source	Comments	Contents
1.	13v1–11	VT		
2.	13v12–21	NS	<i>Naemshenchus</i> , Version C (see below)	
3.	13v22–25	<i>k</i>		
4.	13v25–28	<i>p?</i>	This miracle also circulated independently (see below)	Patrick's first miracle
5.	13v28–14v16	<i>k</i>		

No.	Folio/line	Source	Comments	Contents
6.	14v16–15r32	VT		
7.	15v1–17r31	<i>p</i>		
8.	17r31–17v3	?	Paralleled in <i>Betha Beraig</i> (see Appendix)	Achad Gréine
9.	17v3–18r26	VT	Often includes details not found in VT.	
10.	18r26–19v22	<i>p</i>	The plot proceeds as in <i>p</i> , but often shares readings with VT.	
11.	19v lower marg.	VT		Bite/Assicus
12.	19v23–20r2	?	Has textual relationship to Ó Domhnaill’s <i>Beatha Choluim Chille</i> (see Appendix)	Áth Carpait for Daoil
13.	20r2 – end	<i>p</i>	Generally closer to <i>p</i> , although numerous readings are closer to VT.	

Table 1: Principal sources for B

Two of these sections, nos. 2 and 11, can tell us a great deal about the nature of Ó Cléirigh’s source; taken together, they show that the compiler was a contemporary of Míchéal Ó Cléirigh, and that Ó Cléirigh’s exemplar may have been a fair copy of the new Life.

No. 11 above (a marginal addition at the bottom of fol. 19v) provides evidence for the latter claim. This passage, derived from two widely separated passages in VT, is inserted near the end of a stretch of text generally dependent on *p*:¹⁷

B fol. 19v, lower marg.:

Luidh Patraicc asidhe go hArd Fothadh a tTir Aodha 7 saidhis clí i nArd Fot[h]adh 7 arabharach ba crom 7 fagbais Bite mac bráthar Aisicus ó Ailfinn ann 7 \do/ rala gurab iad comharbadha Cholaim Chille ro aittrebh fri haimsir ann iarsin.

‘Patrick went from there to Ard Fothad in Tír Aeda and set a post in Ard Fothad and the next day it was crooked and he left Bite, the son of the brother of Assicus from Elphin there, and it happened that the heirs of Colmcille dwelled for a while there after that.’

VT 1730–5:

Luid iar sin itir Ess Ruaid 7 muir hi Crich Conaill, dú itá indíu Ra[i]th Chungai. Sádis clí and 7 asbert robad chongbail 7 cathir dó cum .uiii. episcopis 7 ubi est Bite filius fratris Asici ó Ail Find.

¹⁷Compare e.g. B fol. 19r20 ‘fuarattar uadh an ní chuinghe-si’; Lc p. 99a3–4 ‘ro etsat uad in ni connuige’; VT 1368 ‘atchota[t]sat’.

Is and sin dorairngert di Domnall *macc* Aedo *maicc* Ainmirech
.i. ro sáith-som clí i nArd Fóthaid 7 arabárach ba cromb.

'He went after that between Assaroe and the sea into Crích Chonaill, where Ráth Chungai is today. He set a post there and said that it would be a foundation and community to him with seven bishops, where also is Bite, the son of the brother of Assicus from Ailfinn.

That is when he prophesied Domnall mac Aedo maic Ainmirech: he set a post in Ard Fothaid and the next day it was crooked.'

VT 1088–90:

Attát a thaissi i Ráith Chungai, 7 la Pátraic in chell. Fordosrala muinte *Choluim* Chille 7 Aird Šratha.

'His [viz. Assicus'] relics are in Ráth Chungai, and the church is Patrick's. The people of Colmcille and Ardstraw seized it.'

What has happened here is: 1) the two separate stories told in VT 1730–5, in which Patrick 'set the post' (*sádis clí, ro sáith-som clí*) of two new foundations, have been combined into one single passage in B, such that Bite has been left in Ard Fotha(i)d, and the mention of Domnall mac Aedo has been lost; and 2) the conclusion of a separate passage about Bite, Assicus, and Ailfinn, in which it is noted that Assicus' relics are in Ráth Chungai (VT 1073–90), has been added here, with the assertion in the original (that the church is properly Patrick's, but that the *muinte* of Colmcille and Ardstraw have unjustly taken it over) downplayed: the text now only has Colmcille's successors dwell there for a time.

Notwithstanding these errors of interpretation, this passage shows meticulous attention to the whole of VT. The two passages relevant to Bite and Assicus were extracted and combined from far-flung corners of VT and placed at the equivalent location in the much-reduced narrative taken from *p*.¹⁸ This sort of care in sifting through and selecting passages is characteristic of the work elsewhere in B.

The placement of this passage in the margin, moreover, may indicate that Ó Cléirigh's exemplar was written out by the compiler (or a colleague). On occasion, Ó Cléirigh would reproduce marginal glosses from his exemplar in the margin of his own copy, and it is plausible he did so here as well.¹⁹ If so, he had access to a copy of the text that was still being tweaked and polished by the person (or persons) who had put it together.

Even if Míchéal Ó Cléirigh was not faithfully reproducing a marginal note in passage no. 11, the evidence of passage no. 2 confirms that the compiler of B must have been his contemporary. This section, which gives Patrick's

¹⁸In B, this passage comes after a poem blessing Fergus mac Conaill (= VT 1738–49), whereas in the original Tripartite Life, the second note about Assicus and Bite comes just before it (= VT 1730–7).

¹⁹Compare, for instance, the marginal note in the Life of Mochua in the Book of Leinster, fol. 82r, with that in Brussels, KBR 2324–40, fol. 107v.

genealogy, tracing it back to the Fir Bolg, is extracted from the lengthy poem about various saints and their genealogies, *Naemshenchus Naem nÉrenn*, as the compiler himself indicates: ‘... amhail derbhus an rann san duain ina bfuil senchus naomh na hÉrenn’ (‘as the quatrain in the poem that contains the lore of the saints of Ireland confirms’; B, fol. 13v16). There are three main recensions of this poem surviving in early-modern and medieval manuscripts (titled Versions A, B, and C).²⁰ Version C was the work of Cú Choigríche (‘Peregrine’) Ó Cléirigh (fl. 1630–62),²¹ and his version of the text is the closest to that found in the Brussels Life. Below, Version C and the parallel passage from B are given, with select variant readings from the other two surviving versions of the *Naemshenchus* in the footnotes.²²

Naemshenchus Naem nÉrenn (qq. 11–12):

Do siol an Neimhidh sin tra
Cruithnigh is Brethnaigh buada²³
senathair Gailian nar gann
Fer mBolcc is Tuat De Danann.

As da shiol²⁴ Patraicc ro fes
dlecchar dhín a shaóir-shencus
gen gob do shiol mac Milidh ngle
leis do naomadh ar naoimne.

B, fol. 13v18–21:

Do shiol an Neimidh sin thrá,
Cruithnigh, is Bretnaigh búadha.
senathair Gáilian, nar ghann,
Fher mBolcc is Tuath De Dhanann.

As dá shíol Pattraicc ro fes
dlegar dhínn a sháoirshenchus:
giongub do shíol mhac Miledh ngle
leis do naomhadh ar naoimhne.

²⁰Charles Plummer, ‘A tentative catalogue of Irish hagiography’, in Plummer, *Miscellanea hagiographica hibernica: vitae adhuc ineditae* [...] (Brussels, 1925), 171–283, at 227–9.

²¹Eoin Mac Cárthaigh, ‘Ó Cléirigh, Cú Choigríche (O’Clery, Peregrine)’, in Eoin Kinsella et al. (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, 2009, <<https://doi.org/10.3318/dib.006305.v1>> (accessed 15 October 2024).

²²Paul Grosjean (ed.), ‘Naemshenchus Náemh nÉrenn’, in J. Fraser, Paul Grosjean, and J. G. O’Keeffe (eds), *Irish Texts*, fasc. 3 (London, 1931), 40–80, at 42.

²³MS reading; Grosjean emends to *Cluada*. Compare Version B, in KBR MS 5100–4, fol. 212r21–2: ‘cludha’.

²⁴Compare Version A, in KBR MS 5100–4, fol. 206r21: ‘Da sil sin’.

‘From the seed of that Nemed, then,
 (are the) Picts and excellent Britons.
 (He was) the ancestor of the Gaileoin, no little thing,
 of the Fir Bolg and the Tuatha Dé Danann.

From his seed is Patrick, as is known;
 his noble history is required of us:
 though he was not of the seed of the bright sons of Míl
 by him were sanctified our saints.’

Given the reliance on this version of the *Naemshenchus*, it is possible that the compiler was Cú Choigcríche himself, who, it has been argued, edited other medieval Irish texts in similar ways.²⁵ There is no positive evidence, however, so this identification must remain speculative.

In summary, it appears that the Life of Patrick in Brussels, KBR MS 2324–40 was the product of the early seventeenth century, likely created within the Ó Cléirigh circle, perhaps by Cú Choigcríche Ó Cléirigh. It relies largely on three separate Lives of Patrick, being based, depending on the section, on the Tripartite Life or two of its abbreviations. To this were added a handful of other passages, including an excerpt from the *Naemshenchus* (Version C), as well as the occasional piece of trivia, such as the name of the leper whom Patrick encounters in VT 914–23 (Comlachán, apparently).²⁶

It is possible, moreover, to identify how the versions of VT and *p* used to create B relate to other witnesses of those texts. It is clear that the text of VT available to the compiler was not derived from any now surviving, and may have been superior at points. For instance, in B, the description of what Palladius (the ineffective first missionary to Ireland, according to the Patrician legend) left at Cell Fine includes a ‘chest with the relics of Paul and Peter, and the writing-tablet’ (*comhrair go ttaisibh Póil 7 Pettair 7 an pólaire*: B, fol. 15r26), whereas VT (albeit here represented only by E) replaces *pólaire* with *in clár i scribad*, ‘the tablet onto which he would write’ (VT 296). This has the appearance of a gloss that has displaced the original, perhaps unfamiliar word.²⁷ Where multiple copies survive, moreover, B’s text does not agree consistently with any single witness, although it generally hews closer to E, and the fragments in RIA B iv 1b (1269), part II (= ‘S’):²⁸

²⁵Pádraig Breatnach, ‘The methodology of *seanchas*’, *Éigse* 29 (1996), 1–18; and Pádraig Breatnach, ‘A seventeenth-century abridgement of *Beatha Aodha Ruaidh Uí Dhomhnaill*’, *Éigse* 33 (2002), 77–172. Note, however, Mac Cárthaigh’s reservations (‘Ó Cléirigh, Cú Choigcríche’).

²⁶See B, fol. 18r13. Unnamed in VT, this leper is called ‘Comlach’ in the notes to the Martyrology of Oengus, as printed in Whitley Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick, with Other Documents Relating to that Saint*, 2 vols (London, 1887), ii, 556–7; and Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London, 1905), 204–5.

²⁷A later usage of this word at VT 520 is glossed as a ‘book satchel’, *teig liubair*, in the fragments in Dublin, Trinity College Dublin, MS 1337, pp. 520–8; edited in Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, xlvii–lvii, at li; see too *eDIL* s.v. *pólaire* (*DIL* s.v. *polaire*: O-P col. 194).

²⁸Readings in S cited from Kathleen Mulchrone, ‘The Tripartite Life of Patrick: fragments of Stowe copy found’, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 20/3–4 (1943), 129–44.

<i>tuargbadh as in tioprait</i> B, fol. 17v16	asin E isin R (VT 1068)
Drumae a ainm B, fol. 17v22	i nDrumae E i nDruime R (VT 1221)
espuicc Sochall B, fol. 17v30	S\e/acnull E Sachall R (VT 1243)
At bert an t-aingéal B, fol. 18r8	Ro rádi int aingil fri Pátraic E S <i>om.</i> R (VT 1275)
amhail at bert B, fol. 18r11	ut ipse dicit E ut ipse dixit S <i>om.</i> R (VT 1284)

As for *p*, the text of B is typically closer to the Lismore copy than either of the other independent surviving witnesses of *p*, but it does, on occasion, share a reading with the other texts ('P' is the copy in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds celtiques et basques MS 1):

B, fol. 20v25–6: *rectaire Nais .i. Faillen dono a ainm-séin*
(‘the steward of Naas – Faillén, that is, by name’)

P, fol. 75rb49–50: *rechtaire Nais .i. Faillen*

Lc, p. 100a8–9: *rectaire Nais [...] .i. Faillen*

L 400–1: *rechtuire Náis, Faillén a ainm.*

B, fol. 22v2: *géscca fineamhna* (‘an arm of a vine’)

P, fol. 76va31–2: *gésga fin finemnach*

Lc, p. 102a15: *gesca finemnach*

L 590–1: *gesca finemna*

B, fol. 22v12: *laithe a eitseachta antí naomh Patraicc*

(‘the day of St Patrick’s passing away’)

P, fol. 76va45: *aimsir eitsechta Patraic*

Lc, p. 102a27: *amsir etsecta Patraic*

L 601–2: *laithi a eitsichta inhi noebh Patraic*

But:

B fol. 20v20: *an áit a ndúas é* (‘the place it was eaten’)

P fol. 75rb37: *a bail i nduass*

Lc p. 99b42: *bail a nduass*

L 390: *a bhaile ar’hithed*

As for the *k*-branch text, B is unlikely to have worked directly from F (no comparison with K, given its missing beginning, is possible). In the passages where the compiler was drawing from *k*, B often shares readings with VT against F. Although it is possible that these readings result from careful comparison with the text of VT the compiler had to hand, they are frequent enough that the compiler probably worked from a separate *k*-branch text: in addition to ‘ciuium’ and ‘cium’ in the passage cited above, note, for instance, the following passage, in which B preserves an entire phrase: F, fol. 29b8 ‘... *forsin tenid ro laisaisset ...*’ = B, fol. 14r20–1 ‘... *forsin teine 7 do rad a anáil fó ro lassat ...*’ = VT 131–2 ‘*forsin teinith 7 a ndorat a anáil foí, ro laisaisset ...*’.

In short, it appears that the compiler of B was working with copies of Lives of Patrick that have since been lost, but which were little different from the witnesses surviving today.

2. COLGAN'S *VITA SEPTIMA*

In his hagiographical collection on the 'three wonder-workers' of Ireland, *Triadis thaumaturgae* [...] *acta*, John Colgan identified seven Lives of St Patrick.²⁹ Three of these still go by the numbers Colgan bestowed on them (the so-called *Vitae secunda, tertia*, and *quarta*); the first is better known as Fiacc's Hymn (*Génair Pátraice*), while the fifth and sixth are known by their authors ('Probus' and Jocelin of Furness, respectively).³⁰ The seventh is Colgan's own translation of the Tripartite Life.

In his notes to this translation, Colgan gave a brief overview of his procedures for translating and editing the texts at hand, including an account of his source material and how he used it:

Hanc vitam damus ex tribus peruetustis MS Hibernicis, inter se collatis, desumptam [...]

[O]bseruandum quod tria manuscripta exemplaria iam memorata quorum primum & praecipuum erat descriptum ex vetustis membranis Cle[ri]orum Antiquariorum in Vltonia, secundum ex Deor-aniorum in Lagenia, tertium ex quibus (nescio cocidibus transumptum) in nonnullis ab inuicem discrepabant; vno fusius quae in aliis pressius, & vno latinè, referente quae in aliis Hibernicè referebantur. Nos autem fidem res fusiùs & latinè referentis sequuri [sic; leg. 'sequuti'] sumus. (Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgae*, 169a–b)

'We give this Life from three very ancient Irish manuscripts collated against each other [...]

It should be noted that the three aforementioned exemplars – the first and foremost of which was written out from the ancient parchments of the Uí Chléirigh antiquaries in Ulster, the second from those of the Uí Dheoradháin in Leinster, the third taken from certain books (I know not which) – differ considerably from one another: one is longer where the others are shorter, and one recounting in Latin what is recounted in Irish in the others. We have, however, followed the testimony of the longer and more Latinate account.'

There have been few attempts to identify these manuscripts. Whitley Stokes, the first modern editor of the Tripartite Life, wrote that '[o]f Colgan's three MSS. none are known to exist'.³¹ Kathleen Mulchrone, the subsequent editor,

²⁹Colgan, *Triadis thaumaturgae*, 1–188.

³⁰See Dawson, *Lives and Afterlives*; Ludwig Bieler, *Four Latin Lives of St. Patrick: Colgan's Vita secunda, quarta, tertia, and quinta* (Dublin, 1971); Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage, and Ecclesiastical Politics* (York, 2010), 25–57.

³¹Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, x–xiii (quotation on x).

was more optimistic. Her identification of Colgan's sources relied on her reconstruction of the text's transmission. She categorised the surviving manuscript witnesses (including fragments) into two branches, one headed by E, and the other by R.³² As noted above, the principal difference between these witnesses is additional passages found in one but not the other: R contains several interpolations, including a scene in which Patrick prophesies the future saints Finnian, Colmcille, and Comgall, while E appends a list of twenty-four people *i nn-úrd la Pátraic* (i.e., his ordained followers, or perhaps those ordained by him) to the end of the Life.³³ Mulchrone claimed that the division between the textual tradition of those manuscripts went back to before 936, as the list in E includes reference to a bishop of Armagh who died in that year.³⁴ Moreover, since the interpolations in R and the list of the twenty-four members in E are both present in Colgan's text, Mulchrone concluded that Colgan must have used both R and E for his translation.³⁵ As for the third text that Colgan used, Mulchrone suggested that it came from the *p* branch of the shorter Lives, as many of the passages not traceable in VT are present there.³⁶ Summarising her work, she wrote,

The present writer has already pointed out that Colgan's three originals included a manuscript of the uninterpolated version, very probably that known as Egerton 93 today, and a manuscript of the *p*-version of the short recension [...]. His third manuscript original was a copy of the interpolated version, and may now be assumed to be the copy known to us as Rawlinson B 512. There is no evidence in support of the claim that Colgan's originals are not now extant; the immediate transcripts from which he worked are, however, no longer in existence.³⁷

While true in its essentials – there is little in Colgan not found in other sources – Mulchrone's analysis misidentifies the texts that Colgan used.

There are two reasons to believe this is so even before considering the precise readings of Colgan's text. Firstly, subsequent research into the language and composition of the Tripartite Life strongly suggests that Mulchrone's depiction of the textual tradition is incorrect. Kenneth Jackson argued that the Tripartite Life had not reached its current form until the eleventh century, and thus the split between the branches must have happened well after the death of Joseph of Armagh in 936.³⁸ Furthermore, Colgan was explicit that one Life

³²See above, n. 2.

³³Interpolation in R at VT 590–600; list of twenty-four at VT 3122–46. For the meaning of *urd* here, see *eDIL* s.v. 1 *ord(d)* (= *DIL* O-P cols 154–5). The list also circulated independently; see e.g. Dublin, RIA MS D ii 1 (Book of Uí Mhaine), fol. 53ra; and Dublin, RIA MS 23 P 16 (an Leabhar Breac), p. 220b.

³⁴Mulchrone, 'Abfassungszeit', 5.

³⁵Colgan's version of the prophecy of the saints is at p. 127b (§1.65); the list of twenty-four people is found, unlike E's, in the body of the Life on p. 167a (§3.98).

³⁶Mulchrone, 'Abfassungszeit', 1–2 n. 3.

³⁷Kathleen Mulchrone, 'The Tripartite Life of Patrick: lost fragment discovered', *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 20/1–2 (1940), 39–53, at 39 n. 1.

³⁸Kenneth Jackson, 'The date of the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick', *ZCP* 41 (1986), 5–45.

was long, and two were short, and there is no reason to mistrust him when he says that he used a single long Life; as shown below, he was truthful when it comes to the short Lives that he used.

An explanation is still required, however, for how elements of both R and E came to be in Colgan's long Life. Two possibilities suggest themselves. The first is that the list in E – an appendix – was in fact a feature of the shared archetype, and was only lost in an ancestor of R at a relatively late date. Alternatively, it is possible that Colgan was working with a conflated copy of the Tripartite Life. As Colgan noted, his long Life came from the Uí Chléirigh. As Míchéal Ó Cléirigh's familiarity with multiple copies of the Tripartite Life would indicate, that family appears to have had access to many Lives of Patrick, and they may well have created a version that included passages from multiple witnesses.

In any case, it is clear that Colgan had access to a text of the Tripartite Life that was different from those now existing. This point was already made by Stokes in his initial edition.³⁹ The subsequent discovery of the fragments in S has underlined that at least some of the variants in Colgan's translation cannot be the result of him adapting the text to his own Latin style. The fragments in S are often closer to Colgan's Life than R, as in the following Latin phrases:

Sedentibus, id est, quia erant stabiles et immobiles in malo (S 134)⁴⁰

Sedentibus: quia erant stabiles, immobiles in malo (Colgan, p. 117a)

Sedentibus, id est, stabiles quia erant et immobiles in malo

(VT 39–40: R only)

'“Sitting”, that is, because they were settled and unmoving in evil.'

Vos estis lux huius [mundi]. Christus ergo uera lux est quae illuminat omnem hominem (S 134)

Vos estis lux mundi. Et Christus ergò vera lux est, qui illuminat omnem hominem (Colg. 117b)

Vos estis omnem hominem (VT 59–60: R only)

'You are the light of this world. Christ, therefore, is the true light that enlightens everyone.'

(E is unfortunately difficult to compare, as it lacks the opening homily, which contains the most concentrated stretches of Latin prose preserved in S). S may be closer in places to Colgan's text, but it (or a copy) is unlikely to have been Colgan's Uí Chléirigh source: several of the variants Stokes noted in Colgan's Latin are absent in what remains of S as well.⁴¹

The other two Lives that Colgan used can also be identified. One was B itself. We know that Colgan had access to this manuscript; he wrote notes in

³⁹Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, x.

⁴⁰For a ninth-century parallel to this Latin passage, cf. Jean Rittmueller (ed.), *Liber questionum in Evangeliiis*, CCSL 108F: *Scriptores Celtigenae* 5 (Turnhout, 2003), ad Matt. 4:16, pp. 81–2 (ll. 16–26): 'SEDENTIBUS. Quia stabiles erant in malo'.

⁴¹Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, x–xi. Note e.g. S 134 'Nox (enim) erat in mundo' vs Colgan, p. 117b, 'Non enim erat lux in mundo'.

it.⁴² There are also numerous points where Colgan's Latin text shares unique readings with B. One clear example is the account of Patrick's first miracle. This was a self-contained anecdote found in the *p*-branch and also independently.⁴³ Of these, the closest match to Colgan's Latin translation is the text in B:

Colgan, p. 117a–b:

Quando enim mater sanctum puerum in vtero gestabat, filius Regis Britonum cum vxore venit ad ejus domum ... Hoc fuit primum, sed non praecipuum, prodigiorum hujus sancti viri.

'When his mother was carrying the holy child in her womb, the son of the king of the Britons came with his wife to her home ... This was the first, but not the foremost, of the miracles of this holy man.'

B, fol. 13v25–6, 28:

An tan buí halac[h]t a *mhathair* fair-siumh do eccaímh mac rígh Bretan airm a mbáoi ... Ced-*fhiort* Pattraicc annsin.

'When his mother was pregnant with him [Patrick], the son of the king of the Britons came to where she was ... That was Patrick's first miracle.'

L 52–3:

Ceitfhirt Patraic inso ⁊ a mbroinn a mháthar doroinne .i. mac rígh Breatan tainic co hairm i mbui in ben ...

'This is Patrick's first miracle and he did it in his mother's womb: the son of the king of the Britons came to where the woman was ...'

In both Colgan and B, the statement about the 'first miracle' comes at the end, whereas L places it first. In the same passage, the name of Patrick's mother also supports a link between Colgan's text and B: while she is called 'Conbais' in the independent Egerton version, and 'Cochmais' in *p* (L 54), she is named 'Conchess' in B (fol. 13v21), and 'Conchessa' in Colgan (p. 117).

A second example comes in Patrick's first arrival in Ireland, already discussed above:

B, fol. 15r32:

Do rala fris **an mac mallachtan cédna tainic re Palladius .i. Nát[h]i mac Garrchon**

'There came to him the same son of perdition that came to Palladius, that is, Nathí mac Garrchon.'

Colgan, p. 123b:

Idem enim iniquus Comes, id est Nathi, qui S. Palladio ante resistebat, Beati Patricij, postea doctrinae contradicebat.

⁴² E.g. on fol. 106v: Breatnach, '2324–40'.

⁴³ As in BL Egerton 93, fol. 19a (ed. in Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, xlvj).

‘The same wicked chieftain, that is, Nathí, who had previously stood against St Palladius, later gainsaid the teaching of St Patrick.’

As noted above, B here likely took its reading from *k*, albeit rewording it somewhat. If so, Colgan must have taken this passage from B: note, for instance, that the word ‘same’ (*cédna*, *idem*) is not present in *k*’s version (cited above).

Regarding the final Life, Mulchrone argued that Colgan had access to a *p*-branch text.⁴⁴ This does not withstand further scrutiny. Of the three passages provided as evidence by Mulchrone, the first is Patrick’s ‘first miracle’, which, as discussed above, is also found in B. The second passage details another of Patrick’s childhood miracles, in which he revives another young child from death; the third tells the story of a failed ruse meant to paint Patrick as a fraud. Neither of these are in B. Both, however, are found in the Life of Patrick in the Leabhar Breac (‘Lb’).⁴⁵

There is little to distinguish the versions of the second passage in *p* and Lb, but the third passage shows Colgan must have had a text close to Lb to hand. In that passage, Loegaire mac Néill, the pagan King of Tara, hatches a devious plan. He convinces one of his followers, Crundmael, to feign death, so Patrick would come and heal him. Then, when Patrick called upon the power of God, Crundmael would remain ‘dead’, making it seem as if Patrick, and thus his God, had no real power. Patrick sees through the ruse, and with a curse he ensures the follower’s feigned death becomes real. Given below are three versions, first from *p* (here, Lc, as L’s text is lacunose), then from Lb, and finally from Colgan:

Lc, pp. 94b39–97a4

Is annsin at bert Laogaire fria a gilla .i. Crundmaol a ainm, ‘Eirg amach’, ar se, ‘ar clochrod na Temra 7 coimlet h’aoss cumt[h]a fuil dot’ cend, 7 abrad is tuitim do ronais for na clochaib conid marb de, 7 at ber-sa frisin clerech techt dot’ dusgad’, 7 do rigned amlaid sin. O’t cuass didiu (didiu) [sic] do Patraic an sgel sin, atracht dia toduscad. O’t connairc Patraic in corp, ro foillsig Dia do conid breg do radad uime, conid and sin ro guid an Comde co nach ereochad in gilla do gres, 7 ro comuilled amlaid tre escone Patraic.

‘Then Loegaire said to his *gilla*, Crundmael, “Go out”, he said, “onto the stone road⁴⁶ (?) of Tara, and have your companions rub blood on your head, and have them say that you fell on the stones and died of it, and I will say to the cleric to go revive you”, and

⁴⁴Mulchrone, ‘Abfassungszeit’, 1 n. 3 (citing Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, xi–xii).

⁴⁵Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of Saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba* (Calcutta: Private press, 1877), 8, 24, respectively. All citations from this source are given from the version on CELT, which introduces normalised spacing: Whitley Stokes (ed.), ‘Betha Phátraic’, compiled by Beatrix Färber, Elva Johnston, and Ruth Murphy, *Corpus of Electronic Texts*, 2012, <celt.ucc.ie/published/G201009/> (accessed 16 October 2024).

⁴⁶The other independent surviving MS of *p*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds celtiques et basques MS 1, fol. 74ra30, reads ‘clocrat’, but cf. *eDIL* s.v. ? *clochrad* (= *DIL* C col. 250).

so it was done. Now, when Patrick was told that story, he got up to revive him. When Patrick saw the body, God revealed to him that he had been lied to, so he then prayed to the Lord that the *gilla* would never rise again, and it so happened through Patrick's curse.'

Lb, p. 24:

IS andsin at-bert in rig fria gilla .i. fri Crund Mael: 'Eirg immach for clochán na Temrach & not-léic féin fair & coimlet toes cumasctha [cumtha MS] fuil imot chend & abrat is tutim do-rochar forsna clochaib co n-erbaltais & at-bér-sa frisin clerech techt dot todúscad & ci at-béra-som frit-sa ergi na h-erig.' Do-rónad ámlaid. O't-connaire tra Patraic in corp ro follsig Dia dó co robréc tuccadimme conid aire sin at-bert-som:

A mo Chrund Mael, A mo gill mael, A mo gerat,
ge ro thiacht ní cen co ro-siacht, ní rot-éracht,
ge do-rochar, cen co torchar forsna clocha comul cricha
ge rot-siacht ní cen co tiacht, ní rot-ichthar.

IS derb dino nocho r' h-íccad la brethir Patraic Crund Mael & ni eracht itir o sin ille.

'Then the king said to his *gilla* (that is, to Crundmael), "Go out onto the stone causeway (*clochán*) of Tara and lay yourself down on it and have your companions rub blood around your head, and have them say you fell on the stones and died, and I will say to the cleric to go revive you, and even if he says to get up, do not get up". So it was done. When Patrick saw the body, God revealed to him that he had been deceived, so he said:

"My Crundmael, my ... , my hero,
Though something came, though it did not arrive, you did not get up,
Though you fell, though you did not fall, upon the stones – a compact ...
Though something reached you, though it did not come, may you not be healed."

It is clear, therefore, that Crundmael was not healed by Patrick's word, and he never got up again.⁴⁷

⁴⁷The translation is approximate; my thanks to Greg Toner for assistance here (any errors of interpretation are, of course, my own). Difficult points include 1) the word 'gill' in line 1 (nonce shortening of 'gilla'? Vocative form of 'gell'?); 2) the verbal forms in ll. 2 and 4, which may be corrupt ('rot-siacht' would sound nearly identical to 'ro tiacht', itself an unclear form, perhaps related to 'do icc' or 'téit'); 3) the cheville in l. 3 (? leg. 'crichtha', either the gen. sg. of the verbal noun or rather the past participle of 'críchaid'); 4) the otherwise unattested (to my knowledge) pronunciation of 'íccaid' as 'ich-', apparently guaranteed by rhyme. Then there is the metre: apparently 12² 12² 16² 12², but which may be best thought of as accentual, composed of three to four four-syllable segments per line, with the stress in each on the third syllable.

Colgan, p. 128b:

Iussit enim vt post transacta omnia jam memorata, vnus è seruis nomine *Erra maelus*, ad publicam vrbis plateam se conferat, faciem liniat sanguine, super plateam se prosternat, mortemque simulet; & casu quo S. Patricius se rogante superueniat, eum excitaturus; nullatenus indicet se viuum vel à mortuis resurrexisse. Erra maelus, reuera erro malus, assentit Regis iniquae inuentioni, sed ad suam perniciem. Re, vt excogitata, in effectum deducta, à Rege malignè rogatus superuenit Patricius; & dum jacentem aspiceret, rei que compositam fraudem, fictionem & indignitatem, à Domino revelante in spiritu admonitus edisceret, dixit; O Erro maele, sive verè, sive fictè laesus sis, non recipies medicinam: sive verè, sive fictè laesus sis, indè non resurges. Quod veridicum oraculum certissimus rei probavit eventus: nam Erra maelus, quam satis perversè simulavit se, tam satis aduersè obiisse inventus est mortem.

‘After everything just related had happened, he [Loegaire] ordered one of his servants, named Erramael, to take himself to the public plaza of the city, cover his face with blood, lay himself upon the plaza, and feign death; and if St Patrick were to come over at his request to revive him, he was not to show that he was alive, or had been revived from death. Erramael – really *Erro-malus* [‘Wicked, I wander’] – agreed to the wicked contrivance of the king, but to his own detriment. The thing was done as devised: Patrick, wickedly beseeched by the king, came over, and when he saw the man lying down, he ascertained, being warned in his spirit by the Lord, that it was a fraud, a fiction, and a mockery, and said,

“O Erromaël, whether truly, whether falsely you be wounded,
you will receive no cure:

Whether truly, whether falsely you be wounded

You will not get up from there.”

The ultimate outcome of the matter proved this to be a truthful prophecy: for with as much wickedness as Erramael feigned his death, with equal misfortune was he found to have perished.’

Both Lb and Colgan, unlike *p*, report Loegaire ordering Crundmael (or Erramael) to lie down upon the stones (*not-léic féin fair; se prosternat*); each also includes the curse that Patrick recites. A few elements are different in Colgan’s formulation, but I would suggest that these changes are Colgan’s own doing. Colgan’s rendition of the curse appears to be a loose paraphrase of a difficult piece of verse, while the difference between ‘Crundmael’ and ‘Erramael’ may be the result of Colgan wishing to create a Latin pun. It is possible, of course, that Colgan was here following a source with different readings from Lb. Even so, such a text would have been closer to Lb than to any surviving version of *p*.

Further evidence that Colgan must have drawn from a text similar to Lb comes in a third scene, not noted by Mulchrone or Stokes, in which Patrick causes the earth to swallow a druid:

Dum die quâdam Saballi commoratus, vir Dei diuinis mysteriis celebrandis operam daret, Magus quidam, *Mantes* nomine, nefanda maligni spiritus suggestionem instigatus, baculo, quem manu tenebat, per fenestram extenso calicem tetigit & euertit. Sed tam immanis sceleris punitio haud diu dilata. Magus enim illicò à terrâ dehiscente, & immani hiatu ipsum deglutiente coram populo adstante, & Dei magnalia in talibus prodigijs extollente, absorptus est. Et hinc illud inter Hibernos vulgare exortum est prouerbium. *Ní fiú a maoin Mantes*. (Colgan, p. 124b)

‘One day, when the man of God [Patrick] was celebrating the divine mysteries while at Saul, a certain druid named ‘Mantes’, spurred on by the wicked suggestion of an evil spirit, stretched a staff he held in his hand through a window, and struck and upturned the chalice. But the punishment for such an enormous crime was not long delayed: for at once the earth yawned open, and before the people present (who exalted the mighty works of God in such marvels) he was swallowed up, consumed in its enormous chasm. And hence the proverb came about among the Irish, *Ní fiú a mhaoin Mantes* (‘Mantes is not worth his wealth’ [?]).’

This precise scene is not present in any surviving copy of the full Tripartite Life (though a similar account is at VT 369–71). Nor is it present – not exactly, at least – in any other Life of Patrick. Rather, it appears to be Colgan’s own confection, cobbled together from B and a text much like Lb:

B, fol. 15v13–15:

Feachtus do Pattraicc occ aifrionn isin tSabhall, luidh draoi seach an ecclais ⁊ cuiridh a eachlaiscc tresan sinistir isin choileach aifrinn co ro dhóirt an coileach. Sluiccidh an talamh fochedóir an drai.

‘Once Patrick was in Saul performing Mass. A druid went by the church, and put his horse-switch through the window of the church into the chalice so the chalice spilled. The earth swallows the druid at once.’

Lb, p. 22:

Is andsin ro écnaig aroli drui éccraibtech .i. Mántais a ainm do Patraic. Fergaither Patraic fris. & do-beir amus do bachaill Ísu fair co torchair i fiadnaise na slóg & co ro sluic talum h-e, conid de-sin ata: Noconuil amáin Mántais.

Then a certain unbelieving druid named Mántais reviled Patrick. Patrick became angry at him, and attacked him with the Staff of

Jesus, and so he fell in front of the people and the earth swallowed him, and from that comes (the saying), ‘Mántais alone is no more’ (?).

Key elements of both accounts appear in Colgan’s retelling. Both the name of the druid and the proverb are recognisable in Lb (albeit in slightly different forms), while the open window through which the druid spills the Mass chalice is found only in B. What appears to have happened is that Colgan, seeing certain similarities between the two episodes, combined them into a single passage.

In summary, it appears that Colgan had access, as he claimed, to three Irish Lives. The long Life, once in the possession of the Uí Chléirigh, no longer survives; it combined features of the two surviving full texts of the Tripartite Life. The two shorter Lives he used can be identified as: 1) a Life related to the text preserved in the Leabhar Breac; and 2) the Life of Patrick in Brussels, KBR MS 2324–40.

Colgan may have been forthright about his Irish sources, but in addition to those three Lives, Colgan’s translation also bears the traces of a Life of Patrick he did not cite: the Latin Life by Jocelin of Furness, the twelfth-century hagiographer. There are many passages where Jocelin’s Life and the Tripartite Life overlap, and so Colgan frequently drew on Jocelin’s inimitable prose to structure his own *Vita septima*. Here, for instance, is Jocelin’s version of the druid-swallowing episode discussed above (reproduced from Colgan’s edition in *Trias Thaumaturga*; my translation):

Quadam die cùm in eadem Ecclesiâ almificus Antistes Patricius astaret altari, diuina mysteria agens, quidam maleficus filius perditionis, satelles sathanæ, accessu ausuque execrabili foris stans per fenestram cum virgâ calicem euertit, & sacrosancta sacrificia sacrilegus super altare effudit. Dominus autem scelus tam horribile in instanti terribiliter vindicauit, hominemque nefarium, nouo, imò innouato modo è medio tulit. Repente enim terra terribili hiatu aperiens os suum, sicut quondam Dathan & Abiron, deglutiuit magum illum, descenditque viuus vsque ad infernum. (Jocelin, p. 72a)

‘One day, when the almsgiving bishop Patrick stood by the altar in the same church, performing the divine mysteries, a certain evildoing son of perdition, a servant of Satan, drew near with detestable daring, and, standing outside, through the window upturned the chalice with a staff, and sacrilegiously spilled the sacrosanct sacrifice upon the altar. However, the Lord in an instant terribly avenged such a horrible crime, and caused the wicked man to disappear in a new – nay, renewed – manner: for suddenly the earth, opening its mouth in a terrible chasm, swallowed that druid like Dathan and Abiron of old, and he descended, living, unto Hell.’

In general, Colgan disguises his borrowings well (his text was given previously). Compare, for instance, Colgan's *Sed tam immanis sceleris punitio haud diu dilata* with Jocelin's *Dominus autem scelus tam horribile in instanti terribiliter vindicauit*: much the same ideas, sometimes the same words, but with the syntax rearranged. Still, a few close matches do sneak through, as when Jocelin's *terribili hiatu ... deglutiuit magum illum* becomes Colgan's *immani hiatu ipsum deglutiente*.

Looking at Colgan's text as a whole, his borrowings from Jocelin fall into two main camps. One is where Colgan leans on Jocelin, as above, for vocabulary and phrases to translate the Irish.⁴⁸ The other, more substantial changes come when Jocelin provides an explanation (sometimes rather tongue-in-cheek) for an action left otherwise unjustified in the original. For instance, in VT, there is a story about how bishop Assicus fled his foundation, only to be tracked down by his monks after seven years (VT 1080–90). Why he did so is not stated. Jocelin, however, explains that Assicus fled after he lied a single time, a failing he found so odious that it drove him to distraction. Colgan follows Jocelin in this, and in near-identical language: compare *Hic quâdam vice, dum verum assertiuè dicere debuit...* ('Once, when he ought to have spoken the truth forthrightly ...' Jocelin, p. 89b) vs *Hic ... dum quâdam vice verum dicere deberet ...* ('Once, when he should have spoken the truth ...' Colgan, p. 135a).⁴⁹ Perhaps because Jocelin's Life was in Latin, not Irish, Colgan did not allude to his reliance on it in his notes. Clearly, however, he was happy to draw on it in his translation: sometimes for sheer convenience, it seems, and sometimes because it appeared to preserve useful additional information.

CONCLUSION

The discussion above has established the main texts relied upon by John Colgan and the anonymous compiler of B (perhaps Cú Choigríche Ó Cléirigh) in creating their respective versions of the Life of St Patrick. It is possible, as I have shown, to trace most of the variants present in either text to a particular version of Patrick's Life, although the exact witnesses used rarely survive. This is, in a way, rather reassuring: what was available to a dedicated team of researchers in the early seventeenth century remains mostly available to us.

These texts also shed light on how those researchers handled the materials passed down to them. When multiple versions were to hand, scribes and scholars in the seventeenth century could be quite free in reshaping the text that they passed on. This is not to say that they were unconcerned with fidelity to the textual records before them; rather, it is clear that they conceived of 'fidelity' differently from the modern academic. Colgan wrote as a scholar,

⁴⁸E.g. *in condenso nemore* (Jocelin, p. 95b) vs *in condenso spinarum nemore* (Colgan, p. 151a) (= VT 2134: *i mmuiniu draigin*).

⁴⁹For another example, compare *Sanctus verò, quod illi daret ad manum non habens, erubuit* (Jocelin, p. 82a [misprinted as '92a']) vs *Vir autem Dei ad manum non habens, quam garrulis hystrionibus daret escam, erubuit* (Colgan, p. 157b), both explaining why Patrick cursed some importunate entertainers. This explanation is not present in the parallel episode in VT (2379–406).

presenting a composite account of Patrick's Irish Life for his Continental Catholic readers. Pursuant to this goal, he described his Irish source material in detail, even as he did not mention his reliance on Jocelin's earlier Latin translation. The compiler of B was very attentive to his source material, but he sometimes misunderstood those texts, already centuries old. Thus, where we have only a seventeenth-century echo of earlier hagiographical material, we can trust that the scribes and compilers were not engaging in wholesale reinvention. Any given passage, however, may stem from multiple sources melded together, or a misunderstanding of earlier language. These late texts can be trusted, in short, to transmit the gist of earlier sources, but are perhaps faulty or misleading in detail: or, to paraphrase Míchéal Ó Cléirigh, 'Ná tuigeadh agus ná measadh aoinne go bhfuil na foinsí go hiomlán anseo': let no one suppose nor deem that the sources are here in their entirety.

APPENDIX

The following two passages in B are not otherwise found in Patrician hagiography. The anecdote about Colmcille (1) is paralleled in Maghnus Ó Domhnaill's *Betha Colaím Chille*. These two accounts are closely related, but are still separate enough that it is unlikely that B is directly derived from Ó Domhnaill's text (B, for instance, has the axle break precisely three times, while this is unspecified in *Betha Colaím Chille*).⁵⁰ The other passage (2), about the founding of Achad Gréine, shares a loose parallel with an extended scene in *Betha Beraig*, the Life of St Berach.⁵¹ Here, there is no clear sign of textual dependence in either direction, but the principal characters and general gist of the account are the same, and I have not encountered it elsewhere.

1. *Áth an Charbaid ar Daoil*

B, fols 19v23–20r1:

Iarsin ro bhennach Patraicc Cinel cConaill roime gusan abhainn re n-abart[h]ar an Daol, ⁊ ro bhris cuing charpaitt Pattraicc annsin. Tánicc Patraicc uero as an ccarpat ⁊ ro fháoidh duine dia muinntir for fíodh do chuinghe adhbair chuinge. Cidh trácht ro bhris cong an charpait fo thrí. As annsin as bert Pátraicc, 'Ní regann an tír-si \a leas/ a bhennughadh, óir geinfidher mac innte fein ⁊ bídh Coluim [sic] Cille a ainm, ⁊ as dó atá a ndán an tír-si do (do) bhennughadh'. Áth Carpait for Dáoil ainm an átha agá r'airis Pátraicc an tan sin.

⁵⁰ Andrew O'Kelleher and Gertrude Schoepperle (eds and trans), *Betha Colaím Chille: Life of Columcille* (Urbana, IL, 1918), 12–14. Note also the related account in Kuno Meyer (ed.), 'Mitteilungen aus irischen Handschriften', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 10 (1915), 338–48, at 340–1. A different prophecy by Patrick of Colmcille at a different 'Áth Carpait' (near Mag Luirg) is at VT 1655–63; the anonymous reviewer has also drawn my attention to the short passage in which a chariot yoke breaks three times at VT 2280–5.

⁵¹ Charles Plummer (ed.), 'Betha Beraig', *Bethada Náem nÉirenn*, vol. 1, 22–42, at 24.

‘After that Patrick blessed Cenél Conaill before him up to the river called the Daol, and the yoke of Patrick’s chariot broke there. Patrick came, then, out of the chariot, and he sent one of his retinue out into a wood to seek material for a yoke. However, the chariot’s yoke broke three times. Patrick said then, “This land needs no blessing, for a boy will be born in it, and Colmcille will be his name, and to him will fall the blessing of this land”. Áth Carpait for Daoil, ‘the Ford of the Chariot on the Daol’, is the name of the ford where Patrick stayed that time.’

2. *Achad Gréine*

B, fol. 17r30–v3:

Do chuaidh Patraicc iarsin go hAchadh nGreine go ro bhennach Dobhtha mac Aongusa gona c[h]loinn 7 at bert nách biadh clann Dobhtha gan maoin acht an céin bhis caora gan olainn & ro thaitin grian go mor isin ionad sin go maidin gonadh de aderar Achad nGreine [sic] de.

‘Patrick went then to Achad Gréine and blessed Dobtha mac Aongusa and his family, and he said that Dobtha’s descendants would lack riches only when sheep lacked wool, and the sun shone strongly there until morning, and that is why it is called Achad Gréine, “the Field of the Sun”’.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

B	Brussels, KBR, MS 2324–40
E	London, BL, MS Egerton 93
F	Dublin, RIA MS 23 O 48a (Liber Flavus Fergusiorum) (476)
K	Dublin, King’s Inns, MS 10
KBR	Bibliothèque royale du Belgique/Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België
L	Cork, University College Cork, Book of Lismore, cited from Whitley Stokes (ed.), <i>Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore</i> (Oxford, 1890)
Lb	Dublin, RIA MS 23 P 16 (An Leabhar Breac) (1230), cited from Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), <i>Three Middle-Irish Homilies on the Lives of Saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba</i> (Calcutta, 1877), as given in the normalised version on CELT: Whitley Stokes (ed.), ‘Betha Phátraic’, compiled by Beatrix Färber, Elva Johnston, and Ruth Murphy, <i>Corpus of Electronic Texts</i> , 2012, <celt.ucc.ie/published/G201009/> (accessed 16 October 2024).
Lc	Dublin, RIA MS 24 P 25 (Leabhar Chlainne Suibhne) (475)
P	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds celtique et basques MS 1
R	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B 512
S	Dublin, RIA MS B iv 1b, part II (1269)
VT	Kathleen Mulchrone (ed.), <i>Bethu Phátraic: The Tripartite Life of Patrick</i> (Dublin, 1939)

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IRISH WORDS AND PHRASES NOTED IN
MASSBROOK UPPER, CO. MAYO, IN THE 1960s

ABSTRACT

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the Irish language faded out rapidly in Central Mayo between the towns of Ballina and Castlebar, and there are few records of the survival of Irish vocabulary in the English speech of this area. In this article I list and discuss Irish words and phrases noted down in the 1960s in the townland of Massbrook Upper, near Bofeenaun, Co. Mayo. Many of these refer to plants and animals, and some are rare or otherwise unattested. It is also worth recording the survival in Massbrook of lore relating to the *riabhach*-days 'three days of bad weather in early April', the *pruthóg* 'outdoor cooking of eggs to celebrate Easter', and *gealach na gcoinlín* 'the harvest moon'.

WHILE A STUDENT of Early and Modern Irish at Trinity College Dublin in the 1960s, I noted down some Irish words and phrases used in speech in a number of households in the townland of Massbrook Upper, near Bofeenaun, Co. Mayo. This short list is without doubt a very incomplete record of the Irish-language tradition then surviving in the area. Nonetheless, it may help to cast light on the use and origin of some forms of special interest, such as *coisí deasa* 'hare', *preaba' poll* 'rabbit', *creabhar* 'horse-fly', *gabhairín deorach* 'snipe', *bó brada* 'thieving cow', *sceachach* 'whitethorn', *fatha* ' (ground-dwelling) monster', *gealach na gcoinlín* 'harvest moon', *laighe* 'spade', *sraith* 'layer of vegetation on top of water'. I also hope that my discussion of *buachallán* 'ragwort, etc.' may advance understanding of this intriguing word with its wide variety of forms and applications.

The vocabulary assembled here was collected informally over a number of years, mainly during visits to neighbouring houses. It is difficult to provide an accurate age-profile of the various speakers to whom I owe this material. In general, the words relating to animals and plants came from my contemporaries – then in their teens or early twenties – who had a fair knowledge of the natural history of the area. Irish terminology relating to local folklore was mainly obtained from the older generation, especially from John Maloney (then in his fifties) and from Anthony Moran (then in his seventies).¹

¹I owe a particular debt of gratitude to John Maloney and to Anthony Moran. In addition, I would like to thank Andrew Barrett, Ellen Brogan (née McHale), Patrick Earley, Anthony Kenny, Anne Maloney (née Finnerty), Kate Maloney, Patrick Maloney and Thomas Maloney. For their helpful comments and suggestions during the preparation of this article, I am grateful to Ruairi Ó hUiginn, Feargal Ó Béarra, Colm Lankford and Michael O'Connell. I am also most appreciative of the valuable comments of the anonymous external reader. I am alone responsible for any errors or omissions.

The Irish of Central Mayo has not been as well documented as that of other parts of the county. In 1958 the South Mayo dialect of Tourmakeady was described by Seán de Búrca,² and in 1968 Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh published a survey of the West Mayo dialect of Erris.³ Thomas J. Lavin was awarded a PhD at University College Galway in 1956 for his thesis 'The Irish of East Mayo: a phonetic study', but it remains unpublished. However, he contributed notes and texts from East Mayo in *Éigse* 8–9.⁴

Fr Michael Comer published an article in 1986 entitled 'As she was spoke: traces of the Irish language in Began'.⁵ A speaker from East Mayo – James Duffy (Séamus Ó Dufaigh) of Kilmovee – was interviewed by Kevin Danaher and Myles Dillon in 1949, and provided the material for a note by the latter in *Celtica* 10.⁶ This informant died in 1959 at the age of ninety-two. Extracts from the interview have been published by Ríonach úi Ógáin in *Béaloides* 69.⁷

In his *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* Heinrich Wagner started his survey of Mayo Irish at Tourmakeady (point 51), and then moved up the coast from Louisburgh (point 52) to the Curraun Peninsula (point 53), and on to Achill (point 54), Dohooma (point 55), Blacksod (point 56), Portacloy (point 57), Belderg (point 58), Ballycastle (point 59), and finally inland to Kilmovee near the border with Co. Roscommon (point 62).⁸ In continuation of this work, a series of monographs was published by the Department of Celtic, Queen's University Belfast.⁹ Of these, Gerard Stockman's study, *The Irish of Achill*, described the dialect spoken at points 53 and 54.¹⁰ In *ZCP* 30–1, John Noel Hamilton contributed translations and discussion of texts from point 57.¹¹ In *Studia Celtica* 2, Richard Skerrett published notes on the dialect of some of the inhabitants of the Inishkea islands – situated off the Belmullet peninsula – who had relocated to Erris.¹² As far as I am aware, the only linguistic account

²Seán de Búrca, *The Irish of Tourmakeady, Co. Mayo: A Phonemic Study* (Dublin, 1958; repr. 1970, 2007).

³Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris, Co. Mayo: A Phonemic Study* (Dublin, 1968; repr. 1980).

⁴Thomas J. Lavin, 'Notes on the Irish of East Mayo: 1', *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 8 (1956–7), 309–21; idem, 'Notes on the Irish of East Mayo: 2', *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 9 (1958–61), 10–17; idem, 'Some texts from East Mayo Irish', *Éigse* 9, 111–13.

⁵Michael Comer, 'As she was spoke: traces of the Irish language in Began', in Fr Michael Comer and Nollaig Ó Muraile (eds), *Béacán/Bekan: Portrait of an East Mayo Parish* (Ballinrobe, 1986), 140–5.

⁶Myles Dillon, 'Vestiges of the Irish dialect of East Mayo', *Celtica* 10 (1973) 15–21.

⁷Ríonach úi Ógáin, 'Téacsanna Gaeilge ó Oirthear Mhaigh Eo: Irish texts from East Mayo', *Béaloides: The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* 69 (2001), 174–9.

⁸Heinrich Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, 3 vols (Dublin, 1958–66; repr. 1981–2), i, Introduction, pp. xvii–xix.

⁹*Ibid.*, 301 (Bibliographical Note by Eugene McKendry in 1981 reprint of vol. i).

¹⁰Gerard Stockman, *The Irish of Achill, Co. Mayo: A Miscellaneous Collection of Linguistic Material from the Parish of Achill with a Phonetic Description of the Dialect*, *Studies in Irish Language and Literature* 2 (Belfast, 1974).

¹¹John N. Hamilton, 'Phonetic texts of the Irish of North Mayo: part 1', *ZCP* 30 (1967), 265–353; idem, 'Phonetic texts of the Irish of North Mayo: part 2', *ZCP* 31 (1970) 147–223.

¹²R. A. Q. Skerrett, 'Notes on the dialect of the Inishkea islanders', *SC* 2 (1967), 196–201.

dealing specifically with the Irish of central Mayo is that of Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh, who published notes based on tape-recordings of an evening's conversation with James Deasy of Rinn an Eanaigh, three miles from Foxford.¹³

The townlands of Massbrook Lower, Massbrook Upper and Massbrook South in the barony of Addergoole extend from Levalley Lough up to Massbrook mountain (1296 ft = 395 m). The name of the townlands derives from the Massbrook river, originally *Sruthán an Aifrinn* 'the stream of the Mass', harking back to the days when Mass had to be celebrated in remote localities to escape the attention of the authorities. This river feeds into Lough Conn. The nearest town is Lahardane (*Leathardán*), situated at the foot of Nephin mountain (2644 ft = 806 m). It is clear that Irish was the usual language of communication in this area at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was the first language of Archbishop John McHale (Seán Mac Héil) who was born in 1791 in Tubbernavene (*Tobar na bhFian*), a village which is adjacent to Massbrook Lower. His father was a farmer and inn-keeper who ensured that his family also obtained a good knowledge of English. Seán was appointed to the see of Tuam in 1834. He maintained an interest in the Irish language throughout his life, and published a number of translations of devotional material into Irish, as well as translations of Moore's melodies and part of the *Iliad*. He preached a sermon in Irish every Sunday at Tuam Cathedral, and gave his last sermon at Mass in April 1881, only a few months before his death.¹⁴

There was a general decline in the use of Irish during the second half of the nineteenth century in the area between the towns of Ballina and Castlebar. The Famine of 1845–8 was especially severe in Co. Mayo, and established a regular pattern of emigration to America and Britain.¹⁵ It should also be noted that the first-class fishing available in the River Moy, Lough Conn and Lough Cullen attracted fishermen from far and wide. To cater for their needs, a good knowledge of English was essential. Nonetheless, the census returns for 1901 and 1911 indicate that there were considerable numbers of Irish-speakers in the Massbrook area, particularly among the older generation.¹⁶ For example, in the 1901 census it is recorded that in twenty-five of the twenty-six households in Massbrook Upper some or all of the occupants could speak Irish. Mary Earley, aged seventy-three, is recorded as speaking Irish only. In the 1911 census the situation is similar: there are Irish-speakers in all but one of the twenty-eight households. Thomas Kenny – aged forty-five years and the head of a household – is recorded as speaking Irish only, though his wife Marian is stated to speak English only. However, in the 1901 census Thomas is recorded as being able to speak both English and Irish.

¹³Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh, 'Notes on a Mayo dialect', *Celtica* 12 (1977), 171–84.

¹⁴For his relationship with the Irish language, see Tomás Mac Aoidh, 'Leon Tréada Iúda', in Áine Ní Cheanainn (ed.), *Leon an Iarthair: Aistí ar Sheán Mac Héil Ardeaspag Thuama 1834–1881* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1983), 15–24; Nollaig Ó Muraile, 'Staid na Gaeilge i gConnachta', *ibid.*, 37–66.

¹⁵See Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, *'I mBéal an Bháis: The Great Famine and the Language Shift in Nineteenth-Century Ireland* (Quinnipiac and Cork, 2015).

¹⁶www.census.nationalarchives.ie (census years 1901, 1911 /Mayo /Addergoole /Massbrook Upper; accessed 26 September 2024).

Under the direction of Séamus Ó Duilearga and Seán Ó Súilleabháin, the Irish Folklore Commission – with the co-operation of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation and the Department of Education – organised the collection of local traditions and stories by primary schoolchildren of the Irish Free State in the years 1937–8.¹⁷ This extraordinarily enlightened and far-sighted scheme resulted in the creation of over half a million manuscript pages and has proved a goldmine for subsequent generations of researchers.¹⁸ The names of only two speakers of Irish are recorded in the contributions by pupils of the National Schools at Massbrook and Lahardane. A pupil named Joseph Reilly of Massbrook National School records that 'Mrs Kenny can speak Irish and tell Irish stories. She has also a great collection of old Irish songs. She is living in Massbrook Upper'.¹⁹ Mary Doyle, a pupil in Lahardane National School, states that 'the oldest person in the village [of Tubbernavreen] is Bridgid Corcoran, who is ninety years of age and is still hale and hearty. She can speak English and Irish and can also tell stories in English and Irish'.²⁰ There are references in the Schools' collection to the *riabhach*-days 'three days of bad weather in early April' and to the *pruthóg* 'outdoor cooking of eggs to celebrate Easter': see below.

1. TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, SEASONS

(a) **fatha'** /'fahə/ 'supernatural creature, giant, monster'. ModIr *fathach* derives from OIr *aithech* 'rent-payer, commoner', with initial inorganic *f*-. As is often the case with Irish words in *-ach* employed in the English of Co. Mayo, the final voiceless velar fricative /x/ is lost, cf. *geala'* for *gealach* 'moon', *brada'* for *bradach* 'thieving', *searra'* for *searrach* 'colt'.²¹ Already in MÍr this word developed the pejorative sense of 'churl, oaf',²² and in later folklore it is employed to describe supernatural beings, generally of large size.²³ A Neolithic or Early Bronze Age stone circle – approximately 36 feet (11 m) in diameter – on the lower slopes of Massbrook mountain is known as the 'Fatha's Garden', and local tradition has it that a fierce ground-dwelling *fatha* guarded a cache of gold buried in the centre of the circle. I got no information on the reputed size of the *fatha*, but the tradition that the area within the stone circle was his 'garden' suggests that he was of diminutive stature rather than a giant.

¹⁷ www.duchas.ie (The Schools' Collection; accessed 26 September 2024).

¹⁸ See Séamas Ó Catháin, 'Súil siar ar Scéim na Scol 1937–1938', *Sinsear: The Folklore Journal* 5 (1988), 19–30.

¹⁹ The Schools' Collection, vol. 0149: Massbrook N. S., p. 428 (www.duchas.ie). She was the mother of our next-door neighbour Anthony Kenny, who served in the Connaught Rangers and survived the Gallipoli campaign of 1915–16.

²⁰ The Schools' Collection, vol. 0150: Lahardane N. S., p. 6. This is presumably the Bridget Corcoran of Tubbernavreen, Addergoole, whose age is given as fifty-nine in the 1911 census.

²¹ On the other hand, /x/ is retained in *riabhach* 'brindled', *praiseach* 'charlock', *oighreach* 'chilblains', *óinseach* 'female fool'.

²² DIL s.v. 1 *aithech*.

²³ Niall Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1977), s.v. *fathach*; Patrick Dinneen, *Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla* (Dublin, 1927) s.vv. *athach*, *fathach*; Seán Ó Súilleabháin, *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* (Dublin, 1942), 448–9.

The Massbrook *fatha* can thus be compared with the better-known *leprechaun* (*lúchorpán* ‘one with a small body’) of Irish folklore. In attempts to find the gold, this monument was dug up with spades in the late nineteenth century and comprehensively wrecked with heavy machinery about thirty years ago.

(b) **fear bréige** /f'ar 'br' e:g'ə/ ‘false man’. On the top of Massbrook mountain a heap of stones has been erected – apparently within the last couple of centuries – to serve as a landmark. This is known as *Fear bréige* ‘false man’ or *Mainín* /man'i:n' / ‘little man’. The term *fear bréige*, lit. ‘man of falsehood’, is most commonly attested in Irish dialects in the meaning ‘scare-crow’,²⁴ but Dinneen also records the meaning ‘heap of stones resembling a man’, as in the Massbrook usage.²⁵

(c) **geala' na gcoinlín** /g'alə nə 'gunl'i:n' / ‘harvest moon’. For reasons connected with the tilt of the earth as it rotates, the full moon closest to the autumnal equinox appears to persist low on the horizon for a number of successive nights. It seems larger than usual and may have a yellow or orange tinge: a ScG name for it is *gealach bhuidhe an abachaidh* ‘the yellow moon of the ripening [of the harvest]’.²⁶ Dinneen gives the form *gealach na gcoinnlí* ‘the moon of the stubble’,²⁷ and Ó Dónaill has *gealach na gcoinnlí* and *gealach na gcoinleach*.²⁸ The noun *coinnlín* is a diminutive of *connall* ‘stalk’, a borrowing from Latin *cannula* ‘reed, stalk, stem’.²⁹ I recorded the pronunciation /g'alə nə 'gunl'i:n' / from Anthony Moran. John Maloney had a pronunciation which I noted down as /g'alə nə 'glu:n'i:n' /.

(d) **poitín** /put'i:n' / ‘illegal spirit’. Much Massbrook folklore relates to the illegal distillation of *poitín*, with emphasis on the ingenious methods by which the agents of government authority – whether Royal Irish Constabulary or An Garda Síochána – were outwitted by local distillers. The etymology of the word *poitín* is uncertain. Dinneen takes the basic meaning to be ‘small pot’, a diminutive of *pota* ‘pot’.³⁰ The Donegal pronunciation *póitín* may have been influenced by *póit* ‘drink, draught’.³¹

²⁴ Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. fear*; Stockman, *The Irish of Achill*, 371 s.v. *fear*.

²⁵ Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. fear*.

²⁶ Edward Dwelly, *Faclair Gàidhlig le Dealbhan: The Illustrated Gaelic–English Dictionary* (5th ed. Glasgow, 1949), s.v. *gealach*.

²⁷ Dinneen, *Foclóir s.vv. gealach, coinnlín*.

²⁸ Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. gealach*.

²⁹ Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography A–C* (Halle, 1906), 476 s.v. *connall*; LEIA C-190 s.v. *condall*; DIL s.vv. *condall, coinnlín(e)*; Dinneen, *Foclóir s.vv. coinnle, coinnleog, coinnlín*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. coinlín*. For an additional OIr attestation of *connall*, see Liam Breatnach, ‘An Old Irish gloss on *Cáin Lánamna*’, *Ériu* 57 (2007), 155–63, at 155.

³⁰ Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. poitín*. The term was also used in the Mayo area of the hole at the base of a lime-kiln, where the broken lime-stone was inserted for burning: see The Schools Collection, vol. 0120: Turlough N. S. pp. 175–6.

³¹ DIL s.vv. *póit, pótaire*. In Glencolumbkille, Co. Donegal, *póitín* used to be flavoured with the berries of the juniper (*Juniperus communis*, local name *aiteannach*).

(e) **pruthóg** /'pruho:g/ 'outdoor fire for cooking eggs'. This word occurs in a variety of forms and meanings in Modlr. It derives from OIr *bruth* 'heat, blaze, boiling', cognate with Welsh *brwd* 'warmth'.³² In Massbrook the word *pruthóg* refers specifically to the outdoor cooking of eggs by children to celebrate Easter. The procedure is described in the 1938 Schools' Collection by pupils from Massbrook and Lahardane National Schools.³³ Under the headword *bruthóg*, Dinneen gives its first meaning as 'a batch of potatoes roasted', but otherwise a direct connection with cooking is absent: 'a small quantity of potatoes, eggs, etc.', 'a collection of eggs, apples, etc.', 'a batch of eggs sold to make pocket-money'. He notes the variants *pruthóg* (Sligo) and *bruithneog* (Conamara).³⁴ In his *Foclóir Ó Dónaill* employs the headword *bruithneog*, and gives the meanings 'batch of potatoes roasted in ashes', 'clutch of hen's eggs in a nest', 'small plump woman'.³⁵ The meaning of the word is extended to include a quantity of money in the Anglo-Irish dialect of Bekan, Co. Mayo: Michael Comer records the phrase 'they got a fine *prochóg* of money out of the accident'.³⁶

Some speakers placed the main stress on the second syllable of this word: I noted the pronunciation /prə'hɔ:g/ from Anthony Kenny. The transfer of stress from the first to the second syllable of disyllabic words occurs occasionally in Connacht – particularly in Co. Mayo – and has been described by Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh in his survey of the Irish of Erris.³⁷ He records /kra:n/ as well as /kora:n/ (*corrán* 'reaping hook'), /bre:d/ as well as /bure:d/ (*bairréad* 'cap'). In some cases, only forms with elision of the first syllable are recorded, e.g. /br'a:n/ (*biorán* 'pin'), /kro:n' / (*coróin* 'crown'). Myles Dillon draws attention to the same phenomenon in his note on the Irish of a speaker from Kilmovee in East Mayo.³⁸ See also discussion under 4(d) *dorú* below.

(f) **riabhach-days** /'r'iawəx 'de:z/. Traditions regarding the fate of a legendary *bó riabhach* 'brindled cow' are attested from many parts of the country, and are quoted to explain a spell of bad weather in early April.³⁹ A detailed account of the cow's death is given in the diary of Amhlaoibh Ó Súilleabháin for the year 1827.⁴⁰ He lists the three days of the old brindled cow (*trí laethe na*

³² LEIA B-106 s.v. *bruth*.

³³ The Schools' Collection, vol. 0149: Massbrook N. S. pp. 355, 379; vol. 0150: Lahardane N. S. p. 108.

³⁴ Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *bruthóg*; cf. Brian Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, Co. Galway*, 4 vols (Dublin, 2007), iv, 2411 s.v. *bruithneog*, *bruthnóg* 'potato roasted in ashes'.

³⁵ Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *bruithneog*.

³⁶ Comer, 'As she was spoke', 144 s.v. *prochóg*.

³⁷ Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 140 §312.

³⁸ Myles Dillon, 'Vestiges of the Irish dialect of East Mayo', *Celtica* 10 (1973), 15–21, at 17 (ii).

³⁹ E.g. Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh, 'A Westmeath word-list', *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 5 (1945–7), 256–66, at 264 s.v. *riabhach* /ri:bəx/.

⁴⁰ Séamus Ua Casaide (ed.), 'Cinn-lae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúilleabháin: 1827', *Gadelica: A Journal of Modern-Irish Studies* 1 (Dublin, 1912–13), 51–61, at 59.167–81; Michael McGrath (ed. and trans.), *Cinnlae Amhlaoibh Uí Shúilleabháin: The Diary of Humphrey O'Sullivan*, 4 vols (London, 1936–37), i, 17–19; Tomás de Bhaldraithe (ed.), *Cín Lae Amhlaoibh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1970), 4.105–23; cf. Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *riabhach*.

seanriabhiche) as 12, 13 and 14 April,⁴¹ and recounts how in bygone times this cow celebrated the coming of April by running around and bellowing with joy at the passing of the hardship of March. Offended, March decided to avenge the cow's insolence and asked April to lend him three days. April consented to the deal, on condition that March married her. Accordingly – in the words of Amhlaoiabh – *do shéid an ghaoth chruaidh chráite ghoineadach gháifeach anoir ó dhroim Alban, agus dochuadh an seanriabhach a ccae ag iaradh fear glas bhí a fás air uachtar bogaich agus do báthadh í. Gona uadh so ráidhtear trí laethe na seinriabhiche* ‘the harsh tormented wounding spear-like east wind blew from the back of Scotland, and the old brindled cow went her way looking for the green grass which was growing on top of a bog, and she was drowned. From that is named the three days of the old brindled cow’. The evil reputation of early April is also reflected in the ScG term *cailleach* ‘hag’, applied to the week beginning 12 April (Old Style).⁴²

Versions of this story were in general currency in the Massbrook area in the 1960s, and two accounts of the ‘*riabhach*-days’ are included in the Schools’ collection of 1938.⁴³ The demand made by the month of March was sometimes quoted in a verse in English: ‘April, April, stand to me now; and lend me three days to skin this old cow’.⁴⁴ In the version of the tale recorded by the Massbrook pupil Charles Kelly, the cow is referred to as *riabhóg*, rather than *riabhach*.⁴⁵ This variant is also recorded in the Anglo-Irish dialect of North Roscommon with the pronunciation /ri:βo-g/.⁴⁶ Generally, the word *riabhóg* is applied in ModIr to small striped birds, such as the meadow pipit (*Anthus pratensis*).⁴⁷ It is noteworthy, however, that this is the form recorded by Karen Corrigan in her study of Irish words employed in the English of Northern Ireland. She cites *reevogue* ‘borrowing days’.⁴⁸

2. NAMES OF WILD ANIMALS, BIRDS, INSECTS, ETC.

(a) **coisí deasa** /'kufi: d'asə/ ‘fine legs’ = ‘hare’ (*Lepus timidus hibernicus*). In many cultures there are taboos against referring to animals by their ordinary names, particularly when they are to be hunted. These are known to anthropologists as *noa*-terms from the Polynesian word for an animal which should not be called by its original historical name for fear of bad luck. The Irish language is rich in such terminology. For example, the regular name for the fox (*Vulpes vulpes*) is *sinnach*, but it is also known as *mad(r)adh ruadh* ‘red dog’,

⁴¹These dates in the Gregorian calendar (New Style) correspond to the beginning of the month in the Julian calendar (Old Style).

⁴²Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. *cailleach*.

⁴³The Schools’ Collection, vol. 0149: Massbrook N. S. pp. 352, 402.

⁴⁴This verse is quoted by a pupil Mary Doyle in the Schools’ Collection, vol. 0150: Lahardane N. S. p. 100. I also heard it from John Maloney.

⁴⁵The Schools’ collection, vol. 0149: Massbrook N. S. p. 352.

⁴⁶P. L. Henry, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon: Phonology, Accidence, Syntax* (Dublin, 1957), Index, p. 229 s.v. *riabhóg*, *reevogue*.

⁴⁷Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *riabhóg*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *riabhóg*.

⁴⁸Karen P. Corrigan, *Dialects of English: Irish English*, vol. 1: *Northern Ireland* (Edinburgh, 2010), 94 (table 4.3).

loisfhionnán ‘the one with the white-tipped tail’, and *crimthann* ‘the pungent-smelling one’.⁴⁹ Similarly, the Indo-European word for the brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) survives in the Irish word *Art*, commonly attested as a personal name.⁵⁰ When used in relation to an animal, the *noa*-terms *mathgamain* ‘good calf’ and *milchobur* ‘desirer of honey’ are substituted.⁵¹

My informant John Maloney interpreted *coisí deasa* as meaning ‘fine legs’, taking *coisí* to be a plural of *cos*. In his study of the Irish of Erris, Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh records the use of the nom. pl. *cosaí* /kosi:/.⁵² Similarly, Brian Ó Curnáin gives *cosaí* /kosi:/ as a variant of nom. pl. *cosa* /kosə/ in the Irish of Iorras Aithneach, Co. Galway.⁵³ It is unlikely that *coisí* is the singular noun ‘walker, goer, one who uses his feet’, as the final *-a* of the plural adj. *deasa* was clearly articulated.⁵⁴

It was regarded as unlucky to shoot a hare: the proper procedure was to hunt it with hounds.

(b) **creabhar** /kr’auər/ ‘horse-fly, cleg’. The student of ethnozoology and ethnobotany often faces the problem of the use of the same term for unrelated species. Thus, OIr *corr* can be used of both the grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*) and the common crane (*Grus grus* (*Megalornis grus*)). The plant-name *gi(o)lcach* is similarly ambiguous: depending on the context it can apply to the broom (*Sarothamnus scoparius*) or to the reed (*Phragmites communis*). In the case of *creabhar* (OIr *crebar*), the word is commonly employed of the woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*), but it is also applied to the various species of horse-fly or cleg which suck blood from mammals, including humans.⁵⁵ For example, in an EModIr description of Hell, the torments inflicted on the damned include

⁴⁹ *Crimthann* is well-attested as a proper name in early Irish sources: see Carl Marstrander, *Une correspondance germano-celtique* (Kristiania, 1924), 9–10. In glossaries this word is identified with the fox: *crimthand* .i. *sinnach* (DIL s.v. *crimthan(n)*). Marstrander (p. 10) suggests with a question mark that it is a taboo term for this animal, but provides no further discussion. Rudolf Thurneysen links *crimthann* with *crem* ‘wild garlic’, postulating a stem *cremu-* (GOI 52 §80). I believe that both scholars are correct in seeing a connection between *crem* and *crimthann*. The feature in common is no doubt the pervasive rank odour of both fox and wild garlic. Admittedly, the scent of a male fox would generally be regarded as a great deal more unpleasant than that of wild garlic. On the other hand, one can compare the place-name *Chicago* which derives from the Algonquian *Shikaakwa* ‘place of wild garlic or ramsons’ (John F. Swenson, ‘Chicagoua / Chicago: the origin, meaning and etymology of a place name’, *Illinois Historical Journal* 84/4 (Winter 1991), 235–48). It is cognate with the word *skunk* which can be traced back to Proto-Algonquian *šeka-kwa* (*The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 5th ed. (2011), s.v. *skunk*).

⁵⁰ IEW 875; Michael O’Brien, *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962; repr. 1976, 2005): Index of personal names, s.vv. *Artt*, *Artán*, *Artacán*, *Artgal*, *Artí*.

⁵¹ Seán Mac Suibhne, *Tótamas in Éirinn* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1961), 27. The archaeological evidence indicates that the brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) has not been present in Ireland since the Early Bronze Age. However, knowledge of the habits of the bear may have persisted through contact with Scotland: see discussion at Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming: A Study Based Mainly on the Law-texts of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries AD*, Early Irish Law Series 4 (Dublin, 1997), 190–1.

⁵² Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 183 §504 (i).

⁵³ Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, ii, 864 §4.231.

⁵⁴ Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *coisidhe*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *coisí*.

⁵⁵ DIL s.v. *crebar* (a), (b).

creabhair chroma cruadhghobacha ‘stooped harsh-mouthed horse-flies’.⁵⁶ In Massbrook, the species *Haematopota pluvialis* is an extremely common and persistent pest in summer; it always goes by the name *creabhar*. The same term is applied to the larger horse-fly *Tabanus sudeticus*. Brian Ó Curnáin notes the variants *cleabhar*, *creabhar*, *treabhar* in West Galway.⁵⁷ In some dialects the adj. *caoch* ‘one-eyed’ may be added, e.g. *creabhar caoch* /kr’aur ke:x/ (Ballyvourney).⁵⁸ This refers to the fact that the two large eyes of horseflies are set so close together that they appear to be a single eye.

In his etymological dictionary, Joseph Vendryes gives the meanings ‘bécasse’ (woodcock) and ‘taon’ (horsefly).⁵⁹ He comments on the difficulty of finding a common denominator between these animals (*Il est difficile de trouver un dénominateur commun à tous ces animaux: on ne voit pas non plus à quoi ce mot peut se rattacher*). However, it seems likely that what the horse-fly and woodcock have in common is a distinctive low-pitched sound.⁶⁰ The male woodcock makes a grunting call at dusk and dawn, which is termed ‘roding’. Similarly, various species of horse-fly make a low humming sound as they attack.⁶¹

(c) **gabhairín deora** /’gaur’i:n’ d’o:rə/. The common snipe (*Gallinago gallinago*) is much sought after by the shooter of game, as the flavour of its flesh is outstanding.⁶² The Irish word *náescu* ‘snipe’ is attested as early as Cormac’s Glossary, compiled in the tenth century. Here it is explained *Naiscui. en uisce* ‘a water bird’.⁶³ Variants are recorded in all ModIr dialects, e.g. *naosc*

⁵⁶Charles Plummer (ed. and trans.), *Bethada Náem nĒrenn: Lives of Irish Saints*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1922), i, 99 §10; Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), ‘Eine Variante der Brendan-Legende’, *ZCP* 10 (1915), 408–20, at 413.17. The version in the Book of Lismore has *creabair croma cnamhghobacha* ‘stooped bone-mouthed horse-flies’ (Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Lives of Saints from the Book of Lismore* (Oxford, 1890), 109.3652–3).

⁵⁷Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach* iv, p. 2431 s.v. *cleabhar*.

⁵⁸Brian Ó Cuív (ed.), *Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne i gCunndae Chorcaí: Mícheál Ó Briain (1866–1942) a bhailig* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1947), 70. It is also noted here that in English this fly was called ‘the doctor’ on account of its blood-letting habits. This use is also recorded in Risteard B. Breatnach (ed.), *Seana-chaint na nDéise II: Studies in the Vocabulary and Idiom of Déise Irish Based Mainly on Material Collected by Archbishop Michael Sheehan (1870–1945)* (Dublin, 1961; repr. 1984), 117 n. 5.

⁵⁹*LEIA* C-224–5 s.v. *crebar*. He also gives the meaning ‘chouette’ (owl), based on the Mlr gloss *lucifugia* .i. *crebhar* (Whitley Stokes, *Irish Glosses: A Mediæval Tract on Latin Declension* (Dublin, 1860), 8.204). However, Stokes in his notes on p. 57 identifies *creabhar* here as meaning ‘woodcock’. The Latin term *lucifugia* ‘avoiding light’ no doubt refers to the fact that the woodcock flies mainly at dawn and dusk, so there is no evidence of *creabhar* being applied to any species of owl.

⁶⁰In his study of the root-formations of various Irish bird and animal names, Carl Marstrand, ‘Hibernica 26’, *ZCP* 7 (1910), 390–95, at 392–3, makes the case that the underlying meaning of *creabhar* is ‘a beast which makes a growling or buzzing sound’ (‘knurrendes, brummendes Tier’). I believe that his translation of Blasket *cleabhar caoch* as ‘Rebhuhn’ (partridge) rather than ‘Viehbremse’ (horsefly) is incorrect, but this does not affect his basic argument.

⁶¹Admittedly – unlike most other species of horse-fly – *Haematopota pluvialis* attacks with only a faint hum.

⁶²Gordon D’Arcy, *The Guide to the Birds of Ireland* (Dublin, 1981), 87–8.

⁶³Kuno Meyer (ed.), ‘Sanas Cormaic’, *Anecdota*, iv, 85 §986.

(Galway, Mayo), *naoscan* (Donegal), *naoscach* (Munster).⁶⁴ Scottish Gaelic has *naosg*, *naosga*, *naosgach*, *naosgamh*.⁶⁵ I did not hear *naosc* in Massbrook, but noted from John Maloney the form *gabhairín deora(ch)*, used in the sense of ‘common snipe’. Because it overlaps in meaning with *naosc(ach)*, this word has caused much difficulty for lexicographers. It may be a *noa*-term, as in the case of *coisí deasa* discussed above. The word *gabhairín* is a diminutive of *gabhar* ‘goat’, and refers to the sound of the vibration of the snipe’s outer tail feathers – mainly made by the male during its courtship display flights at dusk.⁶⁶ This sound is widely judged to be similar to the bleating of a kid goat.⁶⁷ In his *Foclóir*, Ó Dónaill gives the forms *gabhar deorach* and *gabhar reo* in the meaning ‘male snipe’.⁶⁸ He takes *deorach* to mean ‘strange, wandering’,⁶⁹ but it seems more likely to be from *deor* ‘tear’, referring to the mournful nature of the bleating sound. From Achill, Stockman records the variant *gabhar deorann*.⁷⁰ Under the head-word *gabhairín*, Ó Dónaill gives *gabhairín reo* in the meaning ‘male snipe’, but makes no reference to *gabhairín deorach*.⁷¹ Dinneen takes the form *gabhairín reodha* to refer to the smaller and rarer ‘jack snipe’ (*Lymnocyrtus minimus*).⁷² He suggests that *reodha* is gen. sg. of *reodh* ‘hoarfrost’, presumably referring to the fact that the jack snipe is a winter visitor to Ireland, and – unlike the common snipe – does not breed here.

(d) **preaba’ poll** /pr’abə paul/ ‘hopping of holes’ = ‘rabbit’ (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*). As in the case of the hare, the rabbit may be known by a *noa*-term in the context of hunting. The original form of the name is likely to have been *preabaire poll* ‘hole-hopper’, as recorded from East Galway by T. S. Ó Máille.⁷³ He notes that the term is said to originate from Co. Sligo.⁷⁴ In his *Foclóir*, Ó Dónaill gives the form *preabaire poill* ‘rabbit’ with gen. sg. of *poll* ‘hole’.⁷⁵

⁶⁴Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas*, i, 220; Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.vv. *naosca*, *naoscán*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *naoscach*.

⁶⁵Dwelly, *Faclair* s.vv.

⁶⁶The nightjar or goatsucker (*Caprimulgus europaeus*) is an unrelated species which gets its Latin name from the false belief that it milks goats during the night. Its Irish name *tuirne lín*, lit. ‘spinning wheel’ refers to the repetitive ‘churring’ sound made by this bird.

⁶⁷One can compare the traditional West Wicklow name for the common snipe, ‘Minny Gower’ /mini: ‘gauər/, i.e. *meannán gabhair* ‘kid of a goat’ (I am grateful to Séamas Bermingham for this information).

⁶⁸Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *gabhar* (3).

⁶⁹Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *deorach* (2).

⁷⁰Stockman, *The Irish of Achill*, 372.

⁷¹Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *gabhairín* (2).

⁷²D’Arcy, *Guide to the Birds of Ireland*, 86–7; Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. *gabhrag bheag* ‘jack snipe’. P. L. Henry, ‘A linguistic survey of Ireland: preliminary report’, *Lochlann: A Review of Celtic Studies* 1 (1958), 49–208, at 192, quotes the form /gau’Ri’n ‘Ru-’/ ‘jacksnipe’ from Ballymakeery, Co. Cork.

⁷³T. S. Ó Máille, ‘Liosta focal as Oirthear na Gaillimhe’, *Béaloideas: The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* 23 (1954), 230–36, at 235.

⁷⁴I am indebted to Feargal Ó Béarra for this reference. As discussed under *fatha*’ above, the *-ach* ending often loses its final /x/ in the dialect. It is therefore possible that *preaba*’ here originates as a substantival use of the adj. *preabach* ‘jumping, hopping’ (Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v.). But in view of the other attestations of *preabaire* it is more likely that *preaba*’ goes back to an original form in *-aire*.

⁷⁵Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *preabaire*.

(e) **sciortán** /ʃk'urta:n/ 'tick'. The word *sciortán* (*sceartán*) is well-attested in the modern dialects in the meaning 'tick', employed of various species of arachnid which attach themselves to mammals or birds to suck blood.⁷⁶ The species *Ixodes ricinus* was a common affliction of children who spent a lot of time in the fields, and was not regarded as more than a minor nuisance until the spread in the 1980s of Lyme Disease, a serious bacterial infection transmitted by ticks. In the earlier language a wider range of meanings is indicated for *scertán*. In a passage in a fifteenth-century medical text on the stings of scorpions, bees and wasps the Latin text has *Scorpiones sunt quedam animalia ad modum scarabeorum nisi quod habent caudas*.⁷⁷ This is translated into Irish as *.i. issed is scorpiones ann ainminnti is cusmail risna sceartánaibh crúbacha acht erbuill acu* 'i.e. scorpions are like clawed beetles except that they have tails'. Here the translator clearly identified *scarab* (a type of beetle) with Irish *sce(a)rtán*.

Sce(a)rtán is a diminutive with prosthetic *s-* of OIr *cert* 'louse, mite, tick'.⁷⁸ In the variant spelling *cart* the word is attested in the eighth-century voyage-tale *Immrama Curaig Mail Dúin* 'the voyage of the boat of Máel Dúin'.⁷⁹ The voyagers encountered a large bird on an island in the ocean afflicted 'with ticks which were on the cheeks and under the chin of the great bird, and around its eyes and around its ears' (... *inna cart ro bátar i n-oilib 7 fo smeich ind éoin móir 7 imma súili 7 imma chlúasa*).

(f) **seabhac** /ʃauk/ 'hawk'. Applied to the sparrow hawk (*Accipiter nisus*), kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*) and other raptors.

(g) **spide neansaí** /ʃp'id'ə'n'ansi:/ 'hairy caterpillar'. The larvae of certain moths protect themselves with a coat of mildly poisonous hairs, which may cause a rash if handled. The largest of such larvae is that of the fox moth (*Macrothylacia rubi*), which is commonly encountered in late summer and autumn, and has English names such as 'hairy molly', 'woolly bear' or 'nettle-worm'. The form given in Dinneen's *Foclóir* is *speig neannta*. He identifies *speig* with Latin *species* 'shape, appearance, form', which makes good sense.⁸⁰ The form *nean(n)ta* is gen. sg. of the fem. noun *neanaidh*. This word for 'nettle' is well-attested, usually as a collective.⁸¹ For example, Mlr commentary on the Martyrology of Óengus refers to an old woman collecting nettles to make

⁷⁶Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, iv, 2581 s.v. *sceartán*; Ó Cuív, *Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne*, 204 s.v. *sgeartán* (with cross-reference); Nioclás Breathnach, 'Focail Ghaeilge atá le clos sa Bhéarla a labhartar i gceannntar an Chaisleáin Nua, Co. Luimní', *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (1948–52) 169–79, at 177 s.v. *sgiortán*; Nicholas Williams, 'Gaeilge na hIarmhí', in Eoin Mac Cárthaigh and Jürgen Uhlich (eds), *Féilscribhinn do Chathal Ó Háinle* (Indreabhán, 2012), 1009–58, at 1042 s.v. *ceartán*.

⁷⁷Standish O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library [formerly British Museum]*, i, (London, 1926; repr. Dublin, 1992), 213.

⁷⁸*DIL* s.vv. 4 *cert*, *scertán*; *LEIA* C-76 s.v. 4 *cert*.

⁷⁹A. G. Van Hamel (ed.), *Immrama*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 10 (Dublin, 1941; repr. 2004), 47.740.

⁸⁰Dinneen, *Foclóir*, s.v. *speig*; *DIL* s.v. *speic*; *LEIA* S-177 s.v. *speic*.

⁸¹*DIL* s.v. *neanid*.

broth from them (*ic ben nenta do denam praisce di*).⁸² In Modlr the nom. sg. *neanaidh* was generally superseded by the diminutive *neantóg*.⁸³

Many variants of *speig neannta* have been recorded. In the Index to his study of the Irish of Iorras Aithneach, Co. Galway, Brian Ó Curnáin lists *spig neanta*, *smig neánta*, *mig neánta*, *spriid neanta*; pl. *spineantógachaí*, *sprigannaí neanta*.⁸⁴ Dinneen gives the variants *speig neannta*, *spiorad neanntóg*, *spioraid neannta*, *spriid neannta* and *spriog neannta*.⁸⁵ The Linguistic Atlas cites the form *spigneáns*, pl. *spigneánsachaí* from Inis Meáin.⁸⁶ Some of these variants raise the possibility that the first word of the phrase was originally *spiorad* (OIr *spirut*), a loan-word from Latin *spiritus* ‘spirit’. The problem with this interpretation is that the sense does not fit in with the appearance or habits of this caterpillar. I have found no references in Irish folklore to its possession of malign properties, other than irritant hairs. By contrast, another caterpillar (the larval stage of the Elephant hawk-moth, *Deilephila elpenor*) went by the name of *conach*-worm in many localities. It was mistakenly believed that this caterpillar would sting cattle in the muzzle and cause rabies (*conach*) or other serious disease.⁸⁷

3. PLANT NAMES

(a) **buachallán** /‘buəxəla:n/ ‘common ragwort, ragweed, *Senecio jacobaea*’. This is undoubtedly the most widely attested plant-name of Gaelic origin currently in use in Ireland. In spite of official pressure in favour of the English name – exemplified in the notices in Garda stations warning against the presence of this noxious weed on farmland – numerous variants of the native word have been recorded in modern speech in both Irish- and English-speaking areas, e.g. /bu:xəla:n/ (North Kerry), /buəkəla:n/ (Laois), /bu:kəla:n/ (Westmeath), /bu:kələ:n/ (Wexford), /bohəla:n/ (Roscommon), /bu:l’ə:n/ (West Wicklow), /bu:fəla:n/ (South Donegal).⁸⁸ It may be accompanied by the adj. *buí* ‘yellow’, e.g. /buəxəla:n b^wi:/ (Waterford), /buəxəla:m bi:/ (West Galway), /bōφəLan b^wI:/ (Central Donegal), /bo:əlan b^wI:/ (Tyrone).⁸⁹ From Rathlin Island, Cosslett Ó Cuinn records *boltan buidhe*.⁹⁰ From Scotland, Dwelly gives *buidhghallan*

⁸²Whitley Stokes (ed. and trans.), *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé: The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* (London, 1905; repr. Dublin, 1984), 146.16–17.

⁸³DIL s.v. *neantóg*; Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *neanntóg*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *neantóg*.

⁸⁴Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, iv, p. 2602.

⁸⁵Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *speig*, *spiorad*, *neannta*.

⁸⁶Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas*, iii, p. 160, point 42.

⁸⁷Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 199; Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. 2 *conach*; Ó Cuív, *Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne*, 66 s.v. 1 *conach*.

⁸⁸A fuller record of the Irish terms for ‘ragwort’ is available in the responses to English Questionnaire no. 974 in Heinrich Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, ii (Dublin, 1964; repr. 1982), iii (Dublin, 1966; repr. 1982), and in Heinrich Wagner and Colm Ó Baoill, *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, iv (Dublin 1969; repr. 1982).

⁸⁹Gerard Stockman and Heinrich Wagner, ‘Contributions to a study of Tyrone Irish (LASI point 66)’, *Lochlann: A Review of Celtic Studies* 3 (1965), 43–236, at 58.

⁹⁰Cosslett Ó Cuinn, ‘Iarsmaí ó Oileán Reachrann’, *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (1948–52) 248–56, at 253. According to Wagner and Ó Baoill, *Linguistic Atlas*, iv, point 67, no. 974, the

buidhe,⁹¹ while Allan McDonald has *buadhghalan*, *buathalan* and *buacharlan*.⁹² In *Luibhleabhrán*, Edmund Hogan and his co-authors provide a list of forms from Ireland and Scotland – referring to ragwort and other plants – which includes *bofulán*, *buachalán*, *bualán*, *buafallán*, *buafanán* and *buathbhallán*.⁹³

There have been various attempts to provide an etymology for this word. In *DIL* s.v. *búathfallán*, a connection with *búaball* ‘buffalo’ (from Latin *bubalus*) is postulated. In his *Gaelic Names of Plants* John Cameron suggests that the earlier form is *buadhghallan*, which he interprets as ‘the stripling or branch that overcomes’, taking the first element to be *buadh* (OIr *búaid*) ‘victory, attribute, virtue’.⁹⁴ In his *Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* Alexander Macbain suggests that the word is a derivative of *buaf* ‘toad’ (from Latin *būfo*).⁹⁵ None of these explanations seems likely. I believe that the most promising theory is that of Nicholas Williams, who takes the word to be based on *bó* ‘cow’.⁹⁶ Williams suggests that it derives from an Indo-European compound **g^wou-swolos* lit. ‘cow-shriveller’, with the addition of the suffix *-án*.⁹⁷ He explains it as referring to the toxic nature of the plant to cattle and horses, particularly when eaten in dried form.

The main problem with this explanation is that there are early occurrences of the word relating to another very dissimilar plant. Thus, in a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century medical manuscript we find the following explanation: *Artemecia mater herbarum .i. in buafallan liath* ‘Artemisia, the mother of herbs, i.e. the grey *buafallán*’.⁹⁸ This refers to the much valued medical plant *Artemisia vulgaris*, known in English as ‘mugwort, wormwood’. In the fifteenth-century *Regimen na Sláinte* we find the same identification: *maille re ní ara mbeirbhear buathfallán* which corresponds to Latin *cum decoctione artemesiae* ‘with decoction of mugwort’.⁹⁹ In her edition of the fifteenth-century Irish translation of the Latin medical tract *Rosa Anglica*, Winifred Wulff translates *buathfallán* as ‘ragweed’ in a discussion on the treatment of fevers, but the translation here should be ‘mugwort’, as the original Latin text has *artemisia*.¹⁰⁰ However, the

pronunciation is /börtəla:n b^wɪ:/.

⁹¹Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. *buadhghallan*.

⁹²Fr Allan McDonald (ed. J. L. Campbell), *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1972; repr. Dublin, 1991), 33, 52.

⁹³Fr Edmund Hogan, John Hogan and Fr John C. MacErlean, *Luibhleabhrán: Irish and Scottish Gaelic Names of Herbs, Plants, Trees, etc.* (Dublin, 1900), 7, 9.

⁹⁴John Cameron, *Gaelic Names of Plants (Scottish and Irish)*, 1st ed. (Edinburgh and London, 1883), 42.

⁹⁵Alexander Macbain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, 2nd ed. (Stirling, 1911), 55 s.v. *buadhghallan*.

⁹⁶N. J. A. Williams, ‘Some Irish plant names: 1 *buachalán*’, in D. Ó Corráin, L. Breatnach and K. McCone (eds), *Sages, Saints and Story-tellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney* (Maynooth, 1989), 449–50.

⁹⁷*IEW* i, 1045 s.v. 2 *squel*.

⁹⁸Whitley Stokes, ‘On the materia medica of the mediaeval Irish’, *RC* 9 (1888), 224–44, at 225, fol. 6b.

⁹⁹Séamus Ó Ceithearnaigh (James Carney) (ed.), *Regimen na Sláinte: Regimen Sanitatis Magnini Mediolanensis*, 3 vols (Baile Átha Cliath, 1942–4), i, p. 83, l. 2193.

¹⁰⁰Winifred Wulff (ed. and trans.), *Rosa Anglica, sev Rosa Medicinæ Johannis Anglici*, ITS 25 (London, 1929), 62.13 §14; Latin text p. 63 n. 3. The original Latin text was the work of the English

same text includes *in da buathfallan* ‘the two *buathfalláns*’ in a list of diuretic herbs: this implies that the term *búathfallán* was applied both to ragwort and mugwort already in fifteenth-century Irish.¹⁰¹

It is not easy to explain why these two plants should share the same name. Both are common herbs of medium height with multiple flower-heads and are members of the Daisy family (*Compositae*). But the dull greyish-white flowers of the mugwort are unlike the bright yellow flowers of the ragwort. Furthermore – as we have seen – the mugwort is prized for its outstanding medical properties.¹⁰² The common ragwort, by contrast, is notorious for its toxic effects on livestock. The related silver ragwort (*Senecio cineraria*) is used in homeopathy in the treatment of cataracts and conjunctivitis, but is not recommended for internal use in humans on account of its pyrrolizidine liver-toxic alkaloids.¹⁰³ Perhaps some future scholar will provide a solution to this conundrum.

(b) **ceannabhán bán** /kʰanəwːn bəːn/ ‘bog-cotton, cotton-grass, *Eriophorum angustifolium*’. The name *ceannbhán* ‘white head’ refers to the characteristic fluffy flower-heads of this sedge.¹⁰⁴ It has in the past been used to stuff pillows and as a substitute for cotton-wool during war-time scarcity, but I never heard of any references to its use in Massbrook.

(c) **copóg** /kupoːg/ ‘dock, docken, *Rumex crispus*, *Rumex obtusifolius*, etc.’. This word is applied to the various species of the genus *Rumex*, common weeds of farmland. In former times in the West of Ireland and in the Hebrides, the leaves of *copóg* were fed to cattle in the spring. Fr MacDonald quotes a verse from South Uist in which there is a reference to the feeding of *copag na h-Éill Pàdruig* ‘the docken of Saint Patrick’s Day’ to a poor stirk (*gamhain bochd*).¹⁰⁵ This practice is noted from Mayo in the 1938 Schools’ Collection,¹⁰⁶ but does not seem to have been employed in more recent times, so far as I was able to ascertain. Three types of *copóg* are distinguished in a fifteenth- or sixteenth-century glossary of plants used in medicine: *copóg coitcinn* 7 *corr copóg* 7 *samadh*.¹⁰⁷ It is likely that *copóg coitcinn* ‘common dock’ refers here to *Rumex crispus* and *corr copóg* ‘round dock’ to *Rumex obtusifolius* ‘broad-leaved

physician John of Gaddesden, who is believed to have written it in 1314.

¹⁰¹Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*, 286 §24. Wulff translates ‘the two ragweeds’, but the reference is rather to ‘two plants named *buathfallán*’ i.e. mugwort and ragweed (ragwort).

¹⁰²In the Isle of Man, sprigs of mugwort (Manx *bollan bane*) are traditionally worn on Tynwald Day (5 July) to ward off evil spirits (www.isleofman.com s.v. *bollan bane*: accessed 26 September 2024).

¹⁰³Wolfgang Hensel, *Medicinal Plants of Britain and Europe*, Black’s Nature Guides (London, 2008), 194.

¹⁰⁴Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *ceannbhán*; Ó Dónaill, s.v. *ceannbhán*; Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. *ceann-bàn-a’-mhonaídh*.

¹⁰⁵McDonald, *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*, 81.

¹⁰⁶The Schools’ Collection, vol. 0150: Lahardane N. S. p. 134.

¹⁰⁷Whitley Stokes (ed.), ‘Three Irish medical glossaries’, *ACL* i, 325–47 at 329 §118; T. K. Abbott and E. J. Gwynn, *Catalogue of the Irish Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin, 1921), 124, MS no. 1334.

dock'. Common sorrel (*Rumex acetosa*, OIr *samad*) was valued as a herb in medieval Ireland,¹⁰⁸ and continues to be grown or foraged in modern times for use in salads and soups. In his *Lexique étymologique*, Vendryes proposes that *cop(p)óc* is a derivative of *copp* 'cup', a borrowing from Latin *cuppa* 'cup, vessel'.¹⁰⁹ Nicholas Williams makes the suggestion that the name refers to the similarity of the leaves to the cupping-dishes used when bleeding patients for medical purposes.¹¹⁰ Another possibility is that it derives from the word *copp* with the meaning 'tuft, crest'.¹¹¹ This would apply to the tufted arrangement of the seed-bodies along the stem of the dock.

(d) **dilisc** /'dil'ɪʃk' / 'dilisk, dulse, *Palmaria palmata*'. This seaweed used to be sold in the fair at Lahardane. It has long been prized as a nutritious snack or accompaniment to a meal.¹¹² *Duilesc* is mentioned in the eighth-century law-text *Críth Gablach* as a relish (*serccol tarsainn*) which may be consumed in a commoner's diet.¹¹³ In the late eleventh-century comic tale *Aislinge Mac Con Glinne* there is a reference to a sheaf of *duilesc*, evidently hung up in the kitchen for use as flavouring when required.¹¹⁴ In a medical tract written in AD 1459 by Cormac Mac Duinn tSléibhe and another anonymous scribe, it is stated that a cure for bad breath (*brénánál*) is to chew dilisk or the inner bark of willow for nine days (*duilesc nó edarsnam soileach do cognam co cend nómaide*).¹¹⁵ In his *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Standish O'Grady comments that 'this has all the appearance of being a homespun recipe', pointing out that it does not occur in the Latin medical texts *Lilium Medicinae* or *Rosa Anglicana* (= *Anglica*) which are the main source of this EModIr tract.¹¹⁶

(e) **mónóg** /'mu:nɔ:g/ 'cranberry, bogberry, *Vaccinium oxycoccus*'.¹¹⁷ This word is a derivative of *móin* 'bog'. The raising of /o:/ to /u:/ is widely attested, especially in a nasal environment; cf. *móin* > /mu:n' /,¹¹⁸ *móna* > /mu:nə/.¹¹⁹ The pronunciation of this word with /u:/ is also attested from East Galway¹²⁰

¹⁰⁸Fergus Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 311.

¹⁰⁹LEIA C-204 s.vv. *coppóc*, 3 *copp*.

¹¹⁰N. J. A. Williams, *Díolaim Luibheanna* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1993), 40. For the medical aspects, see Pierce A. Grace, 'Therapeutic bloodletting in Ireland from the medieval period to modern times', *PRIA* 121 C (2021) 227–48.

¹¹¹DIL s.v. *copp*; LEIA C-203–04 s.v. 1 *copp*; Cecile O'Rahilly, 'Copgha, ga cop, ga cró', *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 9 (1958–61), 181–6, at 181–2.

¹¹²Kelly, *Early Irish Farming* 313.

¹¹³D. A. Binchy, (ed.) *Críth Gablach*, Mediaeval and Modern Irish Series 11 (Dublin, 1941; repr. 2004), 6.150 = CIH ii 563.4; iii 779.23.

¹¹⁴Kuno Meyer (ed. and trans.), *Aislinge Meic Conglinne: The Vision of MacConglinne, a Middle-Irish Wonder Tale* (London, 1892), 89.19; Kenneth Jackson (ed.), *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (Dublin, 1990), 35.1077.

¹¹⁵British Library [formerly British Museum] MS Harley 546, fol. 49b.

¹¹⁶Standish Hayes O'Grady, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Library* [formerly *British Museum*], i, (London, 1926), 196.

¹¹⁷Dinneen, *Foclóir*, s.vv. *mónóg*, *mónadán*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir*, s.v. *mónóg*; Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. *monog*; E. Hogan et al., *Luibhleabhrán*, 56, s.v. *mónóg*.

¹¹⁸Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, i, p. 86 §1.21.

¹¹⁹Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas*, iii, p. 376 (Sliabh na Cille, Co. Leitrim).

¹²⁰P. L. Henry, 'A linguistic survey of Ireland', 179.

and from Westmeath.¹²¹ The fruit of the cranberry ripens in September. It has a pleasant slightly sharp flavour and may be used to make jams and sauces. It is in the same genus as the more widespread *Vaccinium myrtillus*, which fruits in July and August. The latter plant goes by the English names of 'bilberry', 'whortleberry' or 'blaeberry'. The Irish word *fraochán* (also *fraochóg*) is widely attested in English-speaking areas.¹²² As far as I could discover, no form of Irish *fraochán* or *fraochóg* was to be heard in the Massbrook area in the 1960s: the English name 'bilberry' (pronounced /'bɪlbərə/) was always used. It also features in the name Bilberry Island in Lough Conn.

(f) **nóinín** /no:n'i:n'/ 'daisy, *Bellis perennis*'. The etymology of the name of this common flower is uncertain, and no explanation is put forward in Vendryes's *Léxique*.¹²³ In his *Blátha an Bhóithrin* Seán Tóibín suggests that it is a derivative of *nóin*, from Latin *nōna* (*hōra*) 'ninth hour'.¹²⁴ This term applied originally to the period corresponding to the modern 3 p.m., the time of the main meal in the medieval period. In the later language – as in English – *nóin* came to be equated with midday. Tóibín argues that the daisy does not fully open until noon. But in fact the daisy opens from dawn to dusk, so this etymology is unsatisfactory. The word *daisy* derives from OEEng *dægesege* 'day's eye', which reflects the opening of this flower at sunrise. Similarly, Medieval Latin has *solis oculus* 'the eye of the sun'. In the EModIr translation of the fourteenth-century Latin medical tract entitled *Rosa Anglica*, boiled roots of the *nó(i)nín* are said to possess pain-killing properties.¹²⁵

(g) **praiseach** /'praʃəx/ 'charlock, *Sinapis arvensis*'. This is a loan-word from Latin *brassica* 'cabbage'.¹²⁶ It has a wide range of applications in Irish: 'cabbage, charlock; vegetable stew, cereal-based porridge; confusion, mess'.¹²⁷ I noted the use of *praiseach* only with reference to charlock, a common weed of tilled land; this is also the meaning assigned to the word in the Schools' collections from the area.¹²⁸ From East Mayo, Michael Comer quotes a phrase with the use of the word in the meaning 'mess': 'He made a right *praiseach* of it'.¹²⁹

(h) **sceacha'-bush** /'ʃk' ahə 'buʃ/ 'whitethorn, hawthorn, quick, *Crataegus monogyna*'. In both Irish- and English-speaking areas, this small tree is commonly called *sceach*.¹³⁰ In Massbrook, the form seems generally to be used along

¹²¹N. J. A. Williams, 'Gaeilge na hIarmhí', 1051.

¹²²E.g. Estyn Evans, *Irish Heritage* (Dundalk, 1942), 54–5.

¹²³LEIA N-22 s.v. *nóinín* ('sans étymologie').

¹²⁴Seán Tóibín, *Blátha an Bhóithrin* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1955; eagrán nua 1965), 41–2. It is worth mentioning that my informant John Maloney told me that in local tradition the name of his farm (*Doire Nóna*, angl. Derranona) was explained as being associated with the *nóinín*.

¹²⁵Wulff, *Rosa Anglica*, 212 §67.

¹²⁶LEIA B-77 s.v. *braisech*.

¹²⁷DIL s.vv. *braisech*, *praisech*; Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *praiseach*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *praiseach*.

¹²⁸E.g. The Schools' Collection, vol. 0153: An Clochar, Crossmolina p. 65 (spelled *preshock*).

¹²⁹Comer, 'As she was spoke', 144.

¹³⁰For example, in West Wicklow *sceach* /'ʃk' ak/ is still in general currency. Karen P. Corrigan notes the use of *skeagh* in Northern Ireland (*Dialects of English: Irish English*, vol. 1: *Northern Ireland*, 93 (table 4.2)).

with an English word in the compound ‘*sceacha*’-bush’. As discussed under 1(a) *fatha*’ above, words in *-ach* often lose the final /x/. The form *sceachach* is given by Dinneen as an adj. meaning ‘thorny, full of thorns’, and also as a noun ‘thorn-thicket or bush’.¹³¹ I take Massbrook *sceacha*’ to be a noun. Similarly, P. L. Henry notes the occurrence of the noun *sceachach* /ʃkahəx, ʃkahə/ ‘bush’ employed in the English of Balla, Co. Mayo.¹³²

(i) **súileachaí buí** /ˈsu:l̪ˠəxiː ˈbʷiː/ ‘corn marigold, *Chrysanthemum segetum*’. The usual form of the name for this weed of cereal-crops is *súile buí* lit. ‘yellow eyes’. In his *Foclóir* Dinneen explains *súil bhuidhe* as ‘the blossom of certain weeds common among potatoes’, and quotes from Co. Donegal the expression *mí na súl mbuidhe* ‘the month of the yellow eyes’, referring to July.¹³³ The plural *súileachaí* shows the ending in *-(e)achaí* commonly employed with nouns of all declensions in Connacht dialects.¹³⁴

(j) **yew-fiug** /ˈjuː ˈfʷug/ ‘bog yew (?)’. I have no satisfactory explanation for this term, and am unsure as to whether the elements are Irish or English. I am confident that my transcription is exactly as pronounced by my informant John Maloney. He owned a stretch of bog near the shore of Lough Conn and told me that three useful types of wood are to be found in bogs in this area.¹³⁵ The most common is ‘bog-pine’, i.e. preserved trunks and roots of Scots pine (*Pinus sylvestris*).¹³⁶ Such trunks served many purposes in the domestic economy. Thin slats of bog-pine were employed to hold up the *scraw* roofing of thatched cottages (see under 5(e) *scráith* below), and were also used in the manufacture of spills to light fires or to serve as torches. Larger sections were used to make chairs, beds, doors, shafts for carts, ridge-beams, etc.¹³⁷ Even more prized was the black ‘bog-oak’, wood of hard quality which could be carved to make pipes and various items of furniture. The third type of wood was called ‘yew-fiug’, a term which does not seem to be attested elsewhere. The word *fiug* may be Irish *fíodh* ‘wood’, and *yew* is most likely to be identified as the English tree-name.¹³⁸ The yew (*Taxus baccata*) is now infrequent in the Irish countryside, and is mainly to be found in churchyards and great estates. In earlier times it was more common, and features in the name *Mag Éo*

¹³¹Dinneen, *Foclóir*, s.v. *sceachach*.

¹³²P. L. Henry, ‘A linguistic survey of Ireland’, 178 §82.

¹³³Dinneen, *Foclóir*, s.v. *súil*.

¹³⁴Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1953), 43 §100; Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, ii, 712–13 §4.59.

¹³⁵For information on wood preserved in bogs I am grateful to Michael O’Connell, Professor Emeritus at the School of Botany, NUI Galway. See also A. T. Lucas, ‘Bog wood: a study in rural economy’, *Béaloides: The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* 23 (1954), 71–134.

¹³⁶For the botanical perspective, see Michael O’Connell, ‘Bog-deal in Co. Clare, with particular reference to bog-pine and its significance’, *The Other Clare: Journal of the Shannon Archaeological and Historical Society* 46 (2022), 9–17.

¹³⁷Seán mac Giollarnáth (ed.), *Peadar Chois Fhairrge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1934; athchló 1939), 73–4 s.v. *trosgán giúsaighe* [furniture from bog-pine]; Tomás Ó Máille, *An Béal Beó* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1936), 54; Estyn Evans, *Irish Heritage*, 40, 63, 70, 122.

¹³⁸It could conceivably be a reflex of Ir. *iubhar* ‘yew’ (Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *iubhar*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *iúr*; DIL s.v. *ibar*).

'the plain of the yew-trees', a place-name originally limited to an area in East Mayo, but subsequently applied to the whole county.¹³⁹ In the present time, the only extensive stands of yew-trees in native Irish woodland are on limestone pavement at Reenadinna, Killarney, Co. Kerry.¹⁴⁰ Yew-wood preserved in bogs is notable for its hardness and attractive colour.

4. FARMING, ETC.

(a) **banbh** /'banu:/ 'piglet'; plur. /'banəvz/; dimin. *bainbhín* /'ban'əv'i:n/ 'little piglet'. The pronunciation /'banu:/ is general throughout Connacht, whereas Munster has /'banəv/. The usual term in North Donegal is *pigin* /'pig'i:n/ from English *pig*.¹⁴¹

(b) **bó brada** /'bo:'bradə/ 'thieving cow'.¹⁴² This expression was employed humorously by Patrick Maloney of a person who awkwardly climbed over the pews during Mass in the manner of a cow breaking through a fence. In his word-list from Began, Co. Mayo, Michael Comer cites the adj. *bradach* 'thieving (referring to a cow)', and gives the example 'the *bradach* cow is in the corn'.¹⁴³ Stiofán Ó hAnnracháin records a similar expression used in North Kerry of a cow which breaks into corn-fields: 'A *bradaí* cow, bó a bhriseann isteach i ngarraithe arúir, etc.'¹⁴⁴ The same form was recorded by Nioclás Breathnach in the English of Newcastle, Co. Limerick, to describe a thieving cow: 'she's a *braidí* cow .i. bó a bhíos ag bradáil'.¹⁴⁵

(c) **cipín** /'k'ip'in/ 'twig'. ModIr *cipín* is a diminutive of *ceap* 'block, stump' (OIr *cepp*) and is widely employed of twigs picked up as kindling for domestic fires. The pronunciation of this word with short *-in* rather than *-ín* is noted by Michael Comer in his account of traces of Irish in Began, Co. Mayo: 'get some *cipíns* for the fire!'.¹⁴⁶ In his study of North Roscommon, P. L. Henry records both /'k'ip'i-n/ and /'k'ipən/.¹⁴⁷

In general, the diminutive suffix *-ín* is well preserved in Irish vocabulary in Massbrook, e.g. 4(a) *bainbhín* 'little piglet', 5(a) *bóithrín* 'small road', 6(b)

¹³⁹Edmund Hogan, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910), 519 s.v. 1 *Mag n-eo*.

¹⁴⁰John Cross and Deirdre Lynn, 'Results of a monitoring survey of yew woodland', *Irish Wildlife Manuals* 72 (National Parks and Wildlife Service, Dublin, 2013) 1–26, at 15. For discussion of the evidence of widespread prehistoric yew-dominated woodland see John Feehan and Grace O'Donovan, *The Bogs of Ireland* (Dublin, 1996), 439–40; Michael O'Connell and Karen Molloy, 'Mid- and late-Holocene environmental change in western Ireland: new evidence from coastal peats and fossil timbers with particular reference to relative sea-level change', *The Holocene* 27 (2017), 1825–45.

¹⁴¹Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas*, i, p. 32.

¹⁴²Note the lack of lenition after the fem. noun *bó*.

¹⁴³Comer, 'As she was spoke', 140 s.v. *bradach*.

¹⁴⁴Stiofán Ó hAnnracháin, *Caint an Bhaile Dhuibh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1964), 39.

¹⁴⁵Nioclás Breathnach, 'Focail Ghaeilge atá le clos sa Bhéarla a labhartar i gceanntar an Chaisleáin Nua, Co. Luimnín', *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 6 (1948–52), 169–79, at 170.

¹⁴⁶Comer, 'As she was spoke', 141.

¹⁴⁷P. L. Henry, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon* (Dublin, 1957), 58 §63; 66 §77; 82 §108; Index, p. 217.

boisín ‘what can be enclosed in the palm of the hand’. This suffix is also widely employed in English words, e.g. *daigín* ‘little dog’, *lave-in* ‘small leaf’, *mainín* ‘little man’.

(d) **dorú** /dəˈruː/ ‘fishing line’. This word is a borrowing from ONorse *dorg*, and is well-attested in Irish and Scottish Gaelic in the meanings ‘fishing line, measuring line’.¹⁴⁸ I recorded this word as a disyllable with stress on the second syllable: see discussion on 1(e) *pruthóg* above. In his *Irish of Iorras Aithneach* Brian Ó Curnáin notes the alternation in this Co. Galway dialect between /dorú:/ and /dru:/, and also records an intermediate form /dʰru:/.¹⁴⁹ In his *Irish of Erris*, Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh records the monosyllable /dru:/.¹⁵⁰

(e) **láighe** /la:i:/ ‘spade’. The final /i/ is definitely a long vowel in Massbrook. In his *Irish of Erris*, Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh identifies a hiatus between the two vowels in this word, and transcribes it as /La:-i:/.¹⁵¹ In his *Irish of Tourmeakedy*, on the other hand, Seán de Búrca represents it with a short final vowel /La:jə/.¹⁵² In his *Irish of Iorras Aithneach* Brian Ó Curnáin draws attention to the diphthongisation of this word by some speakers born later than the 1940s, whereby the traditional pronunciation /la:i:/ was simplified to /lai/.¹⁵³

(f) **liú** /l’u:/ ‘to bawl, bellow’. This verb is used especially of cattle, but may also be applied to a crying child. The Indo-European root is **lē-* ‘to cry, wail’.¹⁵⁴ In the early language the verb *liid* (vn *liud*) is mainly attested in the sense of ‘accuses, charges, calls out’.¹⁵⁵ Examples are common in legal material, e.g. *fer fora llither forcraid n-étraid* ‘a man who is accused of excess of lust’.¹⁵⁶ The original meaning ‘to cry’ is well-attested in ModIr.¹⁵⁷

(g) **meitheal** /m’ehəl/ ‘group for co-operative farm-work’. This term is well attested in the early language with reference to groups of workers engaged together in activities such as harvesting or turf-cutting.¹⁵⁸ A seventh-century law-text on distraint lays down fines for those who fail to provide labour for their lord’s harvest: the offence is defined as *meth methle gíallna* ‘failure to join the reaping party of base clientship’.¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁸ Carl Marstrander, *Bidrag til det Norske Sprogs Historie i Irland* (Kristiania, 1915), 93; *DIL* s.v. *doruba*; Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *dorugha*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *dorú*; Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. *dorgh*.

¹⁴⁹ Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, i, 268 §1.241.

¹⁵⁰ Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 140 §312. T. J. Lavin, ‘Notes on the Irish of East Mayo 2’, *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 9 (1958–61), 10–17, at 16 §3, likewise has /dru:/.

¹⁵¹ Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 60 §261.

¹⁵² de Búrca, *The Irish of Tourmeakedy*, 32 §158.

¹⁵³ Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, i, 89 §1.23.

¹⁵⁴ *IEW* i, 650 s.v. 1 *lā-*, *lē*.

¹⁵⁵ *DIL* s.v. *liid*.

¹⁵⁶ D. A. Binchy (ed. and trans.), ‘*Bretha Crólige*’, *Ériu* 12 (1938), 24 §29 = *CIH* vi 2294.9–10.

¹⁵⁷ Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *liúghaim*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *liúigh*.

¹⁵⁸ *DIL* s.v. *meithel*; *LEIA* M-45 s.v. *methel*. The word is cognate with Welsh *medel* ‘reaping party’ (*GPC* s.v.).

¹⁵⁹ *CIH* ii 382.20–21. See Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 238.

The word is widely attested in ModIr dialects.¹⁶⁰ In Massbrook of the 1960s, the custom of co-operative farming – particularly between related families – was widely employed. However, the only record I obtained of the use of the word *meitheal* was in connection with the farming practices of bygone times.

(h) **scolb** /'skaləp/ 'withe (for thatching)'. The final labial is always unvoiced: this is reflected in the common anglicised spellings *scollop* or *scallop*.¹⁶¹

(i) **searra** /'farə/ 'colt'.¹⁶² The word *serrach* was employed as a young man's nickname, in the sense of 'lively lad'.

(j) **soc** /sok/ 'ploughshare'. It is sometimes the case that an Irish word retained in English speech is only employed with a single meaning whereas multiple meanings are attached to the original Irish form (cf. discussion on 5(g) *sraith* below). In Massbrook I noted *soc* used only of the point of a plough. In ModIr and ScG dictionaries, on the other hand – in addition to 'ploughshare' – it is attested with the meanings 'point or projection of an implement, iron lever', 'muzzle (of a gun)', 'snout (of pig or dog)', 'beak (of bird)', 'pout, expression of annoyance'.¹⁶³ This word goes back to IE **sukko-* 'pig' and is cognate with Welsh *hwch* 'pig, sow'.¹⁶⁴ The etymology reflects the similarity between the rooting of a pig and the action of a ploughshare when ploughing up the soil.¹⁶⁵

(k) **súgán** /'su:ɡa:n/ 'straw-rope'.¹⁶⁶ Traditions regarding the manufacture of ropes made by twisting corn-stalks together were often mentioned. One Massbrook story concerned the use of a *súgán* rope to let a man down a cliff to destroy the last nest of the golden eagle (*Aquila chrysaëtos*) in the locality. The eagles were alleged to consume a lamb each day.

5. LANDSCAPE

(a) **bóithrín** /'bo:hr'i:n/ 'small road'. This word is a diminutive of *bóthar* 'cattle-track, road', and is employed in Massbrook of a minor road, generally untarred. The anglicised spelling is *boreen*. The term *bóthar* is well-attested in the early language, but the diminutive is not recorded.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁰E.g. Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 13 §44; de Búrca, *The Irish of Tourmakeady*, 118 §425; Comer, 'As she was spoke', 143; Henry, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon*, 47 §48; Ó hAnnracháin, *Caint an Bhaile Duibh*, 71; Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, iv, Index, p. 2543 s.v. *meitheal*.

¹⁶¹Estyn Evans, *Irish Heritage*, 64–5.

¹⁶²Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. searrach*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. searrach*; *DIL* s.v. *serrach*; *LEIA* S-95–6 s.v. *serrach*.

¹⁶³Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. soc*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. soc*; Dwelly, *Faclair s.v. soc*; cf. *DIL* s.v. *soc*.

¹⁶⁴*LEIA* S-158–9 s.v. *socc*. Vendryes notes here that ModFr *soc* 'ploughshare' is of Gaulish origin, and therefore cognate with ModIr *soc*; cf. Lambert, *La Langue Gauloise: Description linguistique, commentaire d'inscriptions choisies*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 2003), 201.

¹⁶⁵Kelly, *Early Irish Farming*, 469–70.

¹⁶⁶Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. súgán*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. súgán*; *DIL* s.vv. *súag*, *súagán*; *LEIA* S-195 s.v. *súag*.

¹⁶⁷*DIL* s.v. *bóthar*; *LEIA* B-74 s.v. *bóthar*.

(b) **crocán** /'kruka:n/ 'small hill', diminutive of *cnoc* (*croc*) 'hill'.¹⁶⁸ In his *Irish Dialects Past and Present* Thomas F. O'Rahilly discusses the development of original *cn-* to *cr-* in the Northern half of Ireland, as well as in Scotland and the Isle of Man.¹⁶⁹ He points out that in the spelling of place-names the anglicised form *Crock-* is occasionally attested for *cnoc*, mainly in Ulster. However, in the majority of place-names throughout Ireland the anglicised form is *Knock-*, pronounced /nok/. This is the case in the name of the townland of Ballyknock /'bali: 'nok/ (*Baile an Chnoic* 'the town of the hill') to the south-west of Lough Levalley and adjacent to Massbrook Upper.

(c) **lochán** /'luxa:n/ 'small lake'.

(d) **sceilp** /'k'elp/ 'cliff'; also 'blow' (with hand or stick).

(e) **scraíth** /skra:/'upper sod'.¹⁷⁰ The noun *scraw* is applied to the top layer of soil and vegetation on rough or boggy land. In traditional farming, *scraws* had a wide range of uses. They were employed in the roofing of sheds and dwelling-houses, and in the process of lime-extraction in lime-kilns.¹⁷¹ A derivative verb 'to *scraw*' was employed in relation to the peeling back of the top layer of soil preparatory to the planting of potatoes. In an account of potato-planting on poor land, a pupil at Lahardane National School named Bridgie Tolan records that 'they *scraw* the *shough* in on the ridge'.¹⁷²

In the earlier language, the feminine noun *scraith* is used of sods of earth, especially in relation to human burial, e.g. *gan tuamba gan sraith* 'without tomb, without covering of sods'.¹⁷³ It is also attested of a scab on a wound or sore, and of the decaying crust on a rusty iron implement. The etymology of the word is uncertain: *DIL* suggests a connection with *sraith*.¹⁷⁴ A denominative verb is not attested in the early language.

(f) **seoch** /sux/ 'furrow, excavation'. The origin of the Irish word *seoch* is unclear. In Ireland it is mainly recorded from Ulster (angl. *shough* or *sheugh*), and is applied to drains dug between fields. As we have seen in the previous entry, the term is also applied to the furrow between potato-ridges.¹⁷⁵ Similar meanings are recorded for Lowland Scots *sheuch* and it is possible that the word originated in Scotland and came to Ireland with the Ulster Plantations. As far as I was able to ascertain, in this part of Mayo the word is attested only

¹⁶⁸Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *cnocán*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *cnocán*.

¹⁶⁹Thomas F. O'Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present, with Chapters on Scottish and Manx* (Dublin, 1932; revised ed. 1972; repr. 1988), 22–3.

¹⁷⁰Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *scraith*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. 1 *scraith*; Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. 1 *sgrath*.

¹⁷¹The Schools' Collection, vol. 0120: Turlough N. S. pp. 175–6.

¹⁷²The Schools' Collection, vol. 0150: Lahardane N. S. p. 130. A denominative verb is attested in ModIr and ScG: Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *scraithim*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. 2 *scraith*; Dwelly, *Faclair* s.v. 2 *sgrath*.

¹⁷³John O'Daly (ed.) *The Poets and Poetry of Munster*, ii, (Dublin, 1849), 152.20.

¹⁷⁴*DIL* s.v. *scraith*.

¹⁷⁵Estyn Evans, *Irish Heritage*, 90.

in relation to the growing of potatoes.¹⁷⁶ For an excavation dug between fields, English ‘drain’ is the normal term. The word ‘ditch’ is applied to the stones and soil which have been dug up to form a field boundary, often reinforced with whitethorns (*sceacha*-bushes). According to local tradition, a ghost cannot cross a ‘mearing drain’, i.e. the boundary between two properties.

(g) **sraith** /ʃra/ ‘layer of vegetation on top of water’. The ModIr noun *sraith* (OIr *srath*) has a wide variety of applications: ‘layer, row, series, rank, course’.¹⁷⁷ In Massbrook it is used a layer of moss and other vegetation growing over water, particularly on top of a quaking bog.

6. PEOPLE: CHARACTERISTICS, AILMENTS, ETC.

(a) **amadán** /‘aməda:n/ ‘male fool’.

(b) **boisín** /‘bʊʃi:n/ ‘small palm, what can be enclosed in the palm of the hand’.¹⁷⁸ This word is a diminutive of *bas* ‘palm of the hand’.

(c) **cailleach** /‘kal’əx/ ‘bed-enclosure near fire where the old woman (*cailleach*) sleeps’.¹⁷⁹

(d) **draoib** /dri:b/ ‘mud, spatter’. This word is well attested in ModIr, but is not recorded in the earlier language.¹⁸⁰ It is employed in the context of a person coming into a house in a wet and mucky state: ‘I am *draoibed*’.

(e) **gasúr** /‘gasu:r/ ‘boy, child’. This word originated as a borrowing from Anglo-Norman *garçon* ‘boy, lad’.¹⁸¹ In Massbrook it was used especially in the context of attendance at school, with the expression ‘school-*gasúrs*’ being applied to both boys and girls. In his *Irish Dialects Past and Present* T. F. O’Rahilly drew attention to the distribution of the forms taken by *garçon* in Irish.¹⁸² In the northern part of the country the forms are *gasúr* or *gasún* whereas in the southern part it is *garsún*. Massbrook has *gasúr*, as in other Mayo dialects and in Conamara.¹⁸³ The form *gasún* is attested from Westmeath,¹⁸⁴ Roscommon¹⁸⁵ and from Glenamaddy (north-east Galway).¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁶The Schools’ Collection, vol. 0150: Lahardane N. S. pp. 123–4, 126, 128–30.

¹⁷⁷Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. sraith*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. sraith*; *DIL s.v. srath*.

¹⁷⁸Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. baisín*.

¹⁷⁹Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. cailleach* (9); Stockman, *The Irish of Achill*, 363, s.v. *cailleach* (iv).

¹⁸⁰Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. drib*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. draoib*.

¹⁸¹*SnaG* 442 §11.3 (5).

¹⁸²O’Rahilly, *Irish Dialects Past and Present*, 241.

¹⁸³Mhac an Fhailigh, *The Irish of Erris*, 57 §253; de Búrca, *The Irish of Tourmakeady*, 76 §377; Tomás de Bhaldraithe, *Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht*, 344; Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, i, 273 §1.246.

¹⁸⁴Mhac an Fhailigh, ‘A Westmeath word-list’, 261.

¹⁸⁵P. L. Henry, *An Anglo-Irish Dialect of North Roscommon*, 58 §64; 61 §71.

¹⁸⁶P. L. Henry, ‘A linguistic survey of Ireland’, 179 §83.

(f) **girseach** /'g'irʃəx/. I noted *girseach* 'young girl' with final *-ch*.¹⁸⁷

(g) **grá** /gra:/ 'love, special affection'.

(h) **meas** /m'as/ 'respect'.

(i) **oighreach** /'air'əx/ 'chilblains'. I noted this form used of skin-irritation – especially of the shins – allegedly caused by going too near to the fire after coming in from the cold. In the 1938 Schools' collection, a pupil named Phyllis Kelly at An Clochar National School, Crossmolina, Co. Mayo, refers to the use of *troighíní* 'leggings' – manufactured from old stockings – to protect the housewife from '*irioch*', a spelling which could represent an initial diphthong or a long vowel /i:/.¹⁸⁸ I recorded the word as having an initial diphthong /ai/ in Massbrook. In his *Irish of Tourmakeady*, Seán de Búrca records an initial diphthong /əir'ux/,¹⁸⁹ as does Gerard Stockman in his *Irish of Achill* (/ěir'ax/).¹⁹⁰ The pronunciation /i:rəx/ is attested from Co. Westmeath,¹⁹¹ and /e:rə/ is recorded from Kilclare, Co. Leitrim.¹⁹²

Dinneen provides the translation 'chafing, heat of the skin, eczema' and Ó Dónaill has 'sores from cold or chafing'.¹⁹³ There are no entries for *aigrech* (or *oigrech*) in dictionaries of the early language.¹⁹⁴ The word presumably derives from OIr *aig* 'ice',¹⁹⁵ which is commonly attested with the collective suffix *aigred* (later *oighreadh*) 'ice, frozen snow'.¹⁹⁶

(j) **óinseach** /'o:nʃəx/ 'female fool'. P. L. Henry records /'o:nʃə/ for North Roscommon.¹⁹⁷

(k) **slámóg** /'ʃla:mɔ:g/ 'lazy untidy woman'. This derogatory term derives from the noun *slám* 'lock, flake, handful of wool, hay, etc.', a lengthened form of *slam* 'anything soft, heavy or clumsy'.¹⁹⁸ P. L. Henry notes the occurrence of the form *sláimín* used in North Roscommon of an untidy person of either sex.¹⁹⁹

¹⁸⁷Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. geirreacht*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. girseach*; Wagner, *Linguistic Atlas*, i, p. 200. s.v. *giorsach*.

¹⁸⁸The Schools' Collection, vol. 0153: An Clochar N. S., Crossmolina, Co. Mayo, p. 63.

¹⁸⁹De Búrca, *The Irish of Tourmakeady*, 45 §243 s.v. *oighreach*.

¹⁹⁰Stockman, *The Irish of Achill*, 377 s.v. *oighreach*.

¹⁹¹Mhac an Fhailigh, 'A Westmeath word-list', 263 s.v. *oighreach* /i:rex/; Williams, 'Gaeilge na hIarmhí', 1051 s.v. *oighreach* /i:rəx/. Williams notes that the pronunciation /e:rə/ is also indicated for Westmeath with the spelling *éara*.

¹⁹²Henry, 'A linguistic survey of Ireland', 176 §80.

¹⁹³Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. oighreach*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. oighreach*.

¹⁹⁴There are no entries in *DIL* or in Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography A-C* (Halle, 1906).

¹⁹⁵*DIL* s.v. 1 *aig*.

¹⁹⁶*DIL* s.v. *aigred*; Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. oighear*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. oighear*.

¹⁹⁷Henry, *An Anglo-Irish dialect of North Roscommon*, 46 §46; 94 §133.

¹⁹⁸Dinneen, *Foclóir s.v. slam, slám*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir s.v. slám*; *DIL* s.v. *slamm*.

¹⁹⁹Henry, *An Anglo-Irish dialect of North Roscommon*, 62 §72, 92 §132; Index p. 231.

7. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) **as go brách** /'as gə 'brɑ:x/ 'away with, off with'. This phrase was employed by Anthony Kenny in the context of a wheel coming off a cart. From North Kerry Stiofán Ó hAnnracháin notes the phrases '*as go bráth* with you now', and '*as go bráth* with him down the road'.²⁰⁰

(b) **húrla-hárta** /'hu:rlə 'hɑ:rlə/ 'commotion'. Irish dialects provide a great variety of informal or slang expressions for 'commotion, disturbance, hullabaloo'. Often, such forms begin with *h-* and display variation in the vowel, as in the present example. Dinneen provides the translation 'confusion' for *hulach halach* and *hulam halam*, and Ó Curnáin lists *holcam halcam* 'voracious eating', *húirt háirt* 'hubbub', and *húrta harta* 'commotion' in his Index.²⁰¹ Dinneen quotes the use of *húrla* and *hárta* as separate nouns in the North Connacht expression *gan húrla gan hárta* 'without anything at all'.²⁰² Compare also *hurla-má-ghiúnga* /'hu:rlə mɑ: 'ju:ŋgə/ used in Ballyvourney of a physical contention or tussle.²⁰³

(c) **rúcam-rácam** /ru:kəm 'rɑ:kəm/ 'hullabaloo'. Ó Donaill gives *rúcam* as a variant of *rúcáil* 'commotion, wrangling'.²⁰⁴ Compare the common expression *ruaille buaille* (*ruille búille*) 'tumult, rough-and-tumble, ruction'.²⁰⁵

GENERAL COMMENTS

I conclude with a few general comments on the material. It will be obvious that the Irish terms recorded in the above list belong to a number of different categories. Some are common words, frequently employed in general conversation. These include words such as *gasúr* 'child', which – when applied to males – seems generally to be used of a younger age-group than English *boy*. Another common word is *bóithrín* which no doubt survives because it fills a semantic gap between the English words *road* and *lane*. As in many other parts of Ireland, *grá* is retained because it has connotations of 'a special or intense affection' which is not present in English *love*. There are also cases where there seems to be no discernible difference of meaning between the Irish word and its English equivalent. Thus, it is not apparent that there is any difference in meaning between Ir. *meas* and Eng. *respect* or between Ir. *amadán* and Eng. *fool*, *idiot*. Similarly, so far as I was able to discern, the Irish term *liú* – when applied to cattle – corresponds closely in meaning to Eng. *bellow*.

²⁰⁰ Stiofán Ó hAnnracháin, *Caint an Bhaile Dhuibh*, 35 s.v. *as go bráth*.

²⁰¹ Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*, iv, 2512.

²⁰² Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *húrla*.

²⁰³ Ó Cuív, *Cnósach Focal ó Bhaile Bhúirne*, 134.

²⁰⁴ Ó Donaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *rúcáil*.

²⁰⁵ Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *ruaille buaille*; Ó Donaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *ruaille*.

Specialised Vocabulary

A considerable proportion of the Irish words which survived in the 1960s belonged to specialised areas of vocabulary – and some of them continue in use to this day. As we have seen, *scráith* is employed of the top layer of soil and vegetation on rough land, and had numerous uses in traditional husbandry. The English words *sod* or *sward* do not adequately reflect the meaning of *scráith* so it was necessary to retain this word. Similarly, there is no single word in Standard English which corresponds to Ir. *sraith* ‘layer of vegetation on top of water’, so this word was also retained.

Many of the surviving Irish words refer to animals and plants. This situation is mirrored in many other countries where a dominant language has pushed out another language or languages. Most of what is now France would have been Celtic-speaking in the first few centuries AD, but very little Celtic vocabulary survived into Modern French. The few exceptions include names for plants such as *berle* ‘water-cress’²⁰⁶ and dialectal *verne* ‘alder-tree’.²⁰⁷ Similarly, the native American languages of North America have contributed little to the general vocabulary of the dominant languages English, Spanish and French. However, widely used plant-names of native American origin are *squash*, *tomato* and *camassia*. The animal-names *moose*, *skunk*, *coyote* and *raccoon* likewise originate in native American languages.

In the case of Irish animal- and plant-names, there has been considerable variation in the extent of their use. Thus, *buachallán* has held its own over much of the country in spite of official pressure in favour of the English word *ragwort* (or *ragweed*), which regularly appears in notices warning land-owners against infestations of noxious weeds. In Massbrook *buachallán* was the normal term, though *ragweed* was also recognised. Likewise, the normal term for the genus *Rumex* was *copóg*, but *dock* (or *docken*) was recognised as an equivalent. The Irish word *seabhac* and its English equivalent *hawk* seemed to co-exist in speech. On the other hand, *banbh* was always employed of a ‘young pig’, never English *piglet*. Similarly, *mónóg* was the only word employed for the bog-plant *Vaccinium oxycoccus*: the English words *cranberry* or *bogberry* were not in use. In the insect world, *spide neansaí* was the only term used for ‘caterpillar’, and *creabhar* alone served as the term for various biting flies referred to in English as *horse-fly* or *cleg*.

Folk-tales and Seanchas

Some of the words in the above lists were recorded only in the context of tales and lore relating to past events and practices. Thus, the term *riabhach* ‘brindled’ was not in general use in relation to the colour of cattle, but only in the context of the three ‘*riabhach*-days’ of bad weather traditionally held to occur in early April (1(f) above). Likewise, the terms *coisí deasa* and *preaba’ poll* for ‘hare’ and ‘rabbit’ were not in general currency, but were mentioned in a discussion on the hunting practices of the locality in bygone times.

²⁰⁶ LELA B-52 s.v. *biror*; Lambert, *La Langue Gauloise*, 190 s.v. *berle*.

²⁰⁷ VKG i, 156 §96; IEW i, 1169; Lambert, *La Langue Gauloise*, 203 s.v. *vergne*, *verne*.

Possible influence from Irish taught in the Schools

Three of my informants – Anthony Kenny, Patrick Earley and Anthony Moran – attended Massbrook National School before the general introduction of the Irish language as a school-subject in 1924. All the other informants learnt Irish at school, but I noted no case where there was any likelihood that terms in the above lists originated from the schoolroom. Indeed, it was often emphasised to me that ‘School Irish’ differed greatly from (and was inferior to) the traditional Irish of the locality, as spoken by previous generations.

Words of uncertain origin

In some cases it is uncertain whether a word is of Irish or English origin. For example, the term *lock* is commonly applied in Massbrook to an armful of substances such as turf or hay. In his ‘Westmeath word-list’, Éamonn Mhac an Fhailigh suggests that it is the Irish word *glac* ‘small amount’, comparing the Mayo expression *glac fhataí* ‘an armful of potatoes’.²⁰⁸ But it is more likely that it is English *lock*, explained in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as ‘a (small) quantity of hay, straw, etc.; a handful, an armful (now only employed in dialect)’.²⁰⁹ In his article ‘As she was spoke’, Michael Comer treats *bóltraí* ‘elderberry tree’ as an Irish word, and quotes the phrase ‘Do not beat the cow with a *bóltraí* stick’.²¹⁰ In fact, the word *bóltraí* is English *bour-tree* – an alternative name for the elder (*Sambucus nigra*) – with substitution of *-l-* for *-r-*. The word is attested in a variety of forms in English, Hiberno-English and Scots.²¹¹ I noted the form /bo:r,tri:/ in Massbrook. As suggested above (3(j)), the term *yew-fiug* may contain the English word *yew*, possibly combined with Irish *fíodh* ‘wood’.

Another case is worth mentioning because it features in a folk-tale which was recorded in the 1938 Schools’ Collection and was still current in the 1960s.²¹² The tale involved a king named O’Brien who was married to Queen Bess ‘many hundred years ago’. O’Brien had originally lived in Ulster, but had been expelled to the province of Connacht. One day he went out hunting. In his absence, three men appeared at the queen’s castle at Terrybawn by the shore of Lough Conn, and asked where her husband was. She said that he had gone out hunting on the mountain. The men pursued him and cut off his head. They returned to the castle, and ordered the queen to go with them. She refused, and fled to a cliff at the edge of Lough Conn. Before she jumped to her death, she threw her ring into the lake. From that day, this cliff is called *Ring Bess*. This tale is reminiscent of the prose and verse *Dindshenchas* ‘place-lore’

²⁰⁸Mhac an Fhailigh, ‘A Westmeath word-list’, *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies* 5 (1945–7), 256–66, at 261 s.v. *glac.

²⁰⁹William Little, H. W. Fowler and J. Coulson (eds), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. revised by C. T. Onions (Oxford, 1965), s.v. *lock* (3).

²¹⁰Comer, ‘As she was spoke’, 140.

²¹¹Little, Fowler and Coulson, *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* s.v. *bourtree*; William Craigie (ed.), *A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Chicago, 1931–7; 2nd impression 1974), s.v. *bourtré*.

²¹²The Schools’ Collection, vol. 0149: Massbrook N. S. pp. 317–19. The tale was written down by Lily Mulhern, who recorded that she obtained it from Mrs Conroy of Terryduff.

of the Mlr period, in which place-names are explained with reference to a past incident.²¹³ In this instance, both *ring* and *Bess* appear to be regarded as English words, though employed in Irish word-order, i.e. *ring Bess* = ‘Bess’s ring’. Possibly, *ring* was originally Irish *rinn* ‘promontory’.²¹⁴

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²¹³Many examples are to be found in *MD* i–iv, and in Whitley Stokes, ‘The prose tales in the Rennes Dindshenchas’, *RC* 15 (1894), 272–336, 418–84; *RC* 16 (1895), 31–83.

²¹⁴Dinneen, *Foclóir* s.v. *rinn*; Ó Dónaill, *Foclóir* s.v. *rinn*; *DIL* s.v. 1 *rind* (c); Hogan, *Onomasticon*, 581–2 s.v. *rinn*. Another tale involving this place-name is recorded by the Massbrook pupil Charles Kelly: ‘about a hundred years ago there was the chimney of a castle seen in the waters of Lough Conn at Rinn bess point’ (The Schools’ Collection, vol. 0149: Massbrook N. S. p. 374).

ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are accepted for general use in *Celtica*, along with such universally known ones as p., ibid., etc. Any other abbreviations should be defined on first use and a list of them should be provided at the end of the article.

ABM	D. McManus and E. Ó Raghallaigh (eds), <i>A Bardic Miscellany: Five Hundred Bardic Poems from Manuscripts in Irish and British Libraries</i> , Léann na Tríonóide/Trinity Irish Studies 2 (Dublin, 2010).
ACL	Whitley Stokes and Kuno Meyer (eds), <i>Archiv für celtische Lexikographie</i> , 3 vols (Halle a.S., 1898–1907).
AFM	John O'Donovan (ed.), <i>Annála Ríogachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters</i> , 7 vols (Dublin, 1848–51).
AI	Seán Mac Airt (ed.), <i>The Annals of Inisfallen</i> (Dublin, 1951).
AL	R. Atkinson, W. N. Hancock, W. M. Hennessy, T. O'Mahony and A. G. Richey (eds), <i>Ancient Laws of Ireland</i> , 6 vols (Dublin, 1865–1901).
Anecdota	O. J. Bergin, R. I. Best, Kuno Meyer and J. G. O'Keeffe (eds), <i>Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts</i> , 5 vols (Halle a.S., 1907–13).
AU	Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (eds), <i>The Annals of Ulster (to A.D. 1131)</i> (Dublin, 1983).
BBCS	<i>Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies</i> .
BL	British Library.
Br	Breton.
CIH	D. A. Binchy (ed.), <i>Corpus Iuris Hibernici</i> , 6 vols (Dublin, 1978).
CMCS	<i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i> ; from number 26 onwards <i>Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies</i> .
CModIr	Classical Modern Irish.
Co	Cornish.
CSANA	Celtic Studies Association of North America.
DIAS	Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
DIL	<i>Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> and <i>Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> (Dublin, 1913–76; compact edition 1983).
EC	<i>Études Celtiques</i> .
eDIL	<i>Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language</i> (www.dil.ie).
EMod	Early Modern (in combinations EModIr etc).
GMW	D. Simon Evans, <i>A Grammar of Middle Welsh</i> (Dublin, 1964).
GOI	Rudolf Thurneysen, <i>A Grammar of Old Irish</i> (Dublin, 1946).
GPC	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> (Cardiff, 1950–2002).
GPC ²	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> , second ed. (Cardiff, 2003–).
GPC Online	<i>Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru</i> , online ed. (www.geiriadur.ac.uk).

IEW	Julius Pokorny, <i>Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 2 vols (Bern, 1959–69).
IGT	Osborn Bergin (ed.), ‘Irish Grammatical Tracts’, supplements to <i>Ériu</i> 8 (1916), 9 (1921–3), 10 (1926–8), 14 (1946) and 17 (1955).
Ir	Irish.
ISOS	<i>Irish Script on Screen</i> (www.isos.dias.ie).
ITS	Irish Texts Society.
JCHAS	<i>Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society</i> (1892–).
JCS	<i>Journal of Celtic Studies</i> .
JRSAI	<i>Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland</i> .
LEIA	<i>Lexique étymologique de l’irlandais ancien</i> (Dublin and Paris, 1959–).
LL	R. I. Best, O. Bergin, M. A. O’Brien and A. O’Sullivan (eds), <i>The Book of Leinster</i> , 6 vols (Dublin, 1954–83).
LModIr	Late Modern Irish.
LU	R. I. Best and O. Bergin (eds), <i>Lebor na hUidre/Book of the Dun Cow</i> (Dublin, 1929). Where necessary, the hands of the three scribes may be distinguished as <i>LU(A)</i> , <i>LU(M)</i> and <i>LU(H)</i> .
M	Middle (in combinations MIr, MW, MBr, MCo etc.).
MD	Edward Gwynn (ed.), <i>The Metrical Dindshenchas</i> , Todd Lecture Series 8–12 (Dublin, 1903–35).
MI.	The Milan Glosses on the Psalms, Bibl. Ambr. C. 301, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), <i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 7–483.
Mod	Modern (in combinations ModIr, ModW, ModBr, ModCo etc.).
MV	Rudolf Thurneysen (ed.), ‘Mittelirische Verlehen’, <i>Irische Texte</i> III.1 (1891), 1–182.
NLI	National Library of Ireland.
NLS	National Library of Scotland.
NLW	National Library of Wales.
O	Old (in combinations OIr, OW, OBr, OCo etc.).
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> .
PRIA	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy</i> .
QUB	Queen’s University Belfast.
RC	<i>Revue Celtique</i> .
RIA	Royal Irish Academy.
SC	<i>Studia Celtica</i> .
Sg.	Glosses on Priscian, Codex Sangallensis no. 904, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), <i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), ii, 49–224.
SGc	Scottish Gaelic.
SGS	<i>Scottish Gaelic Studies</i> .
SnaG	Kim McCone, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó hÁinle, Nicholas Williams and Liam Breatnach (eds), <i>Stair na Gaeilge in Ómós do Phádraig Ó Fiannachta</i> (Maynooth, 1994).
TBC 1	Cecile O’Rahilly (ed.), <i>Táin Bó Cúalnge: Recension I</i> (Dublin, 1976).

<i>TBC LL</i>	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), <i>Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Book of Leinster</i> (Dublin, 1967).
<i>TBC St.</i>	Cecile O'Rahilly (ed.), <i>The Stowe Version of Táin Bó Cuailnge</i> (Dublin, 1961).
TCD	Trinity College Dublin.
<i>Thes</i>	Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), <i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975).
<i>THSC</i>	<i>Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion</i> .
<i>Tur.</i>	The Turin Glosses on St Mark, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), <i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 484–94.
UCD	University College Dublin.
VKG	Holger Pedersen, <i>Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen</i> , 2 vols (Göttingen, 1909–13).
W	Welsh.
<i>Wb.</i>	Glosses on the Pauline Epistles, Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis, in Whitley Stokes and John Strachan (eds), <i>Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus</i> , 2 vols (Cambridge, 1901–3; reprinted Dublin, 1975), i, 499–712.
<i>ZCP</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie</i> .